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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XI.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1849.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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1849.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*The Colombo Religious and Theological Magazine. Colombo*, 1833.

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IT has been said of Ceylon when alluding to her present position as compared with the past, that it is an enormous humbug. But this, to say the least of it, is scarcely a fair statement of the case. We must however freely admit that the colony has proved to be a huge disappointment: the disappointment has arisen from over-wrought expectations. The child who stumbles upon a piece of copper ore and believes it to be gold, will assuredly be vexed to find how comparatively worthless is the fancied treasure, yet we should not say that it is anything more than a mistake. Alas! it is much to be feared that all the gold of Ceylon will prove to be copper: all her swans will be—not even geese, but birds the lowest in the scale of the feathered tribes, even—cock-sparrows.

Her pearls that once made her the envy of Princes and Potentates of the Eastern and Western World—when she was known as—

"The utmost Indian Isle, Taprobane."

have literally ceased to exist. All that remains pertaining to the once celebrated fishery is the little steamer Seaforth, which pays a periodical visit to the banks off Aripo for the purpose of enabling the Master-Attendant of Colombo to inspect and report on them to the Government. Year by year the little vessel

resorts to the deserted banks in undisturbed solitude, like a sea-fowl hovering around the rock which held her nest ere the plunderer came. The site of each once far-famed bed is moodily passed over. The landmarks are observed: a few divers go down into the vasty deep, and a few baskets of sand and stones are brought back to Colombo to testify to the annual disappointment. In another half century the pearl fishery of Ceylon will be classed with the Mermaid, the great Sea-Serpent, and other equally real things.

Her spice too, the fragrant perfumes of which have arisen from Orient Altar and Incense Lamp from the days of Solomon to Tippú Saib, and the balmy breath of which floating from the cinnamon groves, was said to sleep upon the morning breezes that played around the ocean-girt land:—this too may be not quite numbered amongst the things that were; yet the trade in it is all but annihilated as dealers and growers know to their cost.

The great coffee speculation has been Ceylon's most bitter disappointment. Tommy Moore when he sang "All that's bright must fade," doubtless had not Ceylon coffee prospects in his poetical mind's eye, yet he most completely pre-figured the destiny of those who dug and delved in our "Pearl of the Ocean," as many in Calcutta and Bombay can bear witness. The unfortunate Coffee Planter has found Ceylon to be but too like the Apple of the Desert,—blooming and fair to the eye, but all bitterness to the taste.

It would be strange indeed if amidst all this wreck of hopes and prospects,—amidst all the world-heart-aches which must necessarily accompany the prostration of the best energies of an entire colony such as Ceylon, so far at least as regards the European settlers,—it would be strange, we say, if so gentle a thing as literature escaped scatheless. When hardy plants such as coffee and cinnamon are swept from the land by the general ruin-blast, we must not expect the more tender sucklings of Parnassus to weather the storm. Poetry and Prose, though of immortal origin, must in their human kind, bow to the storm, though it be but for the time.

It has been even so in Ceylon. Of all the array of names which head this article, one only liveth to tell its tale, all else have gone down, and all that the world knows of them is that *they were*, but *are not*. In penning our few remarks upon these deceased members of Literary Society, we feel that we may be looked upon as little better than epitaph-mongers—be it so; we will do our best to obey the old injunction, "speak not ill of the dead;" and if perchance any amongst our readers

can shadow forth from these recollections of departed periodicals, the word "*Resurgam*" we shall be well content to find it so.

It is not unworthy of remark that the first Literary Periodical which saw the light in Ceylon was one whose nature would appear to have limited it to a very small class of readers. One might well have supposed that for a first attempt of this nature in a colony so small as that of Ceylon, the endeavours of its conductors should have been to have made it as generally interesting as possible in order to secure for it a certain extent of circulation. In Europe we find that subdivision of object and employment in regard to Periodic Literature, is the result of great competition and long experience, but we could hardly have looked for *class* periodicals in Ceylon fifteen years ago, at a time when the reading community consisted of the civilians and military fewer far than at present, and of a very small number of Clergy.

But so it was. To the casual observer it would appear somewhat singular, that a publication, so limited in its scope and bearing as a "*Religious and Theological Magazine*," should have lived to have seen two years of circulation. It must be borne in mind however, that it was in the hands of those to whom profit was as dust in the balance,—who counted only on a certain number of readers, and that without reference to whether the publication yielded any gain or was all loss. It is something however, to have had the courage and the patience to go on writing, collecting and publishing for such a period as we have named under such limited encouragement as must then have been accorded it. Had the light of the Theological Magazine flickered dimly in its socket for a few brief months, and then have sunk to be seen no more, it would have been but natural under the circumstances. Yet it was not so.

Akin to the nature of this earliest of periodicals, although not so strictly religious in its spirit, was the "Friend," to which we shall allude further on. If we look a little below the surface of this literature, we may readily discover the cause operating to form the character of the periodicals of those days. They were the production of clergymen and missionaries, almost without exception the only persons who then concerned themselves with any thing of a literary character. To them the diffusion of Christian principles was as a portion of their every-day duties: their occupations were naturally more in keeping with literature than were those of other sojourners in this distant land. The civilians and merchants knelt not at the Muse's shrine but at that of Plutus. The golden Mammon-calf

commanded more worshippers than the Parnassan Temple, and this too without any Edict,—without any sound of Sackbut, Dulcimer or Lute.

Few, very few seek the East for a home: it is usually looked upon as a land of exile,—rich in promise it is true, but its riches are not valued unless they lead to a return to the home of our fore-fathers—our land of sighs. Hence the energies of nearly all are mainly directed to the amassing of means for flying from this temporary resting place; and whilst this feeling lasts,—until there be a race of Indo-Britons in spirit as well as in name, we shall look in vain for any thing partaking of the character of a permanent literature. This has been peculiarly the case in Ceylon, where of late even the civilians could talk or think of little else but of "*developing the resources of the* colony," in other words of growing coffee. As an illustration of the prevailing mania, and as shewing how it acts even upon literature, we may here mention, that almost the only work which has of late issued from the Press of Ceylon, and certainly the only one which was extensively read and which left a profit to the publisher, was on the very subject we are alluding to—Coffee Planting.* Poetry allied itself to the Pulping-house. The Romance of life bowed down its head before the strong reality of the prices current:—Quotations from the classics were replaced by quotations of the coffee market.

A careful summing up of all those who have been, during the last ten or twelve years, directly connected with the literature of the island (leaving out of course, the newspaper literature,) gives the following classified result which bears out most fully all that we have written on this point: there were—

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Let us however pass on to "the Religious and Theological Magazine of Colombo." The maxim which it took for its guide and beacon-light was that of Lord Bacon—"all know-'ledge is to be limited by religion and to be referred to use 'and action." Following this, it purported to point out in its pages the true uses of learning, and at the same time to guard its readers against any perversion of the gift. The pages of knowledge, laden with the spoils of ages gone by, being no

* Life in the Jungle, or Letters from a Planter to his cousin in London: Colombo, 1845. Dr. McKirdy's reprint of "Laborie's Treatise on Coffee Planting" may, perhaps, be added.

longer a sealed treasure, as they had been to our ancestors, but thrown wide open to all, it behoves the well-wisher of his species to aid all in partaking of its riches in a right-minded and sober mood. To read aright, man must read, having the fear and love of God before him. In this way he may indeed drink deep of the fountain of knowledge to the health and enlargement of his mind. With Bacon he may scrutinize the wide world and all that it contains, and like him point out new tracts of the wilderness to be reclaimed from sterility. Like Newton he may analyse a sun-beam, weigh the earth in a balance, and track the Planet-courses through the abyss of space. Even as Locke, he may dwell upon the mind—the understanding—the instrument by which all this is to be done. Yet if, as they did, he gives all the glory to God and due reverence to his word, good, unmixed and fruitful, will be the eternal result to himself and others.

The work which professed these views, attempted no insignificant task, and the labor appears to have been faithfully and zealously taken in hand. For nearly two years the conductor of this periodical, the Rev. B. Bailey, toiled on with the work unaided, and at length when its days were numbered, which they were in October 1834, he retired with credit from the field, not however from any lack of support from the public, nor from any tiring of the task on his own part, but because having been attacked in one of the local journals in a rather warm manner, he wished to avoid being the means of keeping the public mind in a state of fermentation, as well as laying himself open to anonymous personal attacks. The idea that a small magazine, such as the one we are alluding to, should be capable of keeping the public mind in a feverish state, may, to those at a distance from small colonies, appear somewhat of an exaggeration, but it should be remembered that Ceylon in 1834 and Ceylon in 1840, are two very different affairs. With no overlands, no Coffee Planting, the Ceylonese community, fifteen years ago, fed itself upon any insignificant novelty or object which was presented to it: in those days the appearance of a smart letter or article in the only public journal of the day, caused fully as much excitement and enquiry as does the arrival of the overland mail in the present moment.

It will probably suffice for our present purpose if we observe, that the Colombo Religious and Theological Magazine contained a series of very readable and instructive essays, as well as a succession of Bible Biographies. These were its leading features, and the Colombo society of those days owed not a little, to one who thus set before it such wholesome food for the mind.

The publication which appears second in our list, unpre-

tending though it was in its character and aim, and but little calculated to pass the ordeal of a regular criticism, may yet be briefly noticed as one of a series of publications of varied nature and character which have issued from the island Press. Indeed our notice could not be considered complete without it. The "Academy Miscellany" was issued in January 1837, by the pupils of the establishment from which it derives its title and under the supervision of the Principal of that Seminary. Its pretensions were of the most moderate kind: it simply professed to offer a field for the literary powers of the pupils of the Academy, in order to give them an opportunity of placing their thoughts on paper in a systematic manner, and though we are not advocates for such an early commencement of literary labors, yet we cannot find occasion to notice the little periodical before us in any other than the most indulgent way.

The original articles in its pages are scarcely fitting subjects for the Critic, and the selected matter is just what might have been looked for in such a publication, and at any rate they served to indicate the course of reading pursued by these young students. The "Miscellany" appears to have lived the average life of Ceylon periodicals—two years; and then to have gone out, as quietly as it entered the world. The profits which were anticipated to arise from its publication, would have gone to encrease the contents of the Library attached to the Colombo Academy, for the use of the scholars, but from what we have reason to know of all such local attempts, we do not imagine that its advent gave much additional value to the contents of the Juvenile shelves alluded to.

Next to this, and commencing its existence at a later period of the same year, we find "*The Friend,*" which owed its origin to the Wesleyan missionaries of Colombo. These indefatigable laborers amongst the natives, saw with pain the vast amount of ignorance existing not only in the minds of the Singhalese, but of the mixed races. They perceived also that those, who, by attending at their schools, acquired a tolerable knowledge of the English language, lacked a supply of mental food adapted to their capacities: with the exception of cheap editions of the scriptures, these educated natives had no means of supplying their reading wants, and there was thus an evident danger of their soon losing the knowledge of English which they had at some cost and trouble obtained at the schools.

In the first number of this work, the editor or conductor thus speaks of the feelings and intentions of those who had originated it:—

"It shall be our endeavour, so far as our very limited influence extends, to restore the world to its original purity. It was

'no bad idea of the people of Thessalonica concerning the 'apostles, that they had "turned the world upside down," an 'example that all true lovers of their race will do well to 'imitate. We set out, therefore, with this avowed intention. 'Whenever we find the Good or the Beautiful, it will be our 'highest happiness to bring them forth for admiration, ascrib-'ing their origin to its right source, the inspiration of heaven; 'when we are compelled to mourn over their absence, or to 'expose the existence of the opposite attributes, it will be with 'the sole design that some remedy may be sought for and 'applied; and we are encouraged in our work by the certain 'assurance, that the day will again dawn upon our world, when 'the unseen enemy shall be destroyed, and all shall be Good 'and Beautiful, not merely upon the poet's page, but through-'out the whole economy of man."

This is bold language to use in the small pages of a small periodical of the little island of Ceylon. The endeavour "to turn the world upside down," was, however, prudently qualified by the reservation of "as far as our very limited influence extends." Without a doubt the Missionary Literati who conducted the "Friend," fulfilled the promise of bringing forth for the admiration of their readers much that was Good and Beautiful: the pages of this humbly bold periodical teem with most admirable gems of truth, set forth, it is true, in simple unadorned style, but still rich in their own excellence and value. The kindly dweller by the way-side sets under a shade at his gate-way, a vessel of clear spring water, from which the thirsty traveller may thankfully and freely partake. Little heeds the way-farer whether the cool refreshing liquid be in chattie, shell or vase—he slakes his thirst, and ere passing on his way blesses the hand which placed the draught at his disposal.

The little "Friend" was welcomed on its appearance by many a well-wisher to the native race, but its influence was necessarily limited to the range of the English language, at that time the only medium through which instruction was imparted to the Singhalese at any of the European seminaries. Heads of families subscribed to the periodical, and distributed it amongst their servants and others: the scholars at many of the Missionary schools took many numbers of it; and in one way or the other it got a circulation, though we believe never such as to make it a paying affair, in spite of the economical way in which it was got up.

In addition to the many interesting and useful extracts from Books and European Periodicals, the "Friend" contained a

variety of original articles relating to the Religion and Customs of the Singhalese, of no small merit. The articles on Buddhism and the native Religious Books claim especial attention ; the writers of them—the Rev. D. J. Gogerly and the Rev. R. S. Hardy—being well conversant with these matters.

Until the translation of the "Mahawanso" by a Civilian, little, if anything, had been done towards removing the darkness which had hitherto enshrouded the Buddhistical annals of Ceylon : the importance of those writings had long been felt, containing as they did the tenets of a faith which had for centuries ruled with unbounded sway over the greater part of the population of India, and which is to this day perhaps more extensively professed than any other oriental form of religion. Attention had long been directed to Pali literature by oriental scholars in the Western World : their insight however, into the annals of Buddhism, was rather derived from Burmah than from Ceylon, and it was left for the Hon'ble George Turnour to let in a flood of light upon the hitherto hidden records of Buddhism in this island.

In an early number of the "Friend," we find the following just tribute paid to the zeal and talents of the translator of the Mahawanso—in reality an abbreviation of *Mahantanan Wanso*, or the Genealogy of the Great :—

"The Mahawanso is translated by the Hon. George Turnour, 'the agent of the interior province of Ceylon, whose activity, 'probity, and intelligence, have gained him the profound res-'pect of the natives of the island, and more especially of the 'inhabitants of the Kandian districts, as it is to the zeal of 'this gentleman that the Government are indebted for the 'readiness with which the more important of their recent regu-'lations have been carried into execution, and we believe also, 'that it was from the suggestions of the same individual, that 'some of the most excellent of these regulations received their 'origin. The length of time, during which Mr. Turnour has 'devoted his attention to the study of the languages of Cey-'lon, the constant use of the one most kindred to Pali in his 'regular duties, his ready access to all the means of informa-'tion that the island affords, the official intercourse that he 'maintains with the heads of the priesthood, and the fact that 'he has applied to the most learned of the natives in all cases 'of difficulty that required explanation, are guarantees to the 'world that the translation has been executed with fidelity and 'correctness. Nor need it be feared, as might have been the 'case upon the continent of India, that the natives would

' willingly lead him astray, there being no reluctance upon ' their part to reveal the mysteries of their literature, or to ' expose their doctrines to general examination."

The work must now be so generally known to all readers of oriental literature, that it can hardly be necessary to state more than that of the 100 Chapters, containing 9,175 verses, Mr. Turnour published but 38 Chapters in 3,284 verses. We believe that a great portion, if not the whole, of the remainder was in a state of great forwardness at his death, and that steps have been taken to ensure the completion of this interesting and valuable work.

Setting aside the priestly vagaries contained in the Mahawanso, it cannot but be looked upon as an useful chronicle of the past history of Ceylon, from B. C. 453 to A. D. 1758, and though its pages must not be consulted as authorities upon the doctrines of Buddha, yet for all matters having reference to the life and works of the founder of the religion whilst in the island, for chronological facts connected with the successive rulers of the country, for an account of all that is of value or interest throughout the land, the work we are alluding to stands without a rival, and offers a strong contrast to the very incorrect translations of some Pali works, which had previously made their appearance at home.

" There is an under current of truth running through this ' ocean of absurdity, which is far from being destitute of inter- ' est, but no one can tell where certainty ends and where fable ' commences. The historical books of the Scriptures, from ' the chastened tone in which they speak of the incidents of ' even still more ancient times, appear to us, on contrasting ' the two records, in all the beauty and simplicity of irrefragable ' truth, and with a power that we cannot resist, they demand ' our homage to their dignity as the record of a divine inspi- ' ration. The pains that have recently been bestowed upon ' the subject of chronology as developed in the legends of ' the different nations of the earth, tend to confirm the historical ' details of the land of God, and we are warranted in believing ' that when the main facts of the whole shall be collected to- ' gether, there will be presented to the Church, another source ' of argument in favor of the integrity of the sacred histo- ' rians, and of the divine mission of the Hebrew prophets."

The labors of Turnour and Prinsep have done not a little towards effecting this, and we are justified in saying that when the entire translation of the *Mahawanso* shall be before the world, it will form a most valuable addition to the historical records of Eastern kingdoms.

To those who take an interest in Buddhism as a part of the world's history, it may not be altogether profitless to present them with the greater part of the first of a series of letters which Mr. Turnour addressed to the Editor of a periodical, the *Ceylon Magazine*, which, will be hereafter noticed by us, as containing some most cogent remarks and inferences as to the origin of this faith:—

"It is to that accomplished scholar Sir William Jones that the honor is due of having laid the foundation of oriental research *locally* among our countrymen in India. But his own labors, as well as those of many eminent orientalists who succeeded him, all tended, in the most disheartening manner, to prove, that in a country, which even at a remote period of antiquity had attained an advanced state of refinement in literature as well as in the arts and sciences, and which still professed to possess historical records extending back to the earliest ages, every essential evidence of authenticity, as well as all coherence based on chronology, had been obliterated; and that in their place an inexplicably mystified compilation, purporting to be historical annals of great antiquity, had been substituted.

European inquirers, in this perplexity, naturally turned to those pages of the western authors which comprise the narration of the events of the fourth century before the Christian era, for the purpose of discovering whether any coincidence existed between the names and the events of the reign of the particular monarch who swayed the Indain sceptre at the time of Alexander's invasion of India, and to whose court held at Palibothra, Megasthenes, Ambassador of Seleucus was deputed, and any Indian sovereign mentioned in Hindu authorities. Such a coincidence, both in name and in personal characteristics, was not wanting. The name of the Sandrocottus of the Greek and of the Chandragupta of the Sanskrit authors presented no other nor greater difference than the peculiarities which those two languages would ordinarily produce. In personal history the identity was indisputable, both having, under similar circumstances, usurped the Indian empire. Beyond this identity, however, this interesting discovery, made by Sir William Jones, furnished no useful result. It ought, if the Indian chronology had not been deranged, to have afforded a connecting link between the two chains of Asiatic and European chronologies. But no such parallel could be established as according to the Indian chronology, Chandragupta flourished nearly twelve hundred years before Alexander! I need hardly add that such vitiated records possessed no value, as containing historical data, in the estimation of European investigators.

Orientalists next sought, but sought equally in vain, to decypher the extensive and numerous inscriptions which were still preserved, with singular distinctness, and nearly all in the same character, engraven on monuments of antiquity scattered over various and widely separated parts of India. Not only had all attempts to decypher those inscriptions been baffled, but no information could be obtained even as to the age in which that alphabet had been known to surrounding nations. From a Mahomedan writer it was ascertained that in the reign of Feroz Shaw, in the fourteenth century, there "were literal characters which the most learned in all religions had been unable to explain." It was clearly proved, therefore, that the knowledge of this alphabet had been lost long anterior to that age.

The discovery of motives—whether produced by religious or political causes—of sufficient importance to occasion the systematic mystification of the historical annals of such a civilized country as India has manifestly

been, would be the solution of an important philosophical question ; and, though less important, the rational explanation of the circumstances by which the knowledge of any particular alphabet could be lost by a people, who have always boasted of their pundits or learned men, who, from generation to generation had lived among these monuments, and who had preserved uninterruptedly a knowledge of the various dialects of the language (though the form of the letters underwent a succession of changes) in which these inscriptions are composed, would not be much less interesting.

From a remote antiquity, involved in the obscurity alluded to in the preceding remarks, Asia has been distracted by a struggle for religious supremacy between the brahmans on the one hand, and the buddhists on the other. While the brahmans were in the possession of that supremacy in the sixth century before the birth of Christ, a prince of the name (in Pali) of Siddhatto, the son of a subordinate reigning sovereign, Suddhodano, of that portion of India which borders on the Ganges, then called Magadha, assumed the character of the last Buddha—whose religion it is which now prevails in Ceylon.—He promulgated his doctrines in that dialect of the Sanskrit language which was peculiar to his own country—hence called the Magadha, and also, from the high state of refinement it had attained in that age, the Pali language.

From that period buddhism gradually gained ground, until the close of the fourth century before Christ, when Asoko, the emperor of all India, called also Piyadassi, the grandson of Alexander's cotemporary Sandrocottus, became a convert to that faith. He immediately deputed, in the fervor of recent apostacy, missionaries to all parts of Asia, to propagate his new creed ; and in the same capacity of a buddhist ordained missionary he sent to Ceylon, Mahindo, one of his own sons, who arrived here in the year before Christ 307. Asoko erected also in various parts of India, religious edifices and monuments ; on many of which he inscribed the doctrine of his new faith, and recorded the acts of his piety and religious munificence.

The succeeding emperor of India, however, reverted to brahmanism, and gradually the brahmanical faith resumed its supremacy in continental India—leaving buddhism predominant, as the religion of the state, in Ceylon, and in the regions to the northward of the Himalayan chain, and to the eastward of the Burhamputra river. The religious animosity of the brahmans made them spare no pains in continental India in vilifying all that appertained to buddhism, as well as in disparaging, as a provincial jargon, the Pali language in which its doctrines were written. Their own sacred and classical language was the Sanskrit, and in that language they have preserved their records, involved, however as regards history, in the inextricable mystification referred to above.

The independence of Ceylon from Indian rule rescued its authentic Buddhistical literature which had been brought from India, from Brahmanical destruction, and the native historians of Ceylon, uninfluenced by any motives, religious or political, for confusing the evidences of history subsequent to the advent of the last Buddha, continued to record with chronological veracity the narrative of their own historical events to modern times. The existence, however, of these valuable works, in so authentic and connected a form in Ceylon was not generally known till recently,—as the claims preferred by the Buddhist priests in behalf of their native records were rejected by Europeans, with a disdain which would have been unpardonable, but for the published results of the investigations, made by competent parties, of similar pretensions in India.

To obtain, however, the recognition among Europeans of the authenticity of their histories, nothing more was asked by Buddhists than an impartial

examination of their contents. Often had I been drawn into discussions, on this deeply interesting subject, with the well-informed among the priesthood in this island, when I was only acquiring their vernacular language to serve as a medium of communication. In those discussions I have noticed—how impenetrable was the darkness in which Indian events, and the identity of Indian monuments of antiquity were enveloped—how completely all collateral record of the incidents connected with the invasion of Alexander had been obliterated;—how entirely the literature, which had been manifestly extant when Megasthenes was deputed to the court of Sandrocottus, had been annihilated or perverted ;—and with what discouraging disappointment all attempts to identify the age in which, and the rulers by whom the great works of antiquity scattered over India had been achieved, were baffled. The simple answer has always been :—Learn to read our Pali works: you may not find all that your European associations may suggest; but in those works you *will find* the history of India from the advent of Buddha to the establishment of his religion in Ceylon; comprehending a term of three hundred years, embracing in it the very period of Alexander's invasion which you seek ; containing, moreover, the history of the conversion of the emperor of all India to buddhism, as well as the stupendous results that ensued therefrom ; and, above all, comprising a connected and authentic history of Ceylon from the establishment of buddhism in this island to modern times.

In these assurances there was something almost dazzling in the flood of light that was promised to be let in upon the unbroken gloom of the previous darkness ; and yet these promises—making due allowances for the pretended prophecies and miracles of Buddha, and of his pretended inspired disciples, as well as some trivial chronological discrepancies—*have been realized.* It has been my humble endeavour to give to these records all the publicity in my power ; and the medium through which I sought to afford that publicity was the *Asiatic Journal* of Bengal, of which Mr. James Prinsep was the editor. The data contained in those contributions furnished, at the same time, to my late friend, collateral matter for his own more general researches ;—in the midst of which, by a most extraordinary coincidence, he decyphered the long lost alphabet of the ancient inscriptions of India. By that discovery, those inscriptions, which have survived the effects of the elements and of political convulsions for upwards of two thousand years, were made to bear direct and unimpeachable testimony to the authenticity of the Ceylon Pali literature. They proved to be the monuments and the edicts, composed in the Pali language, of the *identical* emperor of all India, renowned in buddhistical annals, who had become the convert to, and had spread buddhism over, almost the whole of Asia!* In those inscriptions were, moreover, found the names of Antigonus, Antiochus, Ptolemy and Maga, proving thereby that in his zeal to extend the mild and benevolent tenets of his newly adopted creed, he had sought the co-operation of the rulers of Bactriana and of Egypt.*"

The Pali is the sacred or classical language in which was locked up all the treasures of Buddhistical learning, and to this none but the priesthood ever had access. The sacred books, or at any rate the most popular amongst them, were subse-

* Since this letter has been sent to the press, I have received by the *Emma*, a note from the Cape, from Mr. Wathen, recently chief secretary at Bombay, who says " previous to my leaving Bombay I had almost succeeded in decyphering the Salsette inscriptions, which proved to have been executed under the auspices of the same king as those of Mr. Prinsep."

quently translated into the Elu tongue or sacred dialect of the Singhalese, and in this are the holy writings still recited by the priesthood : few of whom are at all conversant with it.

The Panseya-Panas-jataka or Book of 500 Births would appear to be a work most commonly in request amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon. "Buddha himself however, committed nothing to writing :" all his doctrines, all his moral lessons were taught and handed down orally, and it would seem that nothing of his creed was placed on paper for fully four centuries after his death. It is of course easy to imagine, that doctrines which had to pass unwritten for so long a period, should have become greatly corrupted from their original tenor, and we ought not therefore to be surprised at finding many absurdities and inconsistencies amongst the writings ; divested of these, the precepts laid down for the regulation of man's conduct appear to approach far towards perfection, as a moral code of laws. The exercise of all the wordly virtues is taught and recommended in a series of fables not very dissimilar from those we have been accustomed to read in Europe : some of these are most excellent in their morals, although dressed up with a superfluity of language and much repetition, as is indeed the case with all eastern writings. But as a religion, how miserably defective in all that should elevate the character of man by aspirations after a better state of existence. The only hereafter which the Buddhist is taught to desire is one of non-existence. *Not to be* is the great aim of the followers of Buddha, who look for the perfection of bliss in the freedom from all pain, sorrow, joy, or happiness. Directly illustrative of the preceding remarks are the following maxims of Buddha :

"Conquer anger by mildness ; evil by good ; covetousness by liberality and falsehood by truth."

"Speak the truth : be not angry. Of even a little give something to Mendicants. By these three means you will approach the gods."

"The holy sage who inflicts no injury on others, but retains his body in subjection wherever he goes, will experience no sorrow and *will become free from existence.*"

It is fair matter for speculation, whether this happiness of freedom from existence so assiduously inculcated in the minds of the Singhalese, may not greatly account for the extreme apathy of the native mind on nearly all subjects. It is this blank indifference which is the great obstacle to Missionary labour in Ceylon, more indomitable far than the grosser superstition and deeper prejudices of other countries. We remember the late indefatigable Missionary, Daniel, relating an anecdote

most expressive of this trait of character. At some village congregation where he had been accustomed to preach regularly in the native tongue, he remarked with some satisfaction one villager of more than ordinary respectability, who was most constant in his attendance, and who appeared to be most attentive to his discourse. At length he one day accosted the man, anxious to ascertain how much of his discourses he had retained: his mortification may be imagined when the Singhalese confessed that he had never heard a word of what he had said, for that he merely attended because others did, and he thought he might as well be there as anywhere else!

In the pages of the "Friend" we find very interesting accounts of the principal festivals and ceremonies observed by the Singhalese. Foremost amongst these is confessedly the *Parahara*, which signifies a procession, and which is observed annually at Kandy in the month of August. From what can be collected from native sources, at all times dark and confused, it would seem that this festival had its origin at about the second century of the Christian era, and has reference to some supposed miraculous victory of one of their kings over a neighbouring monarch of the Indian coast.

For many centuries this festival appears to have been observed solely in honor of the four Hindu deities, Natha, Vishnu, Katragam and Pattini. But in 1775 some Siamese priests who had visited Ceylon for a religious purpose, observed the preparations making for this festival, and were much offended at the deference shown to Hinduism. The king however, appeased them by assuring them that it was entirely for the glory of Buddha, and as a proof of this assertion he gave directions that the sacred relic of the tooth should occupy a prominent part in the procession. Taking the account of this festival as given by Knox, as a faithful one, we must admit how much the affair has fallen in importance; in fact it is now a most trumpery spectacle, and in all probability will continue to be of less importance yearly.

As we have before said, the "Friend" contained many most interesting papers on the Buddhistical faith, especially in reference to its connection with Brahmanism: others equally instructive upon the progress made in the conversion and civilization of the Vedahs and Rhodias—the wild people and the outcasts of Ceylon.

After an existence of ten years, this periodical fell to the ground, chiefly we believe from the departure of one or two on whom had fallen the labour of conducting it.

The "*Lanka Nidhana,*" *or Lamp of Ceylon,* which was a

Singhalese publication of a similar character to the preceding, and got up by the same persons, claims but a passing notice. It was made up chiefly of extracts and these nearly all of a religious nature. It was circulated chiefly by Europeans gratuitously to the villages in the neighbourhood of towns, but it is very questionable if it reached far from the white-man's dwelling. It had an existence of two years—about the average one for Ceylon periodicals, and if we mistake not was a losing affair from the commencement, in spite of the paper being furnished free of charge by the Religious Tract Society and the printing being done at prime cost.

Of the *Protestant Vindicator* we have not more to remark than concerning the preceding, though this was of an entirely different character, printed in English and of greater bulk. As its title shews, it was started as the Champion of the Protestant doctrines for the express purpose of opposing the propagandist efforts of the local Roman Catholic Press. As a literary periodical it has smallc laims on our notice, and as we have no desire to enter upon any other of its qualities, opposed as we are to all discussion of merely sectarian opinions in our pages, we may as well dismiss it and pass on to the next in our list, one of a directly literary character.

The "*Colombo Magazine*" was of an opposite character to all those which had preceded, its aim having been entirely literary amusement and that of the very lightest kind. It was originated by a gentleman in the Ordnance Department of Colombo, who himself contributed to its pages. The contents were certainly varied enough, consisting of Tales, Essays, Poetry, Ancedotes, &c. &c. and had *variety* been the only requisite to ensure succees, doubtless the periodical might have enjoyed fully an average Ceylon existence. But unfortunately for both proprietor and readers quality was wanting in its contents, and little disposed as the community of Ceylon was to be hypercritical—readily as it would have partaken of any mediocre literary dish placed before it—it could not digest such insipid food as was contained in the pages of the short-lived Magazine we are alluding to. We do not believe that any of the few literary characters who were then to be found in Ceylon, were enlisted in its service: for three months it dragged its slow and uninteresting length along and then was seen no more,—the only wonder being how it contrived to survive the shock of the first number. The attempt however did good. The subscription list to this unfortunate production gave proof of a desire on the part of the public for something in the shape of local periodic literature. That public

too was becoming more numerous: with the continued influx of capital into the colony there was a corresponding influx of Europeans, either agricultural or commercial, and a knowledge of this induced some others to follow the example set by the originators of the *Colombo Magazine*. These however went to work more cautiously: before making any attempt at publishing, an active canvass was set on foot for support from such gentlemen as were known to have a literary taste, and who would assist the undertaking with their pens.

In this way the "*Ceylon Magazine*" made a fair start and continued to furnish successive numbers equal at least to the first. Amongst its contributors were the Hon'ble George Turnour, Esq., the translator of the Mohawanso: the Rev. Dr. Macvicar, also of literary distinction; Simon Casie Chitty, Esq. and the Senior Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. B. Baily.

In the Preface the Editor thus sets forth the views and aims of the work:—

"A Prospectus is not properly the organ of comment or complaint; nor is it wished to speak in harsh terms of the strong party feeling in this colony, and of the spirit manifested by the local journals towards each other. In the peaceful temper of Him who "came not to destroy but to save," the efforts of this humble work will be, by taking a more kindly view of human nature, and endeavouring to give a higher tone to our Colonial Literature, to promote gradually a charitable feeling among all classes and a more healthy state of society. There is no party motive to stimulate, no notoriety to be sought. But to go on its way, the humble but zealous pioneer of Christian Knowledge and Christian Works, is a chief object of this publication. And if by its instrumentality one individual be induced to forego the animosities and heart-burnings in which he may have indulged, and take a more worthy stand in society, with loftier views in his mind and gentler feelings in his heart,—then not in vain will the *Ceylon Magazine* have gone forth.

In a word, the Projectors of this periodical would provide a salutary and harmless entertainment for the public of Ceylon. They have no desire of gain, but, on the contrary make personal sacrifice of time, labor, and money to the furtherance of this good end. They wish well to all men. They have no party or other feelings of malice or uncharitableness to gratify towards any of their fellow-beings and brother-christians. If by turning the thoughts into the channel of the pure and undefiled waters of English Literature they can divert the asperity of any of their readers from an offending brother; if by sound principles of Religion and Morals, they may, by the grace of God, make one light and thoughtless mind grave and thoughtful; if they can soften the manners, and humanize the heart by the reflection of the minds of men in the mirror of good and entertaining books, they will be more than satisfied."

An appeal couched in such language one might have imagined would bespeak from all a kindly feeling in favor of the attempt to "provide a salutary and harmless entertainment for the public of Ceylon." It was not so however with one section of

the local press. The allusion to the strong party feelings and the heart-burnings notoriously exhibited in the local journals of the day, was too truthful not to be felt; and as a consequence the appearance of the first number of the Magazine was the signal for an onslaught in the columns of one of the papers, the bitterness and vulgarity of which were powerful witnesses both to the depreciated tone of the island Press and to the want of some means of "giving a higher tone to our Colonial Literature." Whatever the intention of the critics may have been, the effect of their bitter personalities was to rally around the Magazine all those who wished well to the cause of Literature, and the periodical accordingly continued to thrive until its second year, when it fell to decay. Before alluding to the contents of this work we will, whilst speaking of its end, present the Publisher's "Epilogue" as best setting forth the causes of its too early dissolution:

"We have to inform our readers that this present number will be the last of the *Ceylon Magazine*. It is not without regret that we have come to the determination of thus discontinuing a Periodical which has reaped so large a portion of public favor, but various circumstances leave us no alternative. Of our original contributors how many are there remaining? And of our subscribers not a few have left us, some because such an one does not write in the *Magazine*, others because such an one *does* write in it. Some because they cannot afford it, some high in society, because *they can read it at the Library*, and others because Mr.——, once our staunch supporter, has persuaded them to desert us, out of the purest friendship of course. Our subscription list has therefore dwindled down to a low figure, which of course reduces the profit, and although there is still some profit attached to the *Magazine*, it is not sufficient to compensate us for the inconvenience it causes us in our News-paper department. Whatever liberal ideas the Projectors had in establishing the *Ceylon Magazine* without any view of gain, we must confess that we have not patriotism enough to induce us to publish at a loss. If the public desert us we certainly cannot afford to run after it, we "have no stomach for such fight," and however much we may regret the disappointment to those zealous supporters of the Literature of Ceylon, who are chuckling at the prospect of being able to read the *Magazine* at the Library free of cost, still we cannot act otherwise. In the inpressive language of Sampson Brass "there is the small, still, voice a singing of comic songs inside us," and it cautions us to retreat while there is yet time to do so without disgrace. We think an impartial judge will say that this last number is not much worse than the first. And it is gratifying to know that not ono subscriber has left us on the plea of any falling off in our pages. To those who have made the *Magazine* what it is, particularly to the one or two who have laboured with us from the very commencement, we tender our best, our most sincere thanks."

It is the old story of petty factions and colonial little mindedness, which but too often meet us in this part of the world. Amongst the most interesting of the papers in this Magazine was a series of letters on "the Origin of Buddhism," contributed by the translator of the Mahawanso, who introduced

them by some interesting remarks on the history of this faith from which we have freely borrowed in a previous page.

Simon Casie Chittie, the author of the Gazetteer of Ceylon contributed several articles of merit, on the literature, manners and customs of the Ceylon Tamils; but these scarcely admit of extract or condensation.

Perhaps the most prominent contributor was the Rev. B. Baily, Senior Colonial Chaplain, rendered the more conspicuous by a series of severe and ill-natured castigations of his articles in one of the local prints. His prose contribution entitled "the Reader" a series of Essays on Milton's Paradise Regained—were well worth perusal and opened up some of the best portions of the beautiful Poem in a pleasant and instructive manner. He thus speaks of Milton's Poetical powers as compared with those of other names, mighty in song:

"Homer and Virgil, his great precursors, were masters of the various 'melody of versification, as of other and mightier powers. But the full-'ness and almost infinite variety of the Greek language, and the strength 'and melody of the Latin, rendered the achievement of perfection in me-'lody and variety of verse comparatively easy in those beautiful languages. 'Milton conquered the difficulties of a modern irregular language; and his 'verse itself is scarcely inferior even to those mighty masters, with all the 'superiority of their several languages. In the picturesque, among mo-'dern poets, Dante is perhaps pre-eminent. Our Chaucer is also a master 'in this species of painting, notwithstanding the antique structure of his 'dialect. Spenser is full of it. Milton has furnished very perfect speci-'mens of both these excellencies of the art in all his poems. Paradise 'Regained is not deficient in them. I will conclude with one specimen of 'melody from the first book, and shall reserve my extracts from the other 'books to a future essay. The difficulty of attaining to truth, and its 'sweetness when attained, were perhaps never more beautifully expressed 'than in the following exquisite lines:"

> "Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
> Smooth on the tongue discoursed, pleasing to the ear,
> And tunable as sylvan pipe or song."
>
> B. 1.—478—480.

"The first line labours like Sisyphus rolling his stone up the hill. In 'the concluding verses the flowers laugh in the valleys, and the birds sing, 'as in the groves of Arcadia."

He was however, scarcely so fortunate in his "Poetical Sketches of the Island of Ceylon," not that he did not possess the power of successfully invoking the muse of poetry, as witness this "Sonnet to Milton:"—written we are told at the end of Paradise Regained.

> "Thus ended the blind Bard his second song;
> A song with sacred eloquence replete,—
> With wisdom overflowing,—and as sweet
> As the last voice of evening borne along
> By the cool breeze;—sublime in thought, and strong

As when man held his unattempted seat
In Paradise,—or when the indiscreet
Yet lovely Eve was tempted by the tongue
Of the false fiend to taste the fatal fruit.
The Bird hath hung up his melodious lute,—
As on the weeping trees of Babylon ;
Death impotently hovered o'er his head.
But ere the spirit from her mansion fled,
Bright immortality around him shone."

But no, we have said the Poetical Sketches were not successful either as *poetry* or as descriptive pieces : they were deficient in harmony, coloring, and spirit.

The *Overland Route* was a most interesting series of articles from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Macvicar, who had not long previously arrived in the colony by that route. Passing by the oft-repeated descriptions of the road, the fare, the weather and other matters to be met with elsewhere, the reverend voyager gives his own impressions of *men* and *things*, this too, in a way at once original and instructive. What for instance could be more interesting and truthful than his remarks upon the too great opposite capitals—London and Paris :

LONDON.

When leaving for India by whatever route almost every one comes to London. And ere we leave that city now, let us just ask where we shall see its like again ! Linnæus, the celebrated Swedish naturalist, making use of a botanical figure said beautifully of England that he looked upon it as the kernel of the whole world. And with respect to London its capital, an English gentleman made an exceedingly good remark to a Frenchman, when he was boasting (not without truth) that Paris was the city of cities, and not the capital of France only but of all the continent. " Granted," said the Englishman, " but London is the capital of the whole world." This is very near the truth. Positively there is nothing like London to be seen any where. The noble Thames with its docks, wharfs and countless shipping—the endless variety of streets, with their immense masses of architecture on all hands—but above all, the energy of the English character, which fills with a tide of life every street and lane, and drives every chariot, coach, omnibus, waggon, cart, man, woman, child, all in double quick time and all without confusion any where (though not without much rattling, and not a little running at the crossings sometimes through too much mud,) the silent solid grandeur of the West-end, with its many handsome equipages, and princely mansions and their noble occupants,—the wealth and commerce of the city, with its most acute but thoughtful and even anxious-looking merchants and bankers—make London stand out from among cities as the greatest by far. But let me not attempt to describe what must be seen.

London is however an awkward place for one just from the country. The rural mind can scarcely withstand the encounter of the London citizen. The latter has too much quickness to be able to wait for the other. He is also too wicked not to enjoy an occasional laugh at his expense. " Go home and tell your mother to buy you a penn'orth of wide-awake," said a little London rogue to a simple boy of his own age from the country, when the urchin was just beginning to look round him, after having been twirled off the pavement, not without a push which was as good as a blow, though

it would not tell equally in the Police office against the aggressor. Now the little rascal's remark is well worth remembering. One really needs penn'orths of wide-awake in London. Not that London is a dishonest place when compared with others. On the contrary the honour of a London merchant is eminently that of a gentleman; and the shopmen generally, lay down before the purchaser such prime good articles, and in a manner so independent, and yet so civil, that if there is a satisfaction in spending money any where it is in London. One may easily have his pocket picked however in the streets; and this needs to be remembered. There are also plenty of beggars on the pavement, particularly at night, who will not return you a sovereign if you happen by mistake to give a pound instead of a shilling. In fact London is a very bad place. And yet I think it is upon the whole a better place than any other large city in Europe or America. If there is as much that is as bad and some things that may be worse, there is also a great deal more that is good.

Paris.

But as London is at home let us leave it at present. And let us suppose that we have started on our route to India and have already reached Paris. Of all the cities of the continent, Paris is by far the best worth seeing. It is also possible to be seen by a stranger, which is more than can be said for either London or Edinburgh. In Edinburgh the family principle is so strong that little is visible to the stranger but the outsides of the houses and of their inhabitants. All display of character is reserved for the private party or family circle. And in London, though places of public resort are more frequented than in Edinburgh, yet it is the way with the better sort of people to appear in public, only when masqued—not masqued, after the manner of our continental neighbours indeed, during the carnival, who for this purpose wear pasteboard faces over their own,—but still masqued—the features being kept altogether immoveable even during the most humorous or the most touching scenes. This nonchalance in public is a very remarkable feature in the English character. It is very open to censure; but it argues great self-command, and gives an aspect of superiority, calculated to command great respect. But what we have here to remark respecting it, is, that it excludes the stranger, unless he have access to the family circle, from learning any thing at all of the lights and shades of the English character. It is quite otherwise in France, and especially in Paris. Instead of being almost exclusively under the influence of the family principle as the Scotch and English are, the Parisians love places of public resort, and are in fact never content at home. The city and the drama are in France what the family and the fire-side are, in England. And when in the morning a Parisian is anticipating the pleasures of the coming day, his thoughts much more readily take the turn of the restaurateur's, the Café, the Boulevards, the spectacles, than of his home or his wife and children. But while this is too obvious to be concealed it is also certain that in Paris as well as in other parts of France there are not unfrequently to be seen, the most beautiful displays of family affection and most liberally constituted families. It is no unusual thing to see there, two or three families consisting of all those relations which are most apt to give birth to jealousies amongst us, living most happily and harmoniously together These however, are exceptions to the general rule; and it is true that the family principle is far too feeble in France. For the traveller however, it is well that it is so. For in consequence of this, there is scarcely any place or scene from which he finds himself excluded. Nay in many cases he does not even require to enter in order to see what is going on within. All the facility which plate glass

can afford is often granted to permit him to see as he passes along the streets full many a scene, to which his observations could not extend in England without a particular introduction. In consequence of this state of things a stranger in Paris soon ceases to feel himself a stranger. And really, what with the Boulevards and the Galleries, Restaurateurs, Cafés, Soireés, Concerts, Spectacles, Courses of language, Literature, Science and Philosophy, and Reunions of all kinds, Paris of all places in the world is the most animating and the most instructive—or the most destructive—according to the manner of life which the traveller choses for himself while there. One may observe there a complete developement of humanity in its every sphere of action, thought and feeling, not the sensual only, nor the sensual and the intellectual together, but the moral and the religious also are found in fine developement in the French metropolis. Those who are Christians; in Paris are most decided Christians. And the churches there possess several preachers of first-rate piety and eloquence. As to these things also the state of the city and I believe of the whole nation is improving from year to year. It is indeed true that the French have not yet recovered, nor will they soon recover from the shock which every good principle sustained during the last century, and which took its outgoings in the great revolution. But yet it is as obvious as it is pleasing, that during the present century a change most favourable to morality and religion has been steadily going on. Philosophy has also been assuming a nobler form. That low system which prevailed about the beginning of this century, and which is by the French themselves well named *sensualisme*, has now in a great measure given way to a far higher philosophy, which respects revelation as well as reason, and reason as well as sensation, and which views man as consisting of a soul as well as of a body, and as destined for eternity as well as for time. The old materialism does indeed still linger in the writings of a few medical men, who naturally tend to fall into this system in consequence of the body being the exclusive object of their regard. And in the physical section of the institute there are still a few daring unbelievers. But the French people as a whole have reaped much fruit from the errors and crimes of their fathers; and France at the present day is a fine illustration of the mighty and cheering principle, that it is the express work of Providence to bring good out of evil.

It must be confessed however that the French, at least when compared with their neighbours around them, are of a temperament peculiarly unfavourable to religious impressions. The natural temper and spirit of a Frenchman is the very reverse of the devotional. Gaiety is his element. He scarce can find a medium between vivacity and the desire of death. The French are however a peculiarly acute people, and the reflective part of them have often such love and even power of analysis that, now they have taken that turn, they appear to me to promise to be soon as eminent in mental philosophy as they have already proved themselves to be in physics. For if they do not possess the same *depth* of thought that is to be found in Germany, they are greater masters in *precision* of thought and the philosophical use of language.

These pleasing considerations however do not meet the eye of the traveller as he passes through, and the author gives them as the result of former observations made during a residence of nearly two years in France. In every great city the pious and the philosophical are but the few, and that the most retiring part. The many who meet the eye are every where of another stamp; and in Paris one would think on passing through, that the entire population was wholly given up to pleasure. And certainly the French have carried to an exquisite height the gratification of each individual sense. In Paris there are not only artists to minister to the enjoyments of the eye by

painting and sculpture, and to the ear by music; but the palate also has its "Artistes," and a thousand recherché dishes in the carte of the restaurateur show to what a pitch of refinement, eating, or to use their own language the science of gastronomy, is carried. It is very strange however that while all these luxuries are lavished on the other senses the nose does not meet with even ordinary respect. Of all places in the world Paris is the worst for bad smells. It is also remarkable that no such thing as comfort is known in France. The eye, the ear, the palate—each individual sense is pampered but still that regard to the well-being of the whole physical man, which when successful gives *comfort*, is not to be found in Paris; nor indeed until the other day when they borrowed the English word, did the language of the French possess a term by which this agreeable state of feeling could be expressed.

There is a truthfulness in the remarks quoted, which must be apparent even to those who without having visited Paris or London, have yet been incidental witnesses to the national characters. The same may be said of the continuation of these papers. The every-day topics of regular tourists are passed over in silence, whilst in their place we meet with original reflections upon points which seldom attract the notice of the passer by.

There were other light matters however in this Magazine, which if they did not possess any great intrinsic merit, yet gave a finish and completeness to the whole, just on the principle that variety is charming. In one of these by the Editor, entitled "Recollections of a Government Emissary," we find the following anecdote, which we quote in the belief that it will be new to most of our readers as it was to us:—

"In the same year a circumstance occurred which shewed in a curious
'way the depreciated state of the currency of France, as well as the poverty
'of the French Government. Mons. DeP——, the Gallic minister in
'London, waited on the Home Secretary and requested his aid in a certain
'case of coining, which he said was being carried on to a great extent. A
'contractor of several public buildings in Paris was then paying his work-
'men with half-franc and franc pieces made at Bermingham of brass, and
'washed with silver, and he wanted the British Government to interfere
'and prevent the exportation of them. Lord Sidmouth replied that he had
'no such power, but would nevertheless put a stop to the thing somehow if
'he could find out the makers and shippers. Not being able to learn that, I
'was sent for and requested to trace the parties. I confess I set about the
'task with some reluctance, for I had not forgotten the "coachman's
'son;" however in the end I went to work, and after a fortnight of spying
'and peeping, hit upon an old house in Bolton Street, Long Acre, which
'proved to be the receiving house for the base money previous to its being
'shipped. I there found twenty-seven barrels of brass pieces of francs and
'half francs; they were very well made and might have deceived a practised
'eye. When we came to enquire into the extent of this trade at Birmingham,
'the murder came out, and lo, we found that immense quantities of the same
'coins had been made and exported *to the order of the French Government!*
'They had been paying their troops, &c., with them for some time, and
'nothing was said, but when a speculative contractor got a hint of it and

' followed their example, the case was altered, and the currency was to be ' protected. The twenty-seven barrels were seized and destroyed, but the ' French minister received a hint that his Government had better make its ' own coin for the future."

The following story too, is not a bad one, and even should its authenticity be doubted, which we believe it should not be, still one cannot but confess that it reads well enough to pass current with many others :—" The Government Emissary" it seems was a member of the Surrey Militia during Napoleon's threatened invasion of England :

" Our head quarters were on Clapham Common, and it was pretty sharp ' work for some of us who had to fag at our desks from ten till four, and then ' ride out to evening drill, and back again to dinner, besides having to be ' on parade at day-break. There used to be considerable grumbling, parti- ' cularly during bad weather, for it was no joke then. After the first year ' however, we got together a mess and were altogether more comfortable. ' We had rare festivities at times, when our Colonel invited a few choice ' spirits to join us, for we were mostly young men. It would be tedious to ' recount the many frolics and adventures of those days; one anecdote, how- ' ever, I must relate, for I do not think it has ever been made public. Sir ' William Curtis was one night the guest of our Colonel, and the conversa- ' tion happening to turn, as it often did, upon drinking, the latter said that ' he was sure Sir William drank as much as any three of us, and that what ' he took that night would fill a two-gallon pail. The Knight merely laughed ' and said nothing, but the Colonel asked me to have a pail placed under the ' sideboard and to desire his servant to watch Sir William, and whenever he ' drank a glass of anything to throw a similar glassful into the pail. This was ' done, but before the evening was half spent we both observed that the ' man failed to put anything into the pail. The Colonel called him and ' asked why he neglected to do it. " Please, Sir," was the answer, " the pail ' has been running over these ten minutes past !"

It would be difficult to make intelligible extracts from another series of articles entitled " Life in the Jungle," commenced in this Magazine, continued in the Miscellany its successor, and afterwards reprinted in Ceylon and in England. It was begun, we have been told, by the Editor, merely with a view to keep the printers going, there being in one month a dearth of articles : without the least idea of continuing the papers, much less of their future popularity, the first one went forth simply as an editorial stop-gap.

One may certainly trace a careless and sometimes rather coarse want of finish, with sometimes a little inconsistency of language, throughout these " Letters," but that they embodied on the whole a faithful picture of Life in the Jungles of Ceylon, the success the papers met with in the island, is ample proof. The writer of them however, was not a Planter, nor even one who had resided at all in the Jungle : he was a mere dweller within the walls of Colombo.

Before concluding our notice of this periodical, we will extract one or two of the original contributions in verse, which

appeared in its pages, and which if our judgment be worth anything, would seem to be equal in merit to the bulk of Colonial and Tropical productions of this kind.

In these indigenous fruits of "the utmost Indian Isle," it would doubtless be difficult to trace anything nearly akin to talent, or even to a high sense of the poetical, and after reading them over, the most that one feels inclined to admit, is that they are pretty, and in places carefully constructed. Perhaps the best amongst them is the *Sonnette to Winter*, and after that "the Entry into Jerusalem," which is perhaps more descriptive than poetical.

SONNETTE TO WINTER.

Come Ancyent Winter—we wyl welcome thee,
Wyth Masque—and mime, and wyth the goodlye sounde,
Of laughynge myrth, and joyous revelrye ;
And gaylie passe the foamynge tankard rounde :
Come hoarie Sage—in sternest garbe arraye
The frozen members of thy shiverynge frame;
What care have we who at the close of daye
Assembelle gleesome rounde the Christemasse flame?
With jeste and song and spirit easynge Wine
Though darke and bitter skyes arounde us freeze
On us bryght eyes, in sunnye glances shine
And as we drayne the goblet to its lees
With fancyes bryghte, ye darksome hours beguile
And wake olde Winter joye, and Nature smile.

WILD FLOWERS.

I love, yes I love the wild flowers,
They've an infantine magic for me :
They tell of our youth's brightest hours,
They are types of the fair and the free.

Light as fairies they dance in the glade,
And laugh to the zephyr's lone sigh ;
As pleasures, they're seen but to fade,
As hopes, they but blossom to die.

Come twine me a garland of flowers,
With the fairest young daughters of May,
As they sleep in their shadowy bowers,
And smile all their sweetness away.

And place the wild Rose in the wreath,
With the Field-lilybending above,
The Jessamine shining beneath,
And Violet breathing its love.

Then there is the Cowslip's pale face,
And Primrose so mild, yet so gay :
O ! gather them too, they're a race
That are born, live, and die in a day.

I love, yes I love the wild flowers !
Who so happy, so lovely as these ?
The creatures of sun-beams and showers,
Whose food is the dew and the breeze.

TO A LADY ON THE BIRTH OF HER FIRST BORN.

It is a glad and joyous time when first the snowy brow
Is flushed as gentle lips respond, the deep impassioned vow,
When sparkling eyes are beaming forth, the glances soft and sweet
And guileless hearts and youthful lips, in thrilling union meet.

It is a glad and joyous time when ripen'd love is felt
And deep and burning whisperings in broken murmurs melt,
When all of life and all of hope on one great cast is thrown
And years of bright unshaded bliss, seem centred in a tone.

It is a glad and joyous time, when at the Altar side
The lover breathes the holy vows, and claims the blushing bride,
When fancy soars on lightsome wing and paints the future bright
As glowing Summer's meadows fair, instinct with life and light.

But purer joy than pen may trace, or words alone may speak
The mother feels when first her lip, is on her Infant's cheek,
When first she marks the playful smiles that dwell in dimples there
And offers up with throbbing heart, a mother's fervent prayer.

Oh ! sweet must be a mother's task, to watch each opening grace
The almost imperceptible, yet certain growth to trace:
When all is peace and innocence, and moments slightly roll
And gems bedeck the infant mind, the sunlight of the soul.

Let anguish rend the aching heart, let passion scorch the brain,
And long and lingering years drag out, their weary length of pain ;
Though love be frail and friendship false, and pleasure change to gall
A mother's deep undying love, still triumphs over all.

Be thine the blest and happy lot, thy gentle child to rear,
And see thy love still more repaid in each succeeding year,
And as thou gazest back upon life's bright and sunny plain
Ne'er feel the grating memory of one unbanished pain.

THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

The glad Hosannahs of the multitude
Wax faint and fainter, as their steps draw near
The city of their temple and their God,
Till all is hushed and deathlike, save the tramp
Of myriad feet that on and onward move
O'er the green fields, and through each shady lane.
The human sea rolls on it's living waves,
Toward the city's gates the haven of it's voyage.
Apart from all, upon a gentle hill,
Where lofty cedars rear their noble heads,
See where they stand, those men of lowly mien,
And humble garb, with Him amongst them, Him
Whose stirring words have made them what they are
Some watch the passing crowds that sweep along,
Some hold deep converse, others muse alone
Upon the past and present, one there is
Whose traitor-form is lurking near his Lord,
With serpent gaze fix'd feverishly on him.
And he, the man of sorrows, he is there,
His thoughts are on his people, and his heart

Is with their hearts though hardened, and his eyes
Are on their fated city at his feet.
There in the sullen pomp of fancied might,
The massy walls stretch frowning o'er the plain,
And on them may be seen in clust'ring groups,
Old young, and weak, with here and there the helms
Of curious soldiers, glittering in the sun.
Behind them rise the palaces and towers
Of Israel's city, chronicles of deeds
In days long pass'd away, when heaven itself
Led on the shepherd-army, and made kings
Stand barefoot at these gates.
And beyond them in gloomy gorgeousness,
O'ertopping and excelling all the works
Of meaner hands around it, to the clouds
Jerusalem's Temple rears its solemn head,
Like a grim spirit hovering round the grave
Of Judah's greatness. 'Tis the living tomb,
Of their departed glory. 'Tis a light,
A beacon to point out what once they were.
And o'er all this the setting sun doth shed
A parting ray of beauty, Israel's last.
And from all this the passing breeze brings on
The hum of many voices ; soon those tongues
Shall be alive with sorrow : soon each wall,
Proud in its false security, shall fall.
The sumptuous palaces, the lofty towers,
And that once holiest fane, shall soon be stretch'd
In one wide waste of ruin ; not a stone
Shall stand upon its fellow. It shall be
The haunt of thieves and beggars.—Is it not ?
All this he sees and seeing knows that they
Have wrought their destiny. Their own hard-hearts
Have madly spurned their last and only hope :
Met his sweet charity with taunts and jeers,
Reviled his meekness with the arch-fiend's lip,
Repaid with hate his all-enduring love,
And scoff'd at holiness they could not feel.
It sinks upon his heart, his human heart,
That melts with god-like tenderness. He sees
The hand-writing on th' etherial wall of heaven,
And reading it, the holy Jesus weeps.

The " Investigator" was begun in May 1841, by Mr. Harris a Baptist Missionary in Kandy, who, although he professed in his preface the most earnest desire to propagate Truth and only Truth, in the true spirit of Christianity, yet opened his first number in anything but a meek and Christian spirit. His introductory address contained a bitter sneer at some lines composed by the late Bishop Heber, whilst in the island: the part alluded to was the lines which pointed Ceylon as

The Isle,
Where every prospect pleases,
And only *man* is vile.

Written no doubt in allusion to the grovelling superstitious and idolatrous practices of the inhabitants. But Mr. Harris, " with

all due deference to the dignified authority," professed to doubt the accuracy of the sentiment, the only person perhaps who has ever done so, and appeared to believe the Kandians as good, moral, and social people as any other race of men.

It was very shortly apparent that the chief aim of the editor of this periodical was not to elevate the character and position of the nation, which as a Missionary he should have made his study, but rather to cavil at and call in question the proceedings of all those who were not exactly of his way of thinking. The ministers of the established Church were the especial objects of his critical attention, and it must be confessed that he followed up his game with remarkable spirit. From cavilling at the acts and words of the Clergy, he got to work upon deep political questions, and these seemed to be well fitted to his taste if we may judge from the gusto with which they were written. Essays on man, and articles on Political Economy and Jurisprudence, were however not quite the sort of things for even those Singhalese who could understand English, and for the bulk of the Europeans these topics were equally uninteresting. That small fraction of the British residents or of the European descendants who could have appreciated such a class of writings, was, on the other hand, too much disgusted with the factious spirit which pervaded every page of its contents to support the undertaking. As a consequence its fate was not long in being doomed—its career was short: it fulfilled not one single function of a Missionary periodical, but on the contrary, helped to create dissensions and heart-burnings—feelings the very reverse of those which it should be the aim of such a work to engender.

We are not quite positive as to the fact, but we believe that the continuation of the work was forbidden by the Home Society. Be this as it may, for we speak under correction, its publication ceased after a lapse of eight or nine months, much to the satisfaction of all lovers of peace and good order.

The *Ceylon Miscellany* appeared as a quarterly periodical, not that it partook of any of the usual characteristics of quotation, for its pages were as its title indicated as miscellaneous and light as any of its monthly predecessors. Its editor Mr. Rawdon Power, of the Ceylon Civil Service, no doubt felt that the task of collecting sufficient matter for his purpose would be far easier once in three months, than monthly, but it was evidently overlooked that for serial papers the time intervening between each quarterly number would seriously lessen the interest which might be felt in it. Be this as it may, the editor received good and substantial support, and the Miscellany gained no small share of public patronage during its rather brief career.

Perhaps the best series of papers in the "Miscellany" were

those contributed by Mr. Armour on "Kandian Law," though the subject would hardly render them generally interesting to or valued by the reading public at large. To the Lawyer and the Political Historian however, these papers are valuable and evince much research and practical acquaintance with the subject. The "Narrative of the British operations against the Kandians in 1814," when the central or Kandian districts were annexed to the Moralvia provinces as an integral part of the British possession, was not without its interest, although in reading it one cannot help being struck with the insignificance of the actual operations as compared to the force employed by the British government. This however arose from the utter inability of the Kandians to face our troops in any number: so soon as our soldiers were perceived by them amidst the jungles of the interior or winding up a hilly path however distant, they fled to a man. That much opposition, delay and bloodshed might have attended our operations in this jungle warfare there is little doubt; and however disproportionate the number of our troops to the plan of operations, may appear to us in these times as compared with the opposition encountered, there can be no doubt but that the Government were perfectly justified in being well prepared for entering an enemy's country so little known and so impregnable by nature as was the Kandian country in those days. It is quite true that the "Narrative" reads more like an account of a field day in Hyde Park with a few mountain gorges and jungle paths thrown in by way of variety, than of an actual campaign in the last: more like the show victories as shadowed forth at Astley's Amphitheatre, than the real conquest of a kingdom. But in this the fault, if any, lay with the Kandians who resolutely declined giving any further air of reality to the operations, by coming to blows with our troops. They had doubtless seen tragedy enough acted under the bloody rule of a long line of native tyrants, and having witnessed the blood of their families and friends shed around their monarch's throne for his gratification, they could hardly be expected to volunteer any further blood-letting in order to maintain him on his sanguinary seat. The fate of the Singhalese despot is well known, as are also the immediate results of the annexation of the central districts, —the whole country was opened up by good roads, and British capital flowed in as a natural consequence.

Equal in value and possessing far more of interest was the "*Memoir of Monsieur Burnand,*" on the state of the island of Ceylon, its inhabitants, revenue, and agriculture, drawn up for the information and use of Sir Alexander Johnston. It afforded a very useful clue to much of what must have been difficult of access or not clearly understood previously, and due allowances

being made in some places it may be read with much advantage. The papers on "*the state of the law in Ceylon*," contributed by the then acting Assistant Queen's Advocate, H. C. Selby, Esq., are at once succinct and able, furnishing a clear and comprehensive view of the anomalies of the law as existing in Ceylon. As regards the law of the central or Kandian province, the author draws the following conclusions :—

"1st.—That neither the laws of England nor of the Moralvia ' districts are binding or obligatory upon the inhabitants of the ' Kandian province."

"2d.—That the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom of ' Kandy are in force, and apply not only to the aborigines but to ' all persons therein domiciled."

"3rd.—That where these ancient laws and customs are silent, ' legislative enactments are necessary in many cases and expe- ' dient in all, in order to declare and settle the law."

The remaining papers in this periodical were of a very varied nature and quality, and scarcely call for any separate notice: several of them were reprints such as Sir Robert Horton's *Letters on Colonial Policy* and his exposé of Miss Martineau's Tale of "*Cinnamon* and *Pearls*," in a series of letters signed "*Oculus*." Others again were brief notices of new works and not a few were poetical pieces of about the ordinary run of such things—"unworthy of praise or blame."

The precise cause of the disappearance of the Miscellany never transpired that we are aware of, but it is easy to imagine that many difficulties trifling in themselves combined to bear down and crush the undertaking, such as the distance of the editor from the spot of publication—that common failing, the tardy payment of subscribers, the lack of fresh material, &c. :—certain it is that without giving any previous notification, the editor ceased his labors, and the publisher his quarterly issue, after a career of some eighteen months.

The last on our list is the "Morning Star," a small work of four pages in English and Tamul, issued from the American Mission Press at Jaffna. Unpretending as it may be in its appearance it is a really useful periodical and enjoys a rather exclusive circulation in the Northern districts of the island wherever Tamul or English is understood. Its character however partakes more of the Newspaper than the Magazine,—extracts from Indian and European papers being frequent in its pages. Of the plan of giving a great portion of the contents in two languages, we are not advocates, as it necessarily limits the actual matter contained in its pages, and all who read one of the languages cannot care to see the same ideas repeated in another garb. The Northern province in which it is circulated, differs

very materially from all the other parts of the island. The Tamul race of which its population is almost exclusively composed are a far more active and intelligent class of men than their Singhalese neighbours. This is quite apparent to any one who visits the two parts of the island. In the north with every disadvantage of soil and climate, the earth has been converted into one vast garden. Nature is there compelled by art to yield most abundantly of all green things. The most arid and poorest soils are by means of artificial tanks and water-course kept moist, and by manures made fruitful all the year round. No toil or care is spared and the laborer in consequence reaps an abundant harvest. Amongst a people thus industriously inclined, a work such as the "*Morning Star*" cannot but be acceptable and beneficial. We do not doubt that the late introduction of British capital into this province for cocoanut planting has helped to stimulate the energies of this active race: it is here that the most extensive, and flourishing cocoanut plantations are formed, and of these the finest belong to Calcutta proprietors.

The following from the last number of the "*Star*" for 1848, speaks for itself, and with this extract we close our notice of the Jaffna periodical, the sole survivor of the array which head this article:—

"The *Morning Star* will be published in 1849, as heretofore. The income of the paper will allow of no enlargement of its contents at present. Indeed, the expenditure on account of the paper the present year has considerably exceeded the income. It will therefore be continued in its four page state, but we shall do what we can to improve its contents.

We offer our sincere thanks for the degree of patronage afforded the paper, and hope to live to see it a good deal increased. It is satisfaction, remunerative of all our labors in this connection, to know that the *Morning Star* is becoming a household word and a household thing to a considerable extent among its native readers, and it will be our aim to make it more and more worthy of a place and of perusal in every family circle, that it may come to be invested in its intellectual, moral and religious associations with the power of a household charm."

Here, for the present, we bring to a close our brief notices of Ceylonese Periodic Literature. That the theme has not proved a worthier and more fertile one, is no fault of ours; as we make no pretensions to the inventive genius that could draw sunbeams out of cucumbers. That men of learning and literary taste, of mental vigour and broad comprehensive spirit, have been and now are among its contributors we fully concede. And our only regret is, that, through some over-ruling fatality, these should have been so often prevented from harmoniously combining their forces in a permanent union of stability and power.

ART. II.—1. *Thomson's Present State of Turkey.*
2. *Malte-Brun's Geography, vols. II. and VI.*
3. *Knolle's Turkish History.*
4. *Upham's History of the Ottoman Empire.*
5. *Foreign Review, Nos.* 1, 3, 5, *and* 6.
6. *Annual Register, vols. XIII—XX.*
7. *Das Kaiserthum Oestreich von Schmidle, Stuttgart,* 1842.
8. *The MSS. Notes of a Tour in the Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Servia, in* 1846, *(hitherto unpublished.)*

THE Turkish Empire being in the main an Asiatic one, while its Supreme Head is still Lord Paramount over Egypt, the modern high way to British India, we have always considered it as fairly included within the range of our more peculiar and distinctive sphere. On this account it has often been our design to draw the attention of our readers to its present very anomalous condition—a condition which has furnished an inexhaustible theme for the lucubrations and conjectures of the learned and the speculative, alike political and religious. Hitherto, however, many circumstances have interposed to prevent the execution of our general purpose. Meanwhile, the recent convulsions in Europe have served to throw a freshened interest around the whole subject of Turkish influence and dominion. In direct and immediate contact, on the side of its European territory, with the two mighty powers of Austria and Russia, it has not failed to experience in some measure the shock of the antagonist forces of crushing despotism and revolutionary anarchy. And as it is from the European side, that the first grand assault on the integrity of the Empire is likely to come, curiosity is naturally excited to know something of the state and condition of those provinces that are most contiguous to the upheaving elements of inroad and change. But where is information on the subject to be found? At the head of this article we have placed various works from which a great deal of knowledge respecting the empire generally may be obtained. But as regards the region now more immediately under consideration, our information is very limited and unsatisfactory.

The Turkish provinces of the Balcan comprise a chain of mountains some 300 miles in extent, peopled by several millions of the Sclavonian race. It is the centre of the Illyrian family, remnants of the Servian and Croatian kingdom, the earliest type of feudal liberty in Europe; and who form a connecting link

between the Eastern Sclaves or Russians and the Western or Polish Bohemians. Certain marked political circumstances of the day, give to the field in question a no small degree of interest. In allusion to this tract of country, Gibbon says, that although within sight of the centre of Europe, it is as little known as the barbarous islands of the Pacific. This being the case, it afforded us no small pleasure, when an intelligent friend placed at our disposal his notes of a recent tour into this obscure and almost unknown region. Connected extracts from these we shall now proceed to lay before our readers; in the assurance that in the present lurid aspect of the political world in Europe and Western Asia, the information will be duly prized—as at once intrinsically valuable and confessedly seasonable.

Of the *terra incognita* now referred to, the Montenegro is a portion, and it is the first of which we propose to treat.

It is an independent community, peopled by the purest stock of the Sclavonian family, and governed by a Sclavonian chief who claims a descent from the Servian kings—a citadel which may be said to command at one angle Dalmatia and Croatian Bosnia, at the other the entrance to upper Albania by the lake of Scutari, and which, while touching the Adriatic, stretches to within 80 miles of Servia.

Before entering upon political details it will be necessary to offer some further observations of a topographical character, but which may not be found without interest, referring as they do to an extensive mountain-range, almost a blank in the tourist literature of Europe.

In the spring of 1846, the writer of the hitherto unpublished notes placed at our disposal, ascended the mountains which rise from the Gulf of Cattaro in Dalmatia and entered the Sclavonian territory. On approaching the Montenegro in that direction its proper aspect is first seen at an elevation of about 2,000 feet where the Austrian frontier terminates. Leaving there a cheerful prospect of the shores of the Bocca, the route lies inland through an abrupt gorge which descends from the crest of the range. It is a scene of the dreariest character; hardly a vestige of vegetation greets the eye over the whole face of the mountains. After nearly three hours' ascent you reach a hollow space of from five to seven miles in width. It is called the Nagooze district. The scanty soil lies only at the bottom of deep cavities, or on terraces formed by ledges of the cliffs.

It is at this upper division of the Montenegro that a remnant of the Sclave race have preserved their independence intact since the fourteenth century, at the fall of the Servian kingdom; and from this dominant point, that successive incursions have been

made since the commencement of the eighteenth century, which have resulted in the formation of an independent territory uniting nearly the whole of the mountain Sclaves under a single chief.

From these heights the Montenegro extends in an easterly direction for about 120 geographical miles. The range rises from the northern end of the lake of Scutari, and the plains extending east of the lake, and gradually ascends to the north east. The point mentioned near Nagooze has an elevation of some 4,000 feet. Beneath these summits is a lower plateau, called the country of Cittinich, which has a medium elevation of about 2,000 feet, and from thence this western division descends by a series of platforms, through a broad and fertile gorge to the level of the lake of Albania. The length of this frontier along the Adriatic (N. W. to S. E.) is about 70 miles, and at the opposite parallel in the interior, from Bosnia to Albania, about 90 miles.

Cittinich, the residence of the Vladika or chief of the Montenegro, is situated several leagues inland, on a gradual descent from the summits of Nagooze. It is an alluvial level enclosed by circling and arid heights. A small fort, somewhat resembling a Martello tower, and garnished with a row of gory Moslem heads, protruding on poles from its embrazures, is a prominent object seen on the approach. Beneath this work, which is elevated about 200 feet on the heights, is a large and substantially built edifice. One part of the pile is reserved as a monastery, another is appropriated to twelve of the chief mountaineers, who have the title of Senators ; elsewhere is a magazine for warlike stores, and the remainder is arranged, barrack fashion, for the Vladika, his suite and personal guards. A crenalled wall, with flanking towers, protects the front, and at some 300 paces on the plain are a line of low stone houses, where parties are lodged who seek audience of the chief—such is the citadel or seat of Government of the Montenegro.

The Vladika combines with his temporal office the functions of Metropolitan Bishop or head of the Montenegran division of the Greek church. Many of the previous Vladikas were also Bishops consecrated by delegates of the Patriarch at Constantinople, but the present Vladika was the first who received consecration from Russia, with the title of Metropolitan Bishop. Russia, after the death of the Vladika Pietro, in 1830, openly assumed the religious control of the Montenegro, by calling the new chief to St. Petersburgh, and consecrating him before his synod. This occurred in 1833. He remained three years in Russia, and returned in 1837, with a stipend of 12,000 florins,

an equipment of plate and jewels, and charged with the introduction of a new system of administration for which annual funds were provided. The Senators, or Council, appointed also by Russia, likewise receive fixed salaries from the Russian government.

Under the new system of administration the Montenegro has been divided into seven districts. In each district a body of the ablest mountaineers, varying from 200 to 350, according to the extent of the district, are selected by the Vladika to form a corps, called the straja. Each company is under the command of a chief or sirdar. The sirdars are heads of lesser divisions into which the districts are subdivided. The straja present themselves at Cittinich in companies, by rotation, under their sirdars four times during the year, on which occasions they bring with them three months' proportion of a house tax, amounting to a dollar a year, levied from each house in their district. These sums are presented in cash, and are at once paid back to the straja by way of salary, with an additional fixed amount from the Russian *caisse;* in such manner that each man of the straja receives the quarterly quota of an allowance of from three to five $ annually (some districts being paid more than others) and the sirdars a share of from fifteen to twenty-five $ each in the year. The duty of the straja, after that of enforcing this tax, is to repress the turbulent spirit which has been ever evinced by the Montenegrans among themselves, for which purpose they move in bands upon different points of the range. A body of thirty men, superbly equipped in arms, and called the Perionyts, are attached to the person of the Vladika, and bear his orders during any movement of the straja. Such, as far as our tourist could ascertain, is the form of organization, or rather the garrison arrangements of this outwork of Russia toward Southern Europe.

As a corps the straja are not employed in the plundering expeditions constantly occurring along the frontier. That is a matter of private arrangement between parties, a right belonging to all alike, and of which every one avails himself—Prince, Senator and Peasant—as his interests or his inclinations direct.* The institution of the straja was intended merely to maintain the country in united subjection to its chief. It was not probably introduced with any direct view of strengthening—at least for the present—the aggressive force of the mountains; which indeed was unnecessary, where every man is an adept in guerilla

* A foray was made in Bosnia a month before the tourist's arrival, which was said to have furnished 1,500 head of cattle to those engaged, besides a number of the usual trophies, or *heads of Moslems, for the fort at Cittinich.*

warfare, hardly knowing any other means of subsistence but what he gains from the foray.

The policy in operation in the Montenegro is two-fold: first to unite the population under the authority of its chief, and next to increase the power of its church as the metropolitan centre of the Greek faith on that side of Turkey. Previously, these mountains were divided into a number of *plemena* or districts, each independent of the other, under sirdars or hereditary chiefs; living in detached clans they were then united only in the presence of the foe, and settled all differences among themselves with the sword. The system of the straja was the first attempt to change this state of things. It is however by the religious policy that the present efforts of state are mainly directed, intending to elevate, as has been already said, the position of the Montenegran church as a centre and point of union for the Sclavic masses of Bosnia and upper Albania. The Vladika, with the ranks of Russian and Metropolitan Bishop, extends his authority by correspondence with the Sclavonian clergy in the neighbouring provinces of Turkey; his object being to induce them to acknowledge him as their head; and the reason assigned for this conduct, (one whose origin and purport it is easy to divine) is that the Greek patriarch at Constantinople is a mere slave of the Porte, and hence is incapacitated to administer the functions of his office. This policy is well adapted to the hardihood and the superstition of the Montenegran character, and it flourishes apace. At Ostroch, in the district of Beliopaulovitch, a point of easy access from Albania and Bosnia, an immense monastery is maintained with open hospitality to visitors, during the fête of its patron saint. It has the renown of daily miracles; and the tourist was told that upwards of 5,000 persons had visited the monastery at the fête of the former year from *beyond* the frontiers.

And with what view does Russia seek to unite these half barbarous Sclaves of the Montenegro, and to collect around them the scattered adherents of the Greek faith on that side of Turkey? The matter is no secret—at least in the Montenegro. Its purport is daily preached to the people, and disseminated in numerous books in the Sclave language; namely to unite the Illyrian section of the Sclave race under the Servian banner, and thus to re-constitute the Servian kingdom within its ancient frontiers from the Danube to the Adriatic. Russia, however, will prevent the accomplishment of this design until her own advent to the Bosphorus. The origin of the policy at present pursued among the sections of the Sclaves, is contained in a letter, which the writer of the notes was shewn when in the Montenegro, from

Peter the Great to the Vladika Daniel, written 1711, some nine years after Daniel had roused his countrymen and driven back the Turks to the base of the range. Peter the Great was then advancing on the Pruth, and he pressed Daniel in the name of their common faith to make bold incursions into Bosnia, so as to prevent the Sepahis of that province, who were the best soldiers in the empire, from joining the Vizier's army. In this letter the father of the Russians held out promises of high distinction to the Montenegran chiefs "*when the Turks shall be driven from Europe, and the Servian kingdom be raised again in its ancient glory.*" Such at least was the translation given by the present Vladika, in showing to the writer of the notes the letter in question, among other heirlooms.

A short review of the history of the Montenegro from the period just alluded to, will best serve, with the foregoing facts, to pourtray some of its local characteristics. Epic songs and traditions are every where common among the Sclaves, but they more than usually abound in these mountains, and it is from such sources, chiefly among the common people, that our tourist collected the few facts now to be cited.

At the opening of the 18th century the Turks had had nominal possession of the Montenegro for a period of about 60 years. They had previously made many incursions, and there had been a decline for two centuries in the national spirit of the people. The Turks contented themselves with maintaining fortresses on the broad plains at the base of the range, and along the rivers which divide the wooded country at the interior. At the western portion—rising perpendicularly in a series of rugged heights from the gulf of Cattaro, and which has ever been the seat of the Sclavic strength—a number of Beys were established with their retainers, whose duty it was to collect the taxes. They occupied the few points favourable for cultivation on the platforms of the higher summits. The Montenegrans, meanwhile, continued unchanged in their ancient mode of life, under independent sirdars; the latter electing a Vladika, who since early in the sixteenth century, usually also was Bishop of the church. But the Vladikas had now left the lower plateau, and with the bulk of the population occupied the summits of the Nagooze districts. The conduct of the Turks is described as having been most harsh and unconciliating, and this it appears ultimately served to rouse among the people their former love of liberty. On an occasion of some gross instances of rigour, the then Vladika, Daniel Petrovitch, formed a plot which delivered his countrymen. It fell out as follows:—The Montenegran

sirdars and the Moslem Beys were in the habit of visiting each other twice in the course of each year—namely, at the Moslem feast of Bairam and the Christian festival of the nativity. At one of the latter occasions, eighteen Beys who then held possession of the western range, were partaking of the nightly feast, each with a Montenegran host, and were all put to death at the same hour. The western range then rose under the Vladika Daniel, and from that epoch dates the warfare which has continued to the present day, and which has given to the Montenegro, since twenty years, its now extended frontier. The office of Vladika was subsequently confirmed in the Petrovitch family, each Vladika naming one of his nephews as a successor. A hot warfare was maintained by Daniel for several years after the above event, and ended in establishing the independence of the western heights, and also a portion of the interior range along the Horzogovinian frontier as far as Bosnia. This Chief appears to have combined in a high degree those qualities of the rude Sclave which we have seen developed later in the histories of Tzery George, and of Miloseh, in Servia—a character of deep passions, of stratagem, and of hardihood, and most patient in the contest with difficulties.

So heartily did Daniel respond to the call of Peter the Great after the letter alluded to, that two years later the Seraskier Achmet attacked the Montenegro with an army of 60,000 men. One of the national songs describes the battle which followed. The present Vladika—himself distinguished among the Sclavic poets—honored the writer of the notes with a translation of the song or poem. It may serve as an example of the epic traditions of the Montenegro. "Listen oh! Lofchen* to the fight at Moratcha." The Sultan's Vizier wrote a letter to our Daniel. "Send me Iovan, Vouk, and Stephan, said he, the hawks† of your mountain—send me the tribute quickly, or your head shall garnish a spear." The cowards said, "let us give to the Turk for his army is great." Daniel cried, "I will give him my sabre when it is wet, and a piece of land hissing with blood." The hawks went to Bosnia to spy. Iovan and Stephan came back, but where is Vouk? The Brave! he will guide the Pasha through the pass of Moratcha." To the Council they said, "they are many

* Their songs usually commence in the Ossian style, addressed to some of the principal mountains, or to a sylph or sprite supposed to frequent them. The Lofchen is the highest peak of the western range. Nor is this the only parallel between these Sclavis and the Celts. Though they do not profess exactly the *second sight*, many assert a power of holding intercourse with the spirits of their ancestors, and also to judge of auspices from the appearance of the clouds.

† They apply this term as one of the highest honor to their chiefs.

but have marched far, and are sick. To Daniel they whispered, "if we were all salt it would not serve for their rice." The song then continues to the effect that Daniel waited in ambush at the pass of Moratcha with 3,000 followers, and the battle, the rout, and the spoil are then described. For practical purposes we may now pass over a period of about eighty years, which will bring us to the career of the late Vladika. In that interval the Montenegro maintained the position in which Daniel had left it. It suffered two formal attacks from the Ottoman forces, but the mountaineers remained unquenched in spirit, taking refuge in and defending the most difficult heights, and the Turks had always retired to the plains at the approach of winter. This state of things, by which the Montenegro continued to hold a precarious independence, with a limited and divided territory, and deprived of its natural resources (the broad vallies along its rivers) continued until the Russo-Austrian war against the Turks from 1787 to 1791. A corps of 400 Austrian troops were then sent into these mountains, to aid in attacking the Albanian frontier. The expedition, joined by a numerous body of the Montenegrans, succeeded in sacking the large Albanian town of Podgoritza, at the base of the range, and served to unite the Sclaves of all the intervening mountains under the banner of the Vladika. Five years after the termination of that war (1796) the Montenegro was attacked by Mahomond Pasha, Governor of Albania, who sought to recover these losses with 10,000 troops. The Pasha's army was signally defeated, and the circumstances gave to these mountains their final independence. The Montenegro had gained immensely in the preceding few years. The then Vladika, Pietro, was a warrior as distinguished for prowess and stratagem as Daniel, while he probably possessed a higher order of capacity for Government. Independent of the fact that the Russo-Austrian campaign had greatly increased the extent of territory under his command, his social administration had brought a large body of his countrymen out of a state of the rudest barbarism to the enjoyment of many of the advantages of life. He had encouraged agriculture and the breeding of cattle, and thus by giving them means of commerce, had increased their resources. He had also introduced the potato plant, and by patient measures saw it become an abundant and staple article of food among a people hitherto often preyed upon by famine. His character moreover had attracted the attention of the Russian Cabinet, and he had received from Catherine II. the most needful supplies of war.

This Vladika, Pietro Petrovitch, died in 1833, at the age of eighty-three, having been Vladika forty-six years, during which

time he had acquired the command of the hilly country, and of the important river Riaca, as far as the Lake of Scutari, as well as of the extensive districts of Beliopaulowitch and Peperi with their broad and fertile valleys. He extended the former Montenegran territory in a straight line of upwards of sixty miles towards the Servian frontier. The Vladika Pietro has since been canonised, and is now looked upon by the Montenegrans as their Patron Saint. Pilgrimages are frequently made, especially by the Sclaves of Albania and the *Bocca di Cattaro,* to his shrine at Cittinich.

The position of the present Vladika with regard to Russia has already been alluded to. In 1833 he was called to St. Petersburgh, where he remained three years and received consecration. It has been before stated that a stipend of £1,200 a-year was conferred by Russia, besides which the Vladika has also a subvention of £500 annually from Austria.* The nature of the military administration introduced since the return of the Vladika from St. Petersburgh has also been explained. There remains only to trace his career as connected with political questions on the Montenegran frontier.

It may be premised that the present Vladika has laid aside every eastern usage, and lives in a sort of Russo-Military fashion. His apartments consist only of a billiard-room, an ante-room, a bed-room and an oratory. He is of very high stature—robust and athletic—like the generality of his countrymen,—and dresses in the simple Montenegran costume; a white cloth frock with black belt and leggings. He wears besides, as the mark of his rank, a short sable-edged mantle. He speaks French fluently, also somewhat of Italian and German, and the Russian language (it is said) with facility. His history is connected with that of Turkey. Although the actual Vladika is an ardent promoter of the military policy in the Montenegro, and inherits the Sclave hatred of the Turks, he is at the same time a man of education, of refined taste, and has enlarged views of social government. He has established several schools, the principal of which is at Cittinich, where the children of the Senators and chiefs are educated,—and he frequently examines those pupils in their studies. He has also, in order to encourage commerce, cut a route across the mountains from Cattaro to the lake of Scutari; a procedure very unpopular with his people, because tending, they consider, to facilitate the entrance of troops on the

* Austrian policy, aware that it cannot hope for other than a very secondary degree of influence in these mountains, is content on one hand to subsidize the chief, and to assume the position of a mediator with the Porte, while it steadily covers the neighbouring frontier with new fortifications.

side of Austria; but he is brave enough to combat these ideas, and intends to open another road in a transverse direction across the mountains, from Cittinich to Bosnia.

His history we have said is connected with that of Turkey. In 1836 the Porte having gained a considerable accession of power in Upper Albania from the victories of Reshid Mahomed Pasha, began to strengthen the fortress at the base of the middle ranges of the Montenegro, and thus to bar the progress of the Sclave independence towards the Eastern Balcan. At the same time the Austrian government preferred many important claims for a delineation of the Dalmatian territory. The Vladika was thus placed between two fires, and thought it best to settle matters *à l'aimable* with Austria—so that power peaceably defined her frontier, most advantageously for herself in a military point of view—and the Vladika sought compensation for these losses by the hardihood of his measures toward Turkey. He made a series of attempts at the opposite angles of the Montenegro—at Gragova in Herzogovinia, and Antivare in Albania, to gain the Turkish heights, peopled by Sclaves, which descend to the sea. In both these attempts—by which he had hoped to open the Montenegro to a supply of warlike materials from abroad—he was repulsed after a protracted warfare. A descent was also made on the island of Vrania, in the lake of Scutari, when the Montenegrans took by assault a strong fort there, garrisoned it, and occupied the island; but Vrania has since been retaken by the Pasha of Scutari, who has now built a new fort and block-house, and has added six gun-boats, well equipped, further to defend the lake. In short no accession of territory has been gained by the present Vladika, notwithstanding a series of bold attempts, with occasionally from 1,500 to 2,000 Montenegrans engaged many months in the field. The increased strength of the Porte on its Bosnian and Albanian frontiers, with the still imperfectly organised state of the Montenegrans, and especially their want of cannon—(except four or five small field-pieces, in consequence of the jealousy with which Austria watches the sea-coast) are causes at present sufficient to frustrate such aggressions. Marauding expeditions, however, are continually occurring by small bodies of the Montenegrans, aided by their dominant line of frontier. They frequently extend those incursions to thirty or even fifty leagues from their mountains.

Such is the present state of things in that Sclave stronghold —a state of open warfare with Turkey. The moment has been thought favourable for overtures of peace; and with this view negotiations were opened lately by Austria at the Porte, in con-

junction with Russia. With respect to those proposals it may be observed, that a treaty acknowledging the independence of the Montenegro by the Porte, would in itself be of no value, either to repress the policy in operation from thence, or the incursion of parties across its borders. For that purpose the Porte can only rely upon a strong line of military posts. But were the mutual rights of the Montenegro and of the Porte better defined, the mountain chiefs might be made responsible in some degree for warlike movements: at any rate the Porte could then take more effective measures to attest its rights, and would find a better support from its allies. It is absolutely necessary for the security of that portion of the Ottoman empire that some system of more defined policy, military as well as administrative, be pursued, and this can best be attained, as regards the Montenegro, by, in the first place, offering terms of just concession. Every advantage in the way of natural resources appertaining to those mountains should be accorded; that is to say, as regards the Albanian frontier, the sole and undisturbed possession of the broad inland valleys up to the actual line of Turkish forts.* On the side of Bosnia the frontier has for many years been sufficiently known. Such an arrangement would give to the Montenegrans possession of the greater part of the rivers flowing into the lake of Scutari, comprising the best portion of their prolific fisheries, with a large extent of rich pasturage in Upper Albania. The rights and interests of the Porte, on the other hand, are no less apparent. They are implied in the recognised possession of the whole of the Albanian lake with its islands, and in a line marked across the valley of the Kootchy district to Bosnia, thus separating the mountain of the Koom—the Mont Blanc of the Balcan and which overlooks Servia—from the Montenegro.

The tourist quitted the Montenegro by the river Riaca which debouches into the Albanian lake, and, skirting its shores, reached Scutari, the chief city of Upper Albania.

There are certain communities in Upper Albania hitherto considered as Moslems, but who it has been affirmed within these few years profess in secret the Christian religion, and are known to the local clergy under the name of *Occulti*. The subject is worthy of notice as a part of the Austrian policy at work in that direction, intended to counteract the designs of the Russo-

* At present the Albanian troops who garrison the several Turkish forts, are in the habit of firing at random into the mountains, or aiming in the direction of the villages with their heavy cannon, and which serves only to keep up the desperate enmity already existing.

Greek church which we have just seen in the Montenegro. The greater part of these Occulti are in the Pashalik of Scopia, along the valley of that division of Upper Albania. They occupy particularly the districts of Prizrindij, Yacovah, and Guilyalm. They are said to amount at present—that is those yet known—to about a thousand families. The Albanian Catholic clergy affirm that these people became secret converts to Christianity at the time of the advance of the Austrian forces into Upper Albania in 1689; but more probably they are the descendants of one or other division of the Christian church at the Moslem conquest of Thrace. Be this as it may, the 'Occulti' although they have hitherto borne the name and enjoyed the privileges of Mussulmans, now assert that they have ever abhorred that creed, and have secretly perpetuated the form of baptism and made the sign of the cross upon their children at birth. Hence they have lately acquired the name of Occult or secret Christians, and have become an object of special solicitude with several of the foreign clergy, recently sent into Albania. The result has been that a numerous body from among them are now willing to make open profession of the Christian faith at the price of becoming liable to the haratch or capitation tax. As may be supposed, the Porte has expressed great alarm at this movement;—and not without ground, so lightly do the majority of Albanian Moslems hold their faith;—and despite the urgent remonstrances of Austria, it has denounced the penalty of expatriation against those Albanians who shall embrace Christianity. It was, indeed, the only measure calculated to have any weight. A body of about one hundred families of these Occulti were first imprisoned and severely threatened by the authorities, and afterwards thirty from among them, who persisted, were transported to a site near Broosa in Asia Minor. Although further proceedings have not since come to light, we may expect to hear much more on the subject. It will be better understood in its further bearings if we examine for a moment the character of Austrian policy in the religious questions of European Turkey.

Upper Albania is one of the few points in the provinces of European Turkey where the rites of the Western Church are professed by the Christian population. The most important of these is among the Guegues, the Myridites, the Clymenti, and the Chymaziots of Upper Albania—each powerful Catholic sect. Next in Herzogovinia and Bosnia, where the separate villages of the Catholic and Greek rites mark the original line of demarcation between the two Churches; and lastly in a few localities throughout Bulgaria. In each of those directions Austria

has lately assumed the control of religious affairs, and in Upper Albania, especially, has pursued the effort in a very marked manner. The Romanists there appear to be somewhat under 100,000 souls, among a population of 130,000 Sclavo-Greeks, and 150,000 Mohammedans. But although the Romanists are comparatively the fewest in number, they hold several detached and important mountain districts, and their position is in every way superior to that of the Sclavo-Greeks. A few years back the two or three Romanist Bishoprics of Upper Albania were filled only by Rayah subjects of the Porte, but those Rayah Bishops have now been replaced by Austrian subjects, who receive their nomination direct from the Aulic chamber at Vienna, with the subsequent confirmation of the Pope, and who reside in the country under the protection of an Austrian passport; being thus altogether independent of the Turkish authorities. A number of new Bishoprics have also been created, and a considerable body of subordinate clergy introduced at various localities where a scattered population of 3,000 Romanists or upwards were to be found. Austria claims this right in the name of the Venetian republic, which formerly exercised some nominal privileges of protection toward the Albanian Romanists. The following is the order of the new appointments in Upper Albania :—A Bishop of Scutari in 1832—of Sappa in 1841—of Poulati————of Alessio in 1843—an Archbishop of Antivare in 1844—an Archbishop of Duratso in 1845—a Bishop of Prizrendi in 1846. Besides these, Apostolic Prefectures (Abbots) have been established within these few years at Prizrendi, Poulalti, Castalti, Alessio, Piscasio and Scutari, and, attached to them, a body of twenty-seven Franciscan Monks, and sixty-five Priests, all of whom are likewise Austrian subjects. The Cabinet of Vienna will doubtless still further extend these efforts, since by means of this religious influence it hopes to counter-balance the no less organised attempts of Russia among the Sclavonian population. The policy cannot but raise a train of questions calculated soon to change the hitherto reserved conduct of Austria at the Porte. Powerful Romanist sects, such as the Myridites and Chimaziots—quasi independent communities, somewhat in the position of the Montenegro—will no doubt be brought under Austrian control, and disputes similar to that of the Lebanon, but graver in their consequences, (for Russia will then be one of the contending parties), will be raised in Albania.

We shall next offer a few remarks respecting the western frontier of the Montenegro—the point at which the tourist en-

tered that territory—namely, at the Austrian confines of Dalmatia; and where subjects similar to what we have just treated present themselves still more prominently.

Cattaro and its singular gulf, although unknown in modern Itineraries, possesses every element that historic interest and romantic scenery can offer for attraction. The territory of the ancient republic, and present township, was for the most part comprised in an inlet of the Adriatic, called the *Bocca di Cattaro*. Entering by a narrow channel this gulf winds a tortuous course at the foot of high hills, forming a series of inland lakes and canals, wooded, or with shelving banks under rich cultivation. There are several little towns along its shore; each with its Duomo and Campanile, high walls and quaint turrets, in the Venetian style, some in ruins, some yet mounted with the cannon of Saint Mark. Hills rising from the water's edge; the blue channel narrowing between cliffs, widening into lakes, or extending into canal-like passages; the luxuriance of the sheltered vegetation; the contrast of wild and barren rocks; and the crenneled forts and towers amid manifold signs of happy industry, render the passage of Cattaro as singular as it is interesting.

The heights increase in elevation from the entrance to the termination of the canal. At the latter point a bluff rock, the base of a barren mountain, rises to upwards of 3,000 feet. In a narrow cleft between this height and the sea lies the town of Cattaro; at its summit, appearing almost perpendicular from the town, begins the territory of the Montenegro. Stout ramparts and bastions defend its front; and in the rear a citadel, with towers and spiry cavalier, guards the access.

A terraced zig-zig road has been cut by the Austrian Government to about 2,000 feet above Cattaro. At the point where it commences, outside of the town, a bazar or market for the Montenegrans is held twice in the week.

A visit to this bazar conveys a striking impression of the contrasts of barbarism and civilization,—a feature which indeed particularly presents itself both in the territories of Ragusa and of Cattaro. Although there has been an intercourse for centuries between Ragusa and Bosnia, and Cattaro, with the Montenegro, no approximation in their modes of life seems to have occurred on either side, and while the upper portion of Dalmatia, owing to its originally free institutions, has advanced farther in civil development than Italy-proper on the other coast of the Adriatic, Bosnia still remains in a savage barbarism,

and the Montenegrans still fight with and plunder all their neighbours in rotation. The bazar of Cattaro is calculated to raise such reflections. You pass from small, but handsomely built and well-paved streets, through bastion and portcullis, to a square under the walls of the town;—on one hand are the antique belfries of Cattaro, the shipping at its quay, and beyond them the richly cultivated banks of the canal;—while here are sandled mountaineers, in a rude tunic, exchanging, as they were wont five centuries ago, fish, legumes, and wool, for salt, grain and wine.

The Austrian frontier extends from Cattaro at one angle for 60 miles to the confines of Albania, intercepting the Montenegro from the sea. Austria is carefully strengthening herself at that point. The tract of frontier toward Albania is mountainous, thinly populated, and terminates at one of the valleys of Upper Albania. There are several fortresses in that direction—Budna and Stephano on the coast—Trinita and Stanovitch in the interior; besides which there are five detached posts, and others are in process of construction. Another inland fortress is also being built at Spiridioni; a height which was bought (or rather seized with an indemnity) from the Montenegrans. The inland works are being connected by good roads with those on the sea. To the north of the Montenegro there is the fortress of St. Nicolo, and the fort of Dragall. A fort is also about to be commenced on the first plateau above Cattaro, where the military road terminates on the heights of the Sclave range. By means of that road—a work of immense labor and expense—cannon can be transported with facility to one of the crests of the range. The fortifications which have been enumerated are all kept in a highly effective state. It is a wise policy. Austria should count on the position she must be able to assume at no distant day on these eastern confines.

Former events have sufficiently indicated the part which the Montenegrans are inclined to play. A Russian squadron occupied the gulf of Cattaro simultaneously with the entrance of the French into Dalmatia. Had Russia managed then to gain over the Ragusan republic before the French, there is little doubt she would have acquired a firm footing on the Adriatic. Russia soon showed the influence she possessed at this point from the Sclavonian origin of the population. The Bocchese and the Montenegrans flocked to her standard. A desperate battle was afterwards fought at Sutorino in the gulf, between 6,000 Russian troops, with 15,000 Montenegrans and Bocchese, against the French with only 9,000 men. General Soulie lost his life at the

beginning of the action, but the ardour and tact of Marmont ultimately dispersed the Sclavonian allies, and forced the Russians to take shelter under cover of their ships. The Russian forces withdrew only after the peace of Tilsit in 1807.

The history of Cattaro is connected with a chapter in the history of Eastern Europe but little known, and illustrates somewhat the political tendency of affairs in that direction. Documents are found of the time of its first republic from so early a date as 1140. In 1420, fearing the progress of the Albanian power, it annexed itself to Venice. At the fall of the republic of St. Mark it became re-constructed into an independent state, and existed as such for fifteen months. It was next incorporated, by voluntary act, with the empire of Austria under Francis I., and continued so until 1806. After Austerlitz, it was ceded with the rest of Dalmatia to the French, and subsequently had a full share in the vicissitudes of the war. In 1814 an English frigate—the *Baccante* under the well-known Captain Hoste—attacked Cattaro, held then by a garrison of 400 men. After constructing several small batteries on the neighbouring heights, the frigate made a bombardment which continued for thirteen days, when Cattaro at length capitulated. Our countrymen soon after left the place and a body of the Montenegrans under their Vladika (Pietro) at once took possession. The Montenegrans occupied Cattaro for a period of five months, until ejected by an Austrian corps after the last evacuation of Dalmatia by the French.

The Bocchese love to recount the prosperity of their forefathers, even of the last generation, when they commanded the greatest part of the freightage of Venice. They still hold many ships, and are by far the best seamen of the Mediterranean. The Bocchese have even now about 306 vessels engaged in freightage trade with the Black Sea, and beyond the straits; besides about 500 small crafts employed in the *capotage* of the Adriatic. The abodes of the families of these seamen are scattered along the cultivated shores of the canal. They form a class apart from the rest of the population, living secluded, and preserving a rich and antiquated costume.

It may be worth while to observe here, that Dalmatia is divided into four *circolos* or departments; Zara, the capital of the proper Dalmatia-Venetian territory, and Spalatro, Ragusa, and Cattaro, centres of former independencies which were connected with the republic of the Adriatic. Each town has certain municipal rights, and its protection extends over the lesser villages. In the towns, a Podestá, elected by the citizens, re-

presents the municipal authority. He decides all local questions affecting the property of the citizens, and also in the villages within the jurisdiction of his town. Another officer acts in conjunction with the Podestá, styled the Pretore. The latter is appointed by the crown, and is charged with the execution of the civil authority.*

A German statistical work of merit†, which appears at the head of this article, divides the Dalmatian population—estimated in 1839 at 390,000 souls, as follows:—Sclaves 320,000—Italians 40,000 (the rest military *employés* or German craftsmen)—of which 73,306 belong to the Greek rite, and 310,176 to the Romanist. The Sclavo-Greek portion of this population are found almost exclusively in Cattaro. It is thus of no small importance for Austria that the bulk of the Dalmatian population are adherents of the Latin Church. The *Morlacs* or Sclaves who people Lower Dalmatia are all Latinists. Yet, at the same time, as has been observed, the population at the important extremity or outwork of the province immediately round the Montenegro belong in a ratio of more than two-thirds to the Greek rite; and it is significant that their co-religionists in the mountain invariably respect the property of those who profess the Greek faith. A Bocchese Greek said to the tourist, when the latter alluded to the marauding character of the Montenegrans along the canal. "It is not so bad, signor! It depends on a very little matter. If you make the cross the right way, they never hurt you." This remark is to be understood in reference to the peculiar manner of signing the cross which distinguishes a Greek from a Latinist.

Austria is evidently well aware of the advantages which the possession of Dalmatia affords, as a basis for military operations toward the east, and to cover her proper frontier; for we see that she has not neglected to strengthen herself in the way of new fortifications and good military positions. But much more remains to be done, and from which surer fruits might be reaped. The Morlacs, or Sclavonian population of the lower coast, and of the numerous islands in that shore of the Adriatic, are in a state of extreme misery, with only a trifling wine commerce, and with barely the means of subsistence. It is at the upper

* To those who may be inclined to look into this field of Italian history, the least known, but in many points one of great interest, we would refer them to a recent work "Gli ultimi advenimenti dopo la Caduta della republica Veneta in Dalmazia dal Cattalinich, Spalatro 1840." The work has little worthy of notice on the subject of its title, but contains many interesting details respecting the old institutions of the country.

† Das Kaiserthum Oestreich von Schmidle, Stuttgart, 1842.

portion alone of Dalmatia, viz., at Ragusa, Spalatro and Cattaro, from their commerce with Turkey, that any signs of prosperity are to be observed. The writer never met so poor a population as the Morlacs of the circolo of Tara, a department extending through two-thirds of Dalmatia; yet this district was once one of the sources of the wealth of Venice from the number of its seamen. Dalmatia now barely raises grain for three months' consumption. If Austria would rely at a future day on the strength of Dalmatia, and on that aid, which to be certain must be reciprocal, a remedy should be discovered for this state of things. It is to be found in an ample encouragement, and more liberal policy; which should be the aim of government in this, as in every portion of an empire whose great desideratum is the means of progress and of union.

Let us now leave the rock-bound shores of the Adriatic and cross towards the Danube. There are we believe only two directions by which an army might penetrate, without meeting severe obstacles, from Dalmatia into Bosnia—or rather into the portion of the province extending from the western side of the Balcan, and called Herzogovinia: the first is by the caravan road from Ragusa, near which point the valleys from the interior converge and pierce the rocky barrier, elsewhere girding the western coast of the Adriatic; and the other is at the embouchoure of the Narenta river, the only considerable stream flowing from the western side of the Illyrian Alps, and which reaches the Adriatic at about sixty miles below Ragusa. The latter is probably the most important of the two, as offering by far the quickest approach to the heart of the Balcan, but the obstacles are greatest in that direction. It was the route followed by the writer of the notes. The Narenta is deep and capacious at its embouchure, and until within four leagues from the coast, when it assumes a highly picturesque character at the expense of its utility for any purposes of transit. At some twenty miles inland it acquires the true features of Bosnian scenery, rushing in edging torrents through a long and wooded defile. And the gorge at length opens on the wide plateau of Mostar, where it offers a scene worthy of Poussin. Viewed from an angle in the defile—the river plunging in a broad cascade from luxuriant plains, under a richness of colour, peculiar to so moist a climate —and with the bold angles of the wooded Balcan sharply defined in the distance, it strikes one the more forcibly after the dreary barrenness of Dalmatia.

Peopled by a race of northern warriors, Bosnia was long the chief seat of feudalism in eastern Europe. The nature of the

country peculiarly adapted it to that rude form of life. It is a land of green hills and mountains, its heights are clothed with rich pasturages, or with forests, and it is divided by several rivers, or rather by broad torrents, and intersected with innumerable streams. Its climate is damp, the winters hardy and prolonged, with a tempered eastern summer; such was the vassal territory early gained by the Ottoman sword in Europe. Bosnia preserved its feudalism even in the palmy days of Turkey, and formed with Servia the outwork of the Ottoman empire toward the west. Its changes date from a period of not more than twenty-five years ago, coëval with a rapid decline in the power and character of the Ottoman state. Sultan Mahmood sent his Nizam troops into that province, and by turning the party efforts of its chiefs the one against the other, entailed a series of intestine wars, which ended, as he had designed, in the destruction of its feudal system. Those measures destroyed existing institutions without creating any sufficient element of administration in their place. They paved the way for changes still more extensive, and yet in the future.

The Mussulmans in Bosnia may be computed at between six and seven hundred thousand souls. The christian portion of the population are by no means so inferior as has been supposed. The Romanist Bishop of Bosnia lately made a report to the Propaganda respecting the number of the population under him, collected from registries kept for many years. It appears from this document that there are 96,276 souls among the Latin section of Christians in Bosnia, exclusive of Herzogovinia, and 38,598 in the latter division of the province. The Greek clergy do not keep any registries, but the Vladika, or Bosnian Bishop, told the writer of these notes that he considered the members of the Greek faith throughout Bosnia at over 300,000 souls, and the estimate was admitted as probably correct by the Romanist authorities. Indeed it is more likely that the actual number of the Greco-Sclaves in Bosnia is nearly half a million. All those Christians were armed by the Moslem chiefs during their lengthy opposition to the measure of Sultan Mahmood. In Horzogovinia they still wear those arms, and in the rest of the province they carefully retain them in their houses. Such is the mass of the Bosnian people. We will now attempt to illustrate somewhat their condition.

First as to Herzogovinia, now a separate, and almost an independent portion of Bosnia. The character and career of its Governor, Ali Pasha, is akin to that of Mahomed Ali of Egypt. They are the only Pashas who have preserved to the present

hour an independence conquered with the sword. Twenty-five years ago Ali Pasha was Agā of Stolatz, a small town in Herzogovinia, at a time when the whole of Bosnia was divided under petty chiefs in a system of feudalism dating from the middle ages. By his bravery, and the policy he first commenced of arming the Christian portion of the population, he accomplished the conquest of the other castles in his neighbourhood. This design was favored too by the troublous times which preceded the Greek revolution, when the empire lay paralysed under foreign disasters and internal anarchy. Besides his title of Vizier, which he received from the Porte, Ali Pasha has assumed that of *Gablep* or conqueror. His power in Herzogovinia is absolute. His government in fact, is that of a Moslem Satrap of the olden times; and the Porte has reason to fear both his power and his abilities. Surrounded by a numerous population, among whom are not less than 10,000 thoroughly armed Christians, with one frontier exposed to the Montenegro, and another to Austria, a quarrel with him, from the desperate measures he has shown himself inclined to adopt, might readily give rise to other complicated movements. The position of Herzogovinia is indeed most precarious. The Pasha has armed the Christians merely to over-awe the Porte, without seeking at all to conciliate them as subjects. They universally complain of exaction and tyranny, and would certainly rise at the slightest signal offering them help.

Before alluding to the rest of the province the most instructive topic for us to examine in this place will be the system of taxation. It will serve especially to illustrate the condition of the Bosnian Christian, which has a parallel for its misery only in that of the Helots of ancient Greece. The first claim on the Bosnian peasant is called the *topracschaiby*, or rights of the Lords of the soil. It is a share of produce which the cultivator must give to the land-owner, varying, according to contract, from a fourth to a half of what is raised on the land. The next is the *Spahi-luk*, or dues of the Spahis, among whom the villages are distributed by way of fiefs. Their legal share is a tenth of all produce, not only from the land but on the industry of the peasantry—grain, fruit, butter, honey, etc.,—and the value is computed and paid in money. In some parts of Bosnia as much as a *fifth* share is levied on usage by the Spahis. This claim, in the instance of the Christian, gives room for almost any degree of extortion. Indeed with the Christian a Spahi knows no restraint except it may be the selfish interest of not injuring too much the future means of the culti-

vator. For instance the Spahi will not unfrequently compute his dues on grapes at 12 paras the oke, the market price at the time being only four paras for that measure. There is next a government tax called *poressa or saliahu*, which is imposed twice in the year. It is levied on districts, nominally according to the amount of land under cultivation, the Pasha demanding 100 or 200 purses from a district, where the share of each peasant is subsequently apportioned by their respective agans or elders. Besides these burdens, shared alike by the Mussulman and Christian *kmet*, or cultivator, the Christian peasant pays in addition the following exactions:—First, the *haratch* or capitation tax upon each male, comprising generally children of from three or four, and not less than eight, years of age. [In the rest of the empire, *haratch* is paid only after the age of fifteen years.] There are then the following feudal rights:—*bynzernitsa*, or a licence to marry, which costs from fifty to 200 piastres; *hersmet* (the heriot) or a seizure of cattle, computed in money, on the death of each head of a family; and, in the greater part of Bosnia, forced labor (the corvée) for a third of the year to the Spahis. By such exactions the pecuniary means of the Christian peasant are entirely absorbed, so that with ten or fifteen head of cattle, and cultivating considerable tracts of land, he frequently is clothed with only some scanty hempen rags, and sleeps on the bare earth in the most wretched of hovels. Yet, notwithstanding their sufferings and privations, the Bosnian Christians are a stalwart and noble race, and are far superior in physical and mental qualities to their Moslem brethren.

> Sure there is need of social intercourse
> Benevolence and peace, and mutual aid,
> Between the nations in a world, that seems
> To toll the death-bell of its own disease,
> And by the voice of all its elements
> To preach the general doom.*

In concluding this notice let us turn for a moment to the general condition of Turkey.

Turkey presents to the mind a picture at once sad and imposing. She has few features in common with surrounding states; but repellent to foreign innovation, has a compound of polity and vices peculiar to herself. She has stood isolated and aloof from the rest of Europe until at length she has become a hoary fragment of forgotten ages.

* The Time-Piece, Book II.

If we would in any degree appreciate Mahomedanism it is not in Turkey as Mr. Urquhart maintained. The most barbarous of Mahomeden countries, Morocco and Bokhara, alone seem to preserve in our day any trace of the originally simple, yet effective forms of Mahomedan government. The construction of the Turkish administration dates from a later and very different epoch. The zenith of its vigor was during the conquest of Asia Minor—its culminating point the capture of Constantinople. Greece was then a second time conquered, and a second time had her ancient revenge. What the lower Greek empire was at its overthrow, Turkey is at our day—on the verge of ruin from vice and incapacity in its government. The native strength continued until Suleiman; since then Turkey has been alike profligate, but in decrepitude.

Let us consider for a moment the agrarian condition of Turkey. In Roumelia the soil is of the richest description, especially from Philippoli to Adrianople, and thence to the Black Sea, but the population is not a tenth what would be necessary for its efficient culture, and it is only in the vicinity of towns and large villages that the land is manured. The operations of husbandry are for the most part performed by Bulgarians, who descend from the neighbouring mountains for a few weeks in the spring and autumn. From a want of the means of transport, no grain is brought to Constantinople from those fertile regions extending round its gates, although 300,000 quarters of Russian grain is in some years imported into the capital. We remember to have looked from a minaret at Adrianople on two idle streams, the first descending from Philippoli, the emporium of Roumelia; the other, at the distance of a mile continuing its course to the Marmora. Aware that only moderate capital was necessary to have rendered both those rivers serviceable, it afforded a melancholy view of obstacles; slight, yet apparently insurmountable, which lie between Turkey and her welfare.

Next in extent to the plains of Roumelia are the arable flats of Bulgaria, on a peninsula formed by the lower Danube and Black Sea. Here the prospect is more encouraging, for the peasantry are better tillers of the soil, and the district lies open to European enterprise. Hence this division of Turkey has the most benefitted by the treaty of 1838. During that year and the first six months of 1839 only 6,000 Kilos were exported from Varna, Beljik, Cavarna, and Kustenjee, but when a stop had been put to the extortions of Turkish employés, who monopolised trade and were empowered to fix the price, at which the peasant

should furnish grain, many European agents became established at the Bulgarian ports, and within three years the export augmented more than an hundred fold. The export of 1843 was 390 cargoes, that of 1845 about 800 cargoes. The grain has now become equal in hardness to any from Tagaurok.

In the mountain frontiers of Bulgaria, Bosnia and Albania, Turkey actually possesses but few resources. An ill-defined excitement extends along all the heights encircling Thrace. In this direction Turkey first received the severest lessons of her fate. Servia, her western entre-port, as well as Greece, her maritime out-post on the south, became dismembered from the empire. The declaration of the Greeks in favor of constitutional principles in 1843, produced in Epirus and Macedonia effects different in their character to those which occurred in Greece proper. In Greece the movement was legitimate and subsided with the attainment of its object; but in the neighbouring districts of Turkey the Raya Greeks were roused by it to the worst form of revolutionary excitement; an action which though checked has left behind equally disastrous germs of discontent. In the same year a conspiracy was organised in Bulgaria, where the people are Sclavonian communists of the Greek church. That design had a parallel in a somewhat earlier portion of Turkish history, when in 1822 the Porte discovered that, instigated by Russia and the national party in Greece, the heads of the Greek church were implicated in the revolution of the Morea. The Porte has never forgotten the lesson which that discovery taught her, as is seen in the lavish employment of gold by which spies are procured in the most secret of the Naya synods. The fact of the widely spread conspiracy in Bulgaria was early known at the Porte, and, if we may credit, grave assertions in that quarter, was secondarily directed in its political bearings by the then existing Servian administration, and in its religious ones by numerous agents of the Greek church.

The mountain aspect in Asia is of a happier character. From the Bosphorus to the Chorok river, an extent of a thousand miles, there are hilly ranges peopled by Mussulmans whose dominancy is yet unimpaired. Under harsh, yet simple forms of administration, they are united and comparatively prosperous. The naturally bold policy of Turkey is still apparent in her eastern frontier.

A word as to European policy in relation to Turkey; or rather the mode of operation of those Powers, who ostensibly support Ottoman independance. The European powers in their attempt to prop Turkey would seem by their inefficient conduct

to have rendered more imminent the danger they sought to obviate. The action of foreign influence on the Bosphorus is any thing but consistent. Some particular section is ever ready to take advantage of the bad system of government, and to prove traitorous to its duty for the sake of a temporary ascendency. Turkey is made to suffer as much from the hollow nature of continental alliances, as from the corruption inherent in her administration. But to those who have an interest in the independance of this portion of Europe, it is no longer safe to deal in half measures. By extraneous influences the eastern question has at length created, in Turkey, a party who wish to remove abuses from the state, and to secure its government upon a former basis, by broad and enlightened measures for the benefit of every class. That able diplomatist and statesman Sir Stratford Canning, the representative of Great Britain at the Porte, was the originator of this policy. The Sultan is now at the head of the party, and neither lacks energy nor sincerity in his views. Firm support and an able directing judgment on the part of his allies are however indispensible as the means of its operation. Shall this be afforded? or shall our cabinet passively look on, lamenting the misery it has not the energy to mend. Meanwhile Russian policy coincides with the sentiments which best flatter Turkish prejudices. Russia remains apparently quiescent, while her project, easy of operation, is levelling the fabric of Ottoman government. The Turks might well apply to that power the words of the fox in the fable of the sick lion alluded by Horace.

Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

ART. III.—1. *The Government Gazette and Acts of the Legislative Council of India.*

2. *The Acts of the Legislative Council of India with a Glossary; an Analytical Abstract prefixed to each Act, and Copious Index, by William Theobald, Esq., Barrister at Law and Advocate of the Supreme Court. Calcutta*, 1849.

THE year 1848 produced a sufficient number of new Acts to form the subject of a brief article, on the plan of our former* articles: we therefore take them up, with the intention of continuing the series of our notices from the end of the year 1847. We have the satisfaction of knowing that our previous reviews, though wanting from the nature of the subject popular attractions, have been read with interest by those who desire information; and attention we think cannot too often be directed to Indian legislation. If it is defective, its defects can probably not be remedied, nor any large improvements made, except through the action and influence of enlightened European opinion. The legislative council under the Charter Act was but an experiment, and its success and merits must in a degree though not entirely be judged by its actual legislation. Many other considerations might be adduced in favor of our critical expositions.

Our readers will recollect we attempted a classification of the Acts. Act No. 1 of 1848 belongs to the very numerous class, relating to judicial procedure. It is entitled an Act to regulate the proceedings in certain cases of forgery: the cases are those in which forgery is alleged by one party against the adverse party, *e. g.*, plaintiff against defendant, say,—in the course of an action—in reference to deeds or papers put in evidence. By the law, as it stood before this Act, the party making the accusation, was at liberty to take the charge before a magistrate pending the civil proceedings: and thus he might bring on a conflict of jurisdictions, or perhaps defeat a civil remedy, by a collateral enquiry before an inferior criminal jurisdiction. Abstractedly considered, and on general principles, this was objectionable; but in India it must have been fraught with a great amount of abuse, in consequence of the character of the people, so addicted to chicane, and of the local tribunals. The Act before us meets this evil by allowing charges of forgery in relation to documents in evidence before any tribunal, to be taken up by the magistrate only when sent to him specially by the tribunal.

* See *Calcutta Review*, vol. 9, pp. 40-2.

We have remarked before on the great number of Acts, of which the one before us is another example, which are confined to one presidency though founded on universal principles, and therefore fit to be general; and in our apprehension, this is a marked characteristic in Indian legislation. It would be an analogous case, if a law of parliament suited for general application, were confined to Yorkshire, because the member for Yorkshire brought the bill in. The member for Yorkshire in such a case would be a very praiseworthy person; but parliament would be justly blamed as for narrowness and shortcoming. Just so, it is with the Legislative Council. From some infirmity,—what we do not here pronounce,—intellectual, official or moral, Acts for Bengal, many of the Acts for Bombay, Acts for Madras, Acts for the Straits Settlements, fall within the scope of this criticism, and can only be regarded as Acts of the Presidency Government, in the name of the Legislative Council.

In the year 1847 the Conservancy of Calcutta was taken from the Justices, and transferred to a body of Municipal Commissioners. The Conservancy, in its local meaning, does not include the management of the police, nor any magisterial functions. It comprises the powers usually exercised in England by Vestries, by Commissioners of Sewers, and by local corporate bodies and trustees of different kinds. Act No. 2 of 1848 gives further powers to these gentlemen, and contains nothing remarkable. We are tempted however by the occasion, to return to the subject of the constitution of the Commission, confining ourselves, as we shall, to theoretical views and legislative questions, and not entering upon merely temporary ones.

In our notice of the Act for appointing the Commissioners, we expressed ourselves hopefully of this new institution; which was all we could do then, writing before the Commission had been three months in existence, and when it had not completed its subordinate arrangements. We regarded it as a step in advance, a step in the right direction, and towards local self-government. Fifteen months have now elapsed; experience has been gained, and by its light now we can form some positive opinions respecting the Commission. We beg to premise that the gentlemen who compose the municipal body are not the subject of our dissertation. Them we regard, but as the parts of a new political engine; our first opinions on which were formed only from the plan and working drawings—but since it has been put up, we can better judge of the merits and faults of its construction and principle. What is the true philosophy of science, whether political or of any other kind; but thus to test every theory, whatever be its subject matter, by experience: whether it be a steam engine or a

government: it may in any particular instance not be convenient, at this or that particular moment of time, to take either to pieces, and reconstruct them: but to know their faults is of the first importance: for if faulty and kept up too long, all experience, all history shows that their natural and probable end is a break down or explosion and ruin to those within their influence.

The Commission consists of seven Commissioners, three of whom are appointed by the Presidency Government; the rest elected by the inhabitants; and the appointments and elections are annual. In this consists its principal feature; and to persons at a distance there may not appear any thing remarkable in this arrangement: but those who know our local history and institutions, cannot fail to see in it the jealousy and distrust so characteristic and inveterate in the Bengal Government. Why not have created an independant municipal body, composed entirely of the inhabitants: but that the Bengal Government has no idea of a free institution: and must have its hand on every thing. Calcutta is become to a great degree an English town: the natives speak English, the language of all the principal native inhabitants is the English language: the Courts of Justice are English; there is a large and highly respectable English population, and the municipal powers might have been entrusted entirely to the people. We object to this mixed feature in the Commission, and it has worked ill.

When, however, the Government took its determination, that it would appoint nearly one half of the Commissioners, its duty clearly was to have made such appointments as would secure, (for want of a better word we must say) the homogeneity of the Commission; as for example, by appointing three of the more intelligent and respectable inhabitants, who had qualifications for such office, but were not likely to become candidates, or succeed as such, at a popular election. Such persons could have met on terms of equality their elected fellow-citizens, and have harmonized with the general agency of the Commission. Instead of doing this, the Government appointed three of its own highly-paid servants. The personal qualifications of those gentlemen, we leave out of the question, because the duties to be performed required no peculiar qualifications; but we remark that, abstractedly considered, this mode of carrying out the arrangement so unwisely determined upon, was not likely to work well. It at once placed a member of the Civil Service, at the head of the Commission and stamped it with the character of a government institution, rather than a municipal one. It made two classes where all ought to have been equal, and thus impaired the

practical efficiency of the Commission, whose real strength, like that of all municipal bodies, must consist, not in the artificial ascendancy of particular individuals, but in united action. It would be invidious to question generally the fitness of the members of the Civil Service for municipal office; but the training and habits induced by its peculiar relations, certainly disqualify the less happily constituted members of it for co-operation* with their fellow-citizens.

* Some letters by the late Clerk to the Commissioners which recently appeared in the Calcutta papers afford a curious illustration. The Office of Collector was formerly held by an English gentleman, but the Commissioners appointed a Native, who by his family and personal connection, as well as by fortune and profession is a considerable person. Soon after his appointment he was required to make a statement of his establishment, and in a letter accompanying the statement, he made the following profession of a wish to assist the Commissioners in making retrenchments:—

"Permit me to state that I have every desire to co-operate with the Board in economizing expenditure as far as possible, and when further experience has enabled me to acquire a more practical acquaintance with my duties and those of my subordinates, I shall be the first to suggest and point out where reductions may be made."

At the very idea of the Officer's *co-operating* with his principals the Chairman fires up, and puts on the Minutes the following remonstrance against the impertinent expression:—

"*Co-operation* is the act of Members of a body vested with equal power, working in concert, and the term cannot with propriety be used by a subordinate whose business is to obey."

The Clerk, not a *Native*, but an Englishman, a barrister, and we will add a man of character and talent, gives the following account of the treatment *he* experienced; the two cases together show how little adapted the training of Civil Service may be to prepare its Members for Municipal employments:—

"The preparation of the Wheel-tax rules was intrusted to me, and, being a professional task, I expected it to be regarded as a higher branch, if I may say so, of my official occupation, and to bring me respect and confidence. The following Minute of Mr. Patton shews my disappointment.

"I give it naked without explanation first, in order that the reader may form his own unbiassed opinion:—

"The Clerk evidently mistakes his position. It is not his province to make comments on the Minutes of the Commissioners, or agree or dissent from the expression of their sentiments."

"With respect to my position," says the clerk in the letter from which we are extracting, "I was appointed because I was a barrister, (as I can shew by the Minute of three Commissioners) with a salary of Rs. 600 a month, which I regarded as liberal and considerable, and I had the expressly accorded permission, to continue in practice at the Bar, and also to retain another official appointment which I then held. My "position," therefore, was made respectable by the very terms of my appointment, and it was not I, but Mr. Patton, who mistook my position. And with respect to my "*province*," in this particular instance it was *professional*, and I can shew that I did not exceed it in the "comments" which gave rise to this animadversion. The rules having been drafted, were circulated among the Commissioners, who made in the margin of them their remarks and suggestions. When the draft came back, in some instances I altered it according to the suggestions, in others not, and under most of the suggestions I put in red ink a short note, as, for example, one of the Commisioners remarked that these Rules should be modified according to the Rules in force at Bombay about compositions, &c. My red ink note on this was,—"Compositions are not provided for in the Bombay regulations." This was my reason for not making the suggested modification. The next suggestion on my draft was that a difference should be made between great and little livery stable-keepers, in the rates of the compositions, but how the two classes were to be distinguished, and what kind of difference was to be made between them, was not suggested, and therefore on this suggestion I put this note—"I am unable to draw the distinction."

The popular part of the new municipal constitution is also open to grave objection. The right of voting is in the *rate-payers:* and therefore in name, at least, seems conformable to English ideas and models: but this is one of the many instances in which things widely different in their nature go by the same name. The rate-paying franchise in England is a middle-class franchise, which excludes the poorest classes because they are not generally rated for their hovels. In Calcutta it is just the reverse: not a hut or hovel or shed is exempted; there are assessments as low, we believe, as two annas (three pence English) and less; and as these wretched bamboo tenements vastly out-number all others in this great and wealthy town, the franchise is in effect the same as it might be if it were universal suffrage. But this is not the only difference between it and the rate paying franchise in England. The English or European house-holders, who live in houses and not huts, the shop-keeping classes, the mercantile classes, are rarely rated either for their dwelling houses or their places of business: in some instances no one by name is rated: and names may be retained on the rate-books long after the death of the parties: the property is considered as rated: and as it is customary here for the landlords or their agents to *pay* the rates, few of the really middle house-holder class have the franchise. The result of these local peculiarities in the rates is curious: it lets in the mob, it has excluded the house-holders: and practically, it may, and under circumstances would, place the elections in the power of the collecting sircars. This will become if it is not already, a very corrupt franchise; the elections will sooner or later be carried by the long purses of banians and baboos, on the double calculation of what the salary of a Commissioner is worth, and the idea of nam-ka-wasta.

The next note on my draft was—

"No provision appears to be made for an increase or decrease in the number of vehicles or horses within the period of one year." My note was—

"No: one of the advantages of compounding is that it saves all trouble for one year, as to the amount of the assessment."

Such generally was the character of my notes, but in one, and one only, I used the following form of expression:—

"I agree with Dr. Pearson; not however that this is contrary to the Act, but unnecessary. The power given *to one* to issue a warrant implies, I think, the power of one to hear assessment;" and accordingly I carried out Dr. Pearson's suggestion.

Upon this Mr. Patton made the above offensive minute of animadversion.

When afterwards I read at the Board the rules and the suggestions of the Commissioners, I of course made the very comments which I had previously written, and no one Commissioner objected to them; and when I came to this rude and degrading Minute of Mr. Patton, still resolved if possible to smooth down this gentleman, I merely remarked the form of the expression was quite inadvertent."

At the end of the first year all this must have been obvious to the Government; whose duty, as we deem, it then became, so to have altered the franchise, as to have given some effective voice to the house-holder class and European inhabitants: an alternative course also presented itself to the Government; that of selecting its own nominees from this valuable and respectable class, in compensation for their exclusion through the state of the franchise: one or other, certainly we should say, the Government ought to have done: it did neither: the Commission continues under its original constitution; and, with one exception, is composed of the same persons: the native Commissioner of highest social mark, declined to offer himself for a second election.

Without widely departing from the question of constitution and organization, we may point out another error on the part of the Bengal Government. By the Act, the Commissioners were to be paid such salaries as should be authorized by the Government. The Government appointed *equal* salaries to all of them, except one, and to him, as we should argue from the facts stated to us,* *double:* the single salary was two hundred and fifty rupees (£25 sterling) *per mensem.* In point of amount, and as a matter of business, the Government has made a very bad bargain for the town: very much less would have been sufficient, regarding the salary as an indemnity for loss of time, in which light it must be considered; but if regarded as a remuneration for service, distinctions have been overlooked, which might have been taken; as remuneration, the salary ought to have been varied according to the class or qualification of the recipient: the Government ought to have given the town the services of its own officers for nothing; especially as it appropriates to itself several local taxes which are municipal and ought to be applied for the benefit of the town: in this point of view also, the chairman, whose numerous other official engagements form an apology for his doing little, should be considered as holding an honorary appointment: to him therefore not double salary, but nothing; to the gentleman who is qualified by his knowledge of practical British science, alone to direct and manage all the public works of the town, a very high salary would have been just, except that he already had one; and therefore to him nothing out of the rates: and to the elected Commissioners, say a gold-

* The following is the statement referred to: The present Chairman of the Commissioners was formerly entitled to draw 500 rupees per month, as an allowance for an attendance of one hour, once a week, at the Military Board: Lord Ellenborough dispensed with his attendance, partly with a view to save an useless item of expenditure: but the allowance continued to be drawn, without being attached to any duties, until Mr. Patton was appointed by government a Commissioner when the allowance was attached to that office.

mohur, for each weekly meeting, which would not have disappointed expectation, but would have been welcomed as sufficient.

Act No. 3 is an Act for removing doubts as to the meaning of the words "Thug" and "Thuggee" in the Acts of the Council of India. Under this form of removing doubts, it appears to us that the object is to extend the thug-law, to persons who are not exactly thugs, but may be deserving of the same punishment; and the trait of the thugs which is taken by the Act as the ground of this new legislative affiliation is, their being *associated* for the commission of crime: through this feature the penalties and peculiar provisions and proceedings against thuggee are extended to other criminal and murderous orders which have common bonds of association.*

As a part of the judicial system, this Act is important: but the point of view in which we wish more particularly to present it at present is, as evidentiary of the increase in India of very atrocious crimes, and symptomatic of the retrogression of the mass of the people in barbarous habits or towards barbarism. This is not a far-fetched induction: it is only the same as if from the law against thugs, we should infer the existence of the offence of thuggee, which obviously we might do, if Colonel Sleeman's revelations were buried in the archives of government. We are kept in the dark in this instance as to the special motives and grounds for this piece of legislation; but reason unlocks the secret in the shape of inference. It can however be considered in one respect, no secret; because all competent judges and all credible evidences agree that India is in a state of retrogression; no new forms of virtue arise, as in the march of civilization; but new crimes abound:—what is that but retrogression?

We do not know whether this Act was passed with a view to a particular local application; but we have reason to believe that numerous predatory bands overrun some of the finest parts of lower Bengal. That these Banditti are addicted to atrocities like Thuggee, we will not affirm; but they enjoy impunity to a great degree, and their freedom from molestation by the ordinary police, enables them to subsist as habitual or permanent associations.

From this admitted state of facts, the mind is naturally led to ponder and ask, what may be some of the more immediate and secondary causes? The question is of sufficient interest and importance to warrant a short digression. The state of the police

* "It is hereby declared and limited that the word "Thug," when used in any Acts heretofore passed by the Council of India, shall be taken to have meant and to mean a person who is or has at any time been, habitually associated with any other or others for the purpose of committing, by means intended to cause the death of any person, the offence of child-stealing or the offence of robbery not amounting to dacoity," &c. &c.

we regard as one active cause of the multiplication of all sorts of crimes. It is no exaggeration to say, every body regards the police of this part of India as a curse on the population; they are in the constant practice of all sorts of extortions and oppressions; by these the industrious and feeble are bowed down to the dust, and sunk into the most degraded condition: the fellahs of Egypt are scarcely more pitiable: the hardy and vigorous, flee from their homes, and in their aggregation become bands of robbers. They find in this new, anomalous, criminal, and barbarous state, a great improvement in their condition. Instead of suffering the individual oppressions of the unemancipated villagers, the police levy only a moderate tribute from them, and render them in return the service of pioneering to them. The police is, in this way, one great elemental cause of that retrogression towards a purely barbarous state which is indicated by the increasing number of criminal associations.

Is there no remedy for these *causal* elements of crime? Yes. What? To reform the police. Our rulers in Leadenhall Street agree. Why then is it not done? Because, say they, "Our Government of Bengal, the entire judicial branch of our Civil Service, the men through whom we must act in these matters, and who have passed one-half of their official lives as magistrates the other half as judges, say it is impracticable." Then say we, reform your Government of Bengal, reform your Civil Service: this, we fear, our present rulers will not do.

Much the same is the case when we come to other active causes of demoralization. The consideration of them ends in a call for a change of system; and the reply is always nearly the same. The constabulary part of the police is under governance, and it may easily be believed that it could not have come to the state described, if it had been under proper management. What do we find when we enquire into this point? That many of the magistrates are young men, with a very imperfect knowledge of the vernacular language of the district under their charge. And what is the consequence? That they are in a great degree dependent on their darogahs, thannadars and the other native officials of the superior constabulary grades, for a knowledge of the state of their districts; dependent also they must be, on the same classes, in their *court* business, which, so far as they are concerned, mainly consists in hearing read, the reports of darogahs and thannadars, who are in some sense, public accusers, and evidence which has been taken down in writing by the very lowest scribes of office. Manifestly the police therefore, we assert, are not under the check of an able and competent magis-

tracy. Reform then, we say, the magistracy. Impossible to do so, without impairing the rank and privileges of the Civil Service; and therefore it is not done. In extenuation, our rulers refer to the appointment of Deputy Magistrates, which office is a new creation of the local legislature. The Deputy Magistrates are some of them natives, the rest consist of persons born or brought up in this country, or perfect, through other circumstances, in the language, and conversant with the character and customs, of the common people. But these valuable men are depressed in various ways: some of them with parts of districts as large as some English counties, and qualifications very superior, are still in subordination to, the magistrate, and have to refer to the latter for orders. We remark in the last report of the Superintendent of Police, that he speaks of one of this class, as *deficient* in energy, when the poor man in fact, possessed little more than the power of a darogah, and was made to feel his relative inferiority. Such causes have impaired the efficiency of this arm of the service.

If from the Magistrate we turn to the Zillah Courts, we find a very similar state of things: the Amlahs, the most worthless and corrupt of mankind, and the Judge very dependant upon them. The general deficiency of the Company's Civil Service Judges is sufficiently established in our apprehension, by the fact, scarcely disputed, of the existence of such a state of things. A sceptical person may ask, what gives these Amlahs their weight and influence, to blind the Judge, if he be blinded, or to silence and disarm him if he be cognizant? We reply, his practical inferiority to *them* in official matters, and their real and essential usefulness to *him;* for all their own duties they are competent, but he not for his without their assistance; they are not jurists nor is he; but their common sense will carry them on, when his fails, in the jungles of mofussil litigation; and they are his only instruments; under such circumstances he may have persuaded himself that they are not so bad, and if he deems them bad, he also regards the case as irremediable. This is our answer to one half of the above question; the solution for the rest is to be found in the flattering, coaxing, adroit, and winning demeanour and address of these people. Be this correct or not, the state of the Law Courts has a most demoralizing influence on the people, and the Courts require reformation. Reform them, then we say: impossible, say our rulers; but we maintain that the impossibility is not in the object, but only in its being accomplished by *them*.

When such, as above described, is the condition of all or nearly all the natives in those official departments which

exert most influence over the condition of the population, can we be surprized at the symptoms of returning barbarism? And correspondent with the growth of corruption has been the decline of personal respectability, and of the numbers of respectable people, in the native population.

And here our readers may naturally ask, "but what of the Europeans?" Who form a very important component part, if not in virtue of their numbers, in virtue of their origin. If any other nation had conquered India, what would the condition of the conquering race have been; If the French had conquered India, what would Frenchmen in India at this day, have been; If the United states, what would the Americans at this time have been? India (we opine) would have been covered with American towns, French towns, for there are numerous localities fit for their settlement: and history would have had something by this time of day to tell of the useful influence of the free settlers of the American or French nations: what has it now to tell as it respects British subjects out of the presidency towns?

Under any proper system of British rule, Englishmen would be, and be regarded as forming, collectively an element of order and a pillar of strength, and there would be a strong feeling of sympathy and attachment, between them, the officers carrying on the local administrations, and the supreme government: but this is not the case now and it might almost be supposed, that the company's system makes a peculiar kind of Englishmen. It is certain that the cultivated intellect of our countrymen, but rarely finds its way hither, and never finds a settlement; all the liberal ideas under which British art and science might thrive being entirely wanting alike in Leadenhall Street and the local government. Our countrymen in India may be regarded under the two classes of labourers and capitalists, and surrounded as they are by official corruption, (we mean in the mofussil) they with difficulty any where can maintain their position: and merely in virtue of the state of the police and law courts, they are often all but obliged to cast off their appropriate virtues as the offspring of a Christian and civilized European nation.

Act No. 5 has a title which does not notify what we apprehend to be its chief object, namely to bring British born subjects under the power of the Company's mofussil police; this is the principal object and it is effected by it; and this is the first Act of the kind ever passed. The Act is entitled, "An Act to amend the Law regarding the taking of Mochalkas or penal recognizances." After repealing the old Bengal Regulations on the subject, the Act enacts as follows:—

"That in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Bengal,

'it shall be lawful for the Zillah and City Magistrates and Joint-'Magistrates, to take Mochalkas or Penal recognizances in the 'form annexed to this Act *as well from British subjects* as 'from other persons, in all cases wherein it may appear just 'and necessary to require the same, for the maintenance of the 'peace of their respective jurisdictions, although the party to 'be bound in such recognizances may not have been convicted 'of any specific offence."

By the next section, in "cases of an aggravated nature," the magistrate may require sureties in addition to the party's own recognizance.

A recognizance confined to the necessity and object pointed out, would be conditioned to keep, or not commit a breach of, the peace; the form of Mochalka given by the Act greatly exceeds this object; the recognizance is, that the party bound shall "not commit *any act that can occasion* a breach of the peace."

And the sureties, in like manner, when sureties are required, bind themselves that their principal "shall not *commit any act that can occasion* a breach of the peace."

In what light we ask must the author of such provisions have regarded British subjects? We have no hesitation in replying —as persons generally tainted with crime, and addicted to the commission of breaches of the peace and acts of violence. Such recognizances are fit only to be required of the reckless, lawless, and convicted criminals, and should be allowed only in such a state as when in England the *habeas corpus* Act and all the great safeguards of personal liberty are suspended. Nothing, in our apprehension, can justify such a law, but a proved necessity and a high degree of public danger.

We have not yet presented the clause which relates to the forfeiture and enforcement of these instruments. That clause, it will be seen, contains no check on their literal application: it is as follows:—

"Whenever it may be proved before the magistrate that any such recognizance has been forfeited, he shall proceed to enforce the penalty in the mode prescribed for the satisfaction of decrees of the civil Court."

At some risk of appearing prolix, we shall offer a few criticisms on the details of these enactments.

For aught contained in the Act, a person may be put under recognizances who has no criminal intentions whatever, and against whom none are even alleged.

For aught contained in the Act, the recognizance may be declared to be forfeited merely by reason of criminal intentions,

though the accused may have committed no unlawful Act and no breach of the peace has in fact happened.

That it is very possible the law may have such an application may easily be made apparent. The following, though an imaginary case, is exceedingly probable. Suppose a district to have been much disturbed by affrays, and that the Darogah reports that on such a day a body of lattials was seen on the estate of Mr. —— a certain Indigo-planter. The magistrate asks, "whose servants were the lattials;" the Darogah replies, "they were the servants of Mr. —— on whose property I saw them." "Very well," replies the magistrate, "I know what lattials are kept for, they are concerned in all the affrays of the district. I will bind Mr. —— under recognizances under Act 5, of 1848." Mr. —— is then summoned: but not confronted with his accusers: the magistrate is charged to keep the peace of the district, and on such a state of the case, he deems it just and necessary to require, and Mr. ——— must give his recognizance. Such is the manner, and such are the circumstances under which these recognizances may be required and taken.

A few days after the same Darogah comes again to the magistrate, and again reports that lattials are seen on the estate of this same Indigo-planter. "Very well," says the magistrate, "I know what lattials are kept for. Mr. —— is bound under Act 5 of 1848, in twenty thousand rupees; bring your witnesses, and I will forfeit his recognizance." The Darogah obeys: witnesses, in any number, can be had for any purposes: the lattials are sworn to be the servants of the accused planter, and his recognizance is forfeited;—when the real truth, probably was, that the lattials were brought on to his estate by his neighbouring rival and enemy, for the purpose of putting this engine of oppression in force against him, and by such evidence and means he may be convicted. Our readers can now understand, if they have any personal acquaintance with India, our reasons for saying, how difficult, how all but impossible, it must be, for British capital and British subjects to exist under such a law in the hands of the Mofussil police and magistracy. Such a law would be dangerous any where: it is pregnant with ruin to British interests in India.

Again, under the Act, through these recognizances, a person may be punished for an actual affray, without the evidence which would be necessary in a criminal Court to find him guilty upon a direct charge of being a party to it. The meshes of this law are so artfully contrived as to catch the innocent, if they be but accused or suspected.

We have not considered this law in its application to smaller

offences: but it is felt to place every man at the mercy of the lowest class of natives, and under no counteractive check, but that of the good sense or feeling of the magistrate.

It may be said that the extravagant features on which we have dwelt will be of no practical effect, and that our objections though technically just, are visionary. We wish we could think so; but we feel assured of the contrary; and it is notorious that these peculiarities constitute the merit of the Act in the estimation of its author; and that gentleman is in a position to give full effect to them, as he is at the head of the Police, and references on all sorts of subjects, judicial as well as administrative are constantly made to him by the magistracy.

The Act certainly is not intended to remain a dead letter. We regard it as an instance of an atrocious law passed in despair, to get rid of evils, which owe their existence to the incompetency of the Police and magistracy. It is come to this: that the public authorities have to defend *themselves*, being incapable of securing the peace of the districts: and in the decline of all legitimate authority, they ask for newfangled and constantly increasing powers.

It may be asked is nothing to be done to restrain Europeans? We reply,—put the courts and police into a fit state to exercise a jurisdiction over civilized men: the defects of the constabulary and judicial administrations, are as great as at any former period, and had hitherto been deemed of such magnitude as to make it both dangerous and inexpedient to subject Europeans to them. British subjects have now just reason to complain, that, by the worst of all possible laws, they are for the first time put under the worst of all possible jurisdictions.

Act No. 6, relates to the Customs duties. Its title explains its object and operation. It is "An Act for equalizing the duties on goods imported and exported on foreign and British bottoms, and for abolishing duties on goods carried from port to port in territories subject to the Government of the East India Company; and Act No. 7, is Supplementary to it and excepts certain free ports from its operation. At the free ports, no import duties being payable; this Act subjects to the ordinary duties the exports coming from them.

When we wrote the foregoing notes on Act No. 2, and adduced that Act as evidence of the increase of criminal associations, we had not perused nor were aware of the objects of Act No. 11, to which in due course we are now come, and this Act not only confirms but would alone suggest the same opinion and inference. It is entitled

"An Act for the punishment of wandering gangs of thieves and robbers."

We will give its recital.

"Whereas it is expedient to extend some of the provisions of the law for the conviction of thugs and dacoits to other gangs of thieves and robbers, it is enacted as follows."

Then comes the enacting clause which applies to wandering gangs of persons associated for the purposes of theft and robbery. The enacting clause runs as follows :—

"Whosoever shall be proved to have belonged either before or after the passing of this Act to any wandering gang of persons, associated for the purpose of theft and robbery, not being a gang of thugs or dacoits, shall be punished," &c.

This Act appears to be a legislative after thought, and supplementary to the former; it is a nice juridical question, which, as laymen, it would be presumptuous in us to attempt to answer, wherein legally, jurisprudentially considered, the two Acts essentially differ. With such a Police however, and a population with the habits of the people of India, we regard such an Act as full of danger. Immense numbers of the natives are always travelling; some to distant seats of trade, some to the seats of their national shrines and idols: and they travel in crowds or "gangs:" the nation is a "wandering," migratory, crusading people: and many of them not too honest, though not generally "thieves and robbers." The danger to which we have alluded is, that this criminal law should be extensively applied, if not by the judges, by the *police* to these classes; and that probably, at every *Chutti* in India at which the pilgrim rests, a tribute will be levied, in malt, meal or money, for an exemption from the charge of belonging to a wandering gang of thieves and robbers.

In another respect this Act appears to rest on a very questionable policy. Society usually opens its arms to those, who having committed no crime themselves, have merely belonged to an illegal society; and thus, constantly holds out a motive for desertion from the gangs of conspirators. This policy is reversed, in a law for punishing a man merely for having belonged by membership to an illegal or infamous body.

While we have been writing these remarks a very curious prospectus has been brought to us in one of the Calcutta daily newspapers,* emanating from a native, who proposes to revive the Landholders' Society of Calcutta, apparently for the purpose of obtaining through the united co-operation of the Government and the chief native inhabitants of Bengal, protection from

* The *Englishman*, 15th February, 1849.

bands of dacoits, thieves and robbers. It is evidently not the production of a man of the world nor of a man of business, but of a quick-minded, sensitive, benevolent enthusiast, whose imagination suffers in the contemplation of the state of India, and the condition of all classes of his countrymen, and seeks relief in this scheme of amelioration. As an indication of native feeling and a corroboration of all that we have said, this is a very important document. Its first topic is, the state of the law Courts, and the Regulations respecting them. "The law suits alone," he says, "as is evident, ruined and exterminated many, many rich families; therefore the disputes and contests of all sorts shall be compromised by arbitration." This system, he says, "will at once put a stop to forged documents and prevarication." That is, as we understand the writer to mean, forgery and perjury having grown up under our innovations, the remedy is, to return to the old punchayet or arbitration system. He next proposes a better arrangement of the Calcutta Police, Petty Court and Conservancy Department. Then turning to the Mofussil, he ascribes the frightful increase in the "practice of affray" as he calls it, to the "want of a provision, of a sufficient check in the beginning of a contest or dispute." And with reference to this, the projector, without saying so in terms, apparently looks for relief nearly in the revival of the ancient Hindu village system. But alas! that admirable polity, which survived the ravages of the Mahomedans, and was adopted to a certain extent by them, is gone; and in lieu of it, with its well gradationed authorities, we have set up, and left absolute, the village chowkidar, the lowest functionary and vilest of persons: in this probably lies the true secret of the present state of India: the chowkidar remains, and over him the darogah, the thannadar, and next the magistrate; but the Hindu state is at last crumbled, and by penalties we are now endeavouring to elicit order. We half suspect that some of those so-called wandering gangs may be but endeavouring to re-organize their own native communities beyond the pale of British law and authority. Certainly, a systematic attempt to revive the ancient elements of order can be made, as this native gentleman proposes, only by the co-operation of all the respectable natives and the authorities: but the project must fail, if from no other cause, for want of a Government, capable of appreciating such a grand idea: and it would require a Napoleon of peace to achieve it.

Act No. 12, is an Act "for better defining the jurisdiction of the Commissioners for the recovery of small debts." The object of this Act is rather to *confirm* than define, and this it does,

by curing certain defects in the manner in which the Court acquired an enlargement of its jurisdiction. This Act would not attract a remark, but from its connection with much previous discussion on the interesting and important subject of Indian Law Reform; and we shall take the opportunity of noticing a rumour, which many circumstances combine to accredit respecting it, namely, that this Act is the ultimatum of our new Law Commissioner in the way of Law reform: and all the plans which Macaulay, Amos, and Cameron have proposed, and all the Reports and arguments which they have written, are to be considered as "cushioned": their successor,* if we may pursue the metaphor, is to play a different game.

Act No. 15 is an Act to forbid trading by the officers of the Supreme Courts. We are not aware that this vice was ever imputed to any, but the officers of the Supreme Court of *Calcutta;* and in justice to the other Supreme Courts and to the English bar in India, the origin of the Act ought historically to have been intimated. The Act originated in circumstances which are fresh in the public recollection; and we therefore do not dwell upon them, but shall merely here record our opinion, that they present an amount and variety of official delinquency, to which neither past nor present times afford a parallel. This Act besides forbidding *trading*, as indicated in the title of it, forbids the acceptance of gifts and rewards "for any Act or behaviour in office." In a true history of the "gifts and rewards" here forbidden, would be found a whole catalogue of corruptions. The Act makes no provision against embezzlement of the Suitors' or Courts' funds, as it might have done; nor against the temporary alienation of them; nor against the wilful and corrupt denial of just titles and claims to property, in the course of official administration; all which offences have been perpetrated here, at the Presidency and seat of the Supreme Government, with impunity and by wholesale, and ought to have been provided against in an effectual manner,—the common law, as it is called, being, as we have seen, inoperative, inadequate, and impotent. The penalty provided by the Act, for the infraction of its provisions, is,—on conviction, deprivation of office, and a contingent liability, at the discretion of the Court, to be declared incapable of being appointed to the same or any other office of the same Court, or to serve Her Majesty or the East India Company, &c.; *or*, fine and imprisonment, or either, for the misdemeanour. Not deprivation and fine, &c., but only one of them. The original

* Mr. Drinkwater Bethune.

draft of this Act, if we recollect aright, vacated the office, or made the appointment null and void, ipso facto, on the infraction of the enactment; public right and justice were thereby placed in the proper position of being vindicated without the trouble of obtaining a formal conviction. This Act has many other defects; it casts on no one the obligation of prosecuting: it provides no special mode of proceeding: it does not empower the public informer: and it gives the private prosecutor neither indemnity nor reward, for his pains and trouble. Defective thus as the Act in every respect is, it is likely to operate only as an instruction; one single prosecution with a just award of punishment, and recorded in Morton's decisions, would be far more effectual by way of precept and example.

Act No. 16, is an Act to remove certain restrictions on the salt trade: the restrictions alluded to were the subject of our animadversion in the course of the present series of articles; and the present and two other recent Acts of a similar kind are the fruits, we believe, of our criticisms. This Act opens the salt trade upwards from Bengal into the N. W. Provinces, and takes off the customs duty formerly levied on Bengal Salt going thither.

Act No. 24 is the usual Act passed in anticipation of the Governor General leaving the seat of the Supreme Government and his place in Council, and was passed on the 10th of October just before the Earl of Dalhousie left Calcutta. It empowers his Lordship "alone to exercise all the powers which may be exercised 'by a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, except such 'powers as may by a Resolution of the Governor-General in 'Council be exercised by the President in Council and except 'the power of making Laws and Regulations." We have stated before, and here repeat, that our objection is, chiefly to the great powers which the Governor-General leaves behind, and not to those which he takes with him.

The other Acts of the year 1848, not specially noticed above are as follows. An Act for regulating Coroner's Juries. An Act for Bengal (to regulate the mode of serving notices on ryots.) An Act for the Straits' settlements, for raising rates for police and municipal purposes. An Act for annexing the lapsed state of Mandvee to the Presidency of Bombay. An Act for Bengal, for the limitation of suits for contesting the awards of the revenue authorities. An Act to enable the Supreme Court of Calcutta to issue Commissions to take affidavits. An Act for Madras, for substituting stamp duties for Institution fees in the Moonsiff's Courts, &c. An Act for the administration of the estate of the late Nuwab of *Surat*, &c. An Act for Bengal and Madras, for better declaring the Law as to revision of the

sentences of the Subordinate Criminal Courts. An Act for better enforcing the attendance of proprietors and farmers of land before Collectors of Revenue. An Act for avoiding wagers. An Act to simplify Indictments for forgery. An Act to amend a Clerical error in Act No. 25 of 1840. An Act for Restoration of the Jagheer of Bunganapilly. An Act to extend to the Straits the Act for regulating Coroner's Juries. An Act to establish additional articles of war for the Indian Navy.

Besides the above Acts, a new Insolvent Act for India has been passed by Parliament. With this one exception, the legislation for India in 1848 affords scarcely a point on which we can dwell with satisfaction.

If from the laws, we turn to the ordained instrument of legislation, we find numerous grounds for dissatisfaction. The time during which the constitutional head of the Council is necessarily absent, much exceeds that of his presence at the seat of the Supreme Government. Lord Hardinge, after being nearly two years away, returned merely to embark for England; and left, of course, a very large arrear of all kinds of business, legislative and administrative, for his successor, the present Governor-General. That successor, the Earl of Dalhousie, than whom no Governor-General ever gave higher promise of an able and vigorous Civil administration, had been scarcely long enough at the presidency to pierce the official mystifications which involve nearly all Indian administrative and legislative questions, when he also was called away; and thereby the presidency of Bengal, with its out-dependencies, some of them at a distance of two thousand miles, its thirty millions of people, its seven millions of revenue; and the Legislative Council of only five persons, with an imperial extent of sway, comprising three great presidencies and all their out-dependencies, lost their one sole British statesman; and, thereupon, the Government of Bengal and office of President of the Council, presenting an union of powers of the most magnificent kind, fell, as of course into the hands of a Bengal Civilian! and that gentleman's term of office being nearly out, he is about to be succeeded under special orders from the Court, by indeed the Company's greatest living General, and a really eminent valued and excellent man, Major General Sir John Littler; but yet, be it said, who never has had any but Indian experience; and no experience at all in Civil Government. Under such an order of things, the progress and improvement hoped for when the last Charter Act was passed, are of course, impossible.

ART. IV.—*Report of Proceedings connected with the East Indians' petition to Parliament, read at a Public Meeting, held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, 28th March, 1831—with an Appendix. Calcutta; Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, 1831.*

NEARLY eighteen years have winged their flight over the body of East Indians in this country, since their spirited and praiseworthy exertions to redress the grievances under which they labored, and to elevate themselves in the social scale, from the degradation to which they had been forced, by the ungenerous conduct of their European fathers. The state and condition of the body remain, in all general respects, unaltered. Scarcely has any favorable change been made; and yet the present generation do not seem to be alive to their own interests or to put forth any efforts to amend the circumstances in which they are placed. The example of their brethren is utterly lost upon them. They appear to be contented with their present situation, and to satisfy their consciences with the moral conveyed in the school-boy specimens of caligraphy, "Contentment is a gem beyond a diadem." They however are forgetful of the fact, that there are two species of contentment; the one causing a man to continue sluggishly, "in that state of life to which he has been called," and the other giving freedom of exertion to meliorate the circumstances of our lives, without at the same time permitting us to repine at our lot or to grow envious at the prosperity of others. The latter species is ennobling. The East Indians however, have apparently, as a body, turned away from this kind of contentment, and surrendered themselves to that species which results in a *stagnation* of the moral and intellectual faculties and a gradual deterioration of character. Even some of those who took a prominent share in the great business of 1828, '29, '30, and '31, and who are still living, have grown lukewarm and indifferent to their own interests, and are neglectful of the claims, the obligations, and the interests of their posterity.

It is not our intention now to revive the questions which were mooted by the East Indians in other days, which are embodied in the petition that was forwarded to both Houses of Parliament in the year 1829, and which was adopted at a General Meeting, held at the Town Hall, on the 20th April of that year. These questions may—nay we think ought, still to be agitated; and especially at this moment, when the term of the Company's Charter will soon expire. They may however

be found in the pamphlet which we have prefixed to these remarks, and which we picked up with considerable difficulty. It is an honorable publication, and yet strange to say, it is not thought of by the East Indians whom it especially concerns. It is a record of exertions which afford an unfavorable contrast to the apathy of the present race, and hence it is, that it is thrown aside and never looked into. If the pamphlet were more generally read, we are persuaded that the liberal and active spirit which pervades it, would be imbibed by East Indians of the present day, and the example of their elder brethren would be emulated. For this end we would recommend its being re-printed and widely circulated among the community.

It is our object to glance at the present situation and prospects of the East Indian body; to point out with a friendly spirit some of the faults which are observable in their character; and to point to a few of the remedies which might be efficacious towards their removal and the introduction of a better state of things. We thus candidly reveal our purpose, not with the view of disarming criticism which we gladly court, but to disabuse the East Indians of any prejudice which they might entertain against the freedom of our remarks; the truth of which cannot be doubted, but the narration of which may be unpalatable. The *mens conscia sibi recti* is our *æs triplex;* and nothing can rob us of its comfort or deprive us of its support.

Before however proceeding to this important task which we have proposed for our accomplishment, it will not be amiss if, by way of *episode*, we mention the names and exertions of those who directed their best efforts to meliorate the condition of the East Indians. These were not once without their friends, but they seem to be now utterly destitute of them. The reason of this may be found in the words of the immortal Bard of Avon, "that if a man be not true to himself, he cannot be true to others."

Among the class of the people of Great Britain who have visited this land from pecuniary considerations, two names must be mentioned as having distinguished themselves most honorably in the cause of the East Indians. One of these two belonged to the Military branch of the Company's Service. He was a highly efficient officer, being selected to fill the office of the first Secretary to the Military Department. Nor was he loth to render due service to the Muses. His poem "On the mosquitos," will not be soon forgotten by his friends, and his frequent contributions to the oldest journal of this city, *The Hurkaru*, will bear ample testimony to his literary attainments. It was principally through the exertions of the late Col. James

Young, that in the year 1827 the East Indians obtained the privilege of sitting on the Grand and Petty Juries of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

The next Briton who felt a lively interest in the condition of the East Indians, was Mr. James Calder, of the late firm of Mackintosh and Co. He was always ready to assist every measure, both with his countenance and his purse, which had for its object the melioration of that body. He was the founder of the well-known Apprenticing Society, which held forth inducements to the trade to take as apprentices the youth of this country, brought up in the several charitable institutions which embellish this city.

Among the East Indians themselves, there were two men whose position and whose business invested them with sufficient influence to command the sentiments and regulate the opinions of their class. The names and exertions of Mr. Kydd, the founder of the Kidderpore Dock Yard, which has since passed into the hands of the Government, and who has been gathered to his fathers—and of Doctor Frith of the late firm of Frith and Gordon, Chemists and Druggists, deserve a more permanent record than the memory of the generation in which they had been useful. They were men engaged in business; their views of amendment were of a practical nature, and from what we know of them, highly conducive to the secular welfare of the East Indians.

Of the great many who have lived in this land and whose exertions are intimately associated with the history of British India, there is one, who, remarkable as he was, for the liberality of his mind, for the noble exercise of his commanding influence, and for the statesman-like energy and comprehensiveness of his views, was still more remarkable for his private beneficence and his warm and intense sympathy with the condition, the circumstances, and the prospects of the East Indians. He felt for them as an elder brother feels for the younger members of an increasing family; and the enduring monument which he has raised for himself, of his own exertions, will perpetuate to latest ages, the name, the worth, and the fame of Lord Charles Theophilus Metcalfe—who exercised with the moderation and virtue of a Titus, the almost despotic influence which he possessed as a ruler of this land—who felt with a Clarke and a Wilberforce for the slaves whom he governed in Jamaica—and who, through the difficult means of Parliamentary majorities, quelled the dissensions and soothed the irritated feelings of the British Canadians.

Last though not the least of all these worthies, is the respected John William Ricketts. He was born about the end of 1791,

the precise date and place of his birth are unknown, and he lost his father who was an Ensign in the Company's Service, at the memorable siege of Seringapatam, in the year 1791. He was educated by the Military Orphan Society, and left school when he was about fifteen years old in the year 1807. He commenced life as an apprentice in the Honorable Company's Service for five years and sailed to Bencoolen.* Our information of his early life is scanty. The materials are few and of such doubtful authenticity, that we do not feel warranted in giving them "a local habitation and a name." All that we can depend upon is, that at an early season, he manifested a strong and warm desire to benefit his countrymen. The success of the exertions of the East Indians to sit on the Grand and Petty Juries, aided by the influence and talents of the late Col. James Young, emboldened him to greater efforts. He was possessed of great moral courage, mental energy, and indomitable perseverance. His contributions to the journals of this city, were neither few nor unfrequent. The great aim of all his exertions was to elevate his countrymen in the social scale and to relieve them from the load of disabilities under which they were groaning. He wrote earnestly and long, and what is not without merit, he wrote well. Though the groves of Parnassus and the sweets of Hybla and Hymettus and the fountains of Arethusa—the vale of Tempé and the summer beauty and fertility of Arcadia—the *fabulosus Hydaspes* and the *præceps Anio* and the yellow Tiber, with all their rich classic associations, did not feed, cherish, and inform his mind; the pages of Addison and the noble strains of Milton, were his delight, and formed the subjects of his intense study. He stored his mind with the proud wealth of English literature, and he was endowed with a felicity and ease of expression which enabled him to make excellent use of all he had learnt. His heart was in its right place and his application was as unremitting as it was intense. There was also a self-dependence in him, which invested him with power to combat against odds, and to be undeterred in the pursuit of his objects by the stings and the filth and the buzz of noisome little insects. What he undertook he could and would perform. He was also blessed with the power of communicating his enthusiasm to the breasts of others, and bending their wills and turning their inclinations to his own views, and directing all to the attainment of the object which he kept in view for the general good. If any man in his moral and intellectual features

* So much information as we have given of his early life, was obligingly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Wood, Officiating Secretary, Military Orphan Society, from the records of the office.

resembled the English Cobbett, it was the East Indian, John William Ricketts.

The first occasion on which he made his *debût* before the public was the opposition which he gave to the address which the European inhabitants were anxious of voting, to Mr. Deputy Governor Adams, the uncompromising champion, *not* of the Liberty, but of the Slavery of the Press. Hitherto had Mr. Ricketts labored quietly but still uninterruptedly. He had anonymously advocated the cause of his countrymen; but now he felt an irresistible impulse carrying him forward, which caused him to emerge from the obscurity in which he had so long dwelt, and dwelt too, not uselessly. Nor was the occasion which made him tear off all reserve and throw himself in the ranks of the opposition—a post full of envy and danger—either trifling or unimportant. It was astonishing to behold Englishmen, who consider the Liberty of the Press to be the *palladium* of their constitution, coming forward to offer their congratulations to a man who had so far forgotten the liberal and enlightened lessons he no doubt had learnt from his mother, and the independent spirit which he had to a certainty imbibed from infancy, as to *gag* the Press—and nullify its influence for the advancement and information of the people. A Briton had become as mean, timid, and suspicious, as the weakest of Turkish sultans or the most pusillanimous of Indian despots—and it was to honor such a man, to pour forth the grovelling sentiments of adulation to an idol more ignoble and hideous than the Hindú Jagannath, that Britons had met at the Town Hall. Their conduct was regarded with feelings of great surprise by those who had imbibed English literature and science, and felt what a great boon the Liberty of the Press, was to Society. These individuals who were making known their wants and their grievances through the medium of the Press, and were endeavouring to form themselves into a body for the purpose of obtaining a sure and certain remedy for all their ills, could not conceive that the social board of Mr. Adams should have transformed the hearts, the feelings, and the sentiments of Englishmen, or that the vast expanse of the Atlantic should have made men become morally their own Antipodes. Mr. Ricketts felt indignant at such servility. He opposed the Meeting. Shame covered and suffused the cheeks of the Britons, but a false pride and a false delicacy prevailed over their better judgment and their returning reason. Mr. Ricketts was left in a minority; and if ever a minority was honorable and faithful to truth and justice, it was this minority.

No man was more earnest in appreciating the benefits of a

good education, and none more zealous in adopting means to secure it than Mr. Ricketts. He was the founder of the Parental Academic Institution, which was established on the 1st March, 1823. How inauspicious soever were the circumstances under which it was ushered into existence, and how feeble soever its beginnings, it has been under God, a mighty instrument for good to the children of this land. Catholic in its principles and sensible of the peculiarities of the moral and social relations of this country, it has worked on its way "through good report and through evil report" and accomplished much good. It has been in existence for twenty-five years, and is now putting forth its youthful and vigorous efforts to be still more extensively useful. Nor has it for a moment abandoned the principles of its organization. It is still with open doors inviting youth of all classes, of every hue and complexion, and of every denomination, to enter into its seats of learning and improve their minds and qualify themselves for the great and the important duties of life. It debars none from tasting of the fruits which Science and Art and Literature produce; and what is of still greater advantage, it directs the minds of the pupils to the knowledge of God, and all the blessed truths of His Revelation.

We have stated that the "Parental," notwithstanding, the great lapse of time, continues "unchanging and unchanged," and we are persuaded that we have not hazarded a controvertible statement. We have heard it whispered that the institution has altered the principles upon which it was based. Those who have an intimate acquaintance with the internal economy of that school, will find that there has been neither any alteration nor abandonment of any one principle upon which it has been founded. The fact is simply this. Every denomination of Christians is anxious of having a school, conducted on its peculiar principles; and people therefore express dissatisfaction with the Parental Academy, because it does not abandon its Catholic spirit and become exclusive. They say that the time has arrived when it is necessary to make a stand and vociferate the *Shibboleth* of party. We do not fully understand the reason of such a procedure, but we may be allowed to state, that it is the duty of all true Christians to mingle together in the unity of the spirit, and to keep together in the bonds of peace; and that the only contest in which they can be engaged externally in this land, is that which is waged between light and darkness. The Parental Academy is the *exponent* of such a union of spirit; and as party-spirit is more exciting and therefore more blinding than moderation based on prudential and religious considerations,—this important institution has not been so universally

esteemed as it deserves. While other seminaries have risen and disappeared like mushrooms, it has hitherto, amid all vicissitudes, maintained its ground—proving that it has in it a principle of vitality which promises continued stability and usefulness.

The " Parental Academic Institution" is the great, and we hope it will be, the enduring monument of Mr. Ricketts' zeal, energy, and fame. His portrait adorns the hall, and we sincerely trust that the East Indian body will also hang up on the other walls of the school, the pictures of those who have labored earnestly and usefully for the institution and contributed to its advancement and glory. After the establishment of this Academy, Mr. Ricketts did not deem it necessary to repose on the laurel he had so deservedly won. In fact, idleness was foreign to his nature. He could not exist without agitating some question, or forwarding some movement. At length his enthusiasm fired the breasts of others. A general desire was felt to do something for the purpose of redressing the grievances under which the East Indian body labored. It was found that any application to the Local Government or to the Court of Directors was unattended with success. Happily it was proposed that a petition detailing every evil and pointing out every act of injustice, should be framed and forwarded to the Legislative Assembly of Great Britain. The Parliament of England would never turn a deaf ear to the reasonable demands of her people. Still it was urged that the mere transmission of the petition would not secure the object which the petitioners had in view. There must be another force to propel the movement—a pressure from without to direct attention to the petition within the walls of the Parliament. Some one must be deputed to awaken interest and excite sympathy on behalf of the East Indians. One of their own body must be present in England than whom no one else would feel a more lively interest in the success of the petition. Few there were who would volunteer to undertake the attempt. To hazard the loss of a permanent situation in a Government Office—to tear themselves from the ties of family and of kindred—" to tempt the dangerous deep"—to visit a foreign clime, it may be uncongenial to the health of the constitution—to land and sojourn for a time among strangers—to brave the " proud man's contumely" and " the rich man's scorn"—to seek to excite an interest for a body whose fault was their birth, a circumstance beyond their control, and who were treated with greater rigour than the Partheniæ of Sparta—to obtain redress for grievances which Britons have not felt ;—all these sacrifices, hazards, and exertions were required to be made by him who would convey the petition to England.

All were mute, when Mr. Ricketts proffered his services. At a Meeting held at the Town Hall, on the 20th of April, 1829. Mr. Ricketts was appointed the agent of the East Indians and the petition was entrusted to his safe and able custody. He was prompt in the performance of his duty. He set sail with all possible despatch and arrived in London on the 27th December, 1829, and immediately proceeded with the business with which he had charged himself. He put himself in communication with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, with the Noble Duke of Wellington and with others of influence and authority whose co-operation and sympathy were necessary to be secured. On the 29th of March, 1830, the East Indians' petition was presented in the House of Lords by Lord Carlisle; and on the 4th May in the House of Commons by the Honorable Mr. Wynn. On the 31st March, Mr. Ricketts was examined at the bar of the House of Lords before their Select Committee on the affairs of India. On the 21st and the 24th of June, he was examined before the Committee of the House of Commons. Having discharged his duty and made arrangements for further agitation of the great subject for which he had left his native land, he embarked for Calcutta on the 8th of July. After a long, tedious, and vexatious passage he arrived safely in Calcutta, on the 19th of March, 1831.

It is foreign to our purpose to give a detail of the circumstances of Mr. Ricketts' stay in England. It will be sufficient to observe that his conduct and exertions were warmly approved by his constituents. A silver vase was presented to him in token of their admiration. He was solicited to sit for his picture and a public banquet was given him. At Madras the East Indians gave him a warm reception. He had thus the proud satisfaction of learning that he had done his duty, and fully and completely realized the expectations of his constituents.

On his arrival, he rejoined his office in the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. The public-spirited Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, who was then the Secretary of the office, permitted him to return to his original situation. At this period, during the administration of Lord Bentinck, the offices of Múnsiff, Sudder Amín, and Principal Sudder Amín were thrown open to the competition of all classes and denominations; and Mr. Ricketts obtained the appointment of Sudder Amín of Jungle Mehals.* His probity, good sense, and energy of character, soon raised him to the office of Principal Sudder Amín of Gyah—a post which he filled with honor to himself and to the satisfac-

* Now included in West Burdwan.

tion of all. However he was not permitted to enjoy this office long. The tenure of his life was brought to a close. He was seized with a violent fever and expired on the 28th July, 1835. His remains are interred at Gya. We subjoin the letter of Mr. Cuthbert, the Judge of Behar, announcing to Government this casualty, and the notice which appeared in the Government General Orders from the pen of the late Lord Metcalfe :

GAZETTE, 8TH AUGUST, 1835.

4th August.—The following extract from a letter from the Judge of Behar, announcing the demise of Mr. J. W. Ricketts, late additional Principal Sudder Amín at Gya, is published for general information as a testimony highly honorable to the character of the deceased :—

To ROSS DONNELLY MANGLES, ESQ.,

Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, Fort William.

SIR,—It is my painful duty to announce to you for the information of the Honorable the Governor of Bengal, the demise of Mr. J. W. Ricketts, late additional Principal Sudder Amin at Gya, which event took place on the morning of the 28th instant.

I feel satisfied that it will be gratifying to the Honorable the Governor of Bengal as well as to the afflicted family and friends of the deceased to learn that the whole native community of this place amounting to some thousands evinced their respect for his public character by following his remains to the grave.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. S. CUTHBERT,

Zillah Behar, 29th July, 1835. *Judge.*

Of those who co-operated and acted with Mr. Ricketts in the honorable movement which resulted in the despatch of an agent to the Parliament of England, there are two who are still living amongst us, and whose share in that business was so considerable as to justify a passing notice of them. Mr. Wale Byrne took an active and prominent part in the entire series of this work, and his earnestness and zeal in the cause of the East Indians have not abated to this day. His services to the Parental Academy fully entitle him to the gratitude of the class to which he belongs. The other is Mr. William Kirkpatrick, Deputy Registrar of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, whose ability, talents, and energy have heretofore been employed for the welfare of his countrymen.

We have now arrived at our subject. We have recited the nature and amount of the exertions which were formerly made and which afford a strange contrast to the lukewarmness and indolence of the present day. It will neither be uninteresting nor

uninstructive to trace the causes of this sad change in the history of a class of men who have enjoyed and do still possess special opportunities for their own advancement. The East Indians, thirty years ago, nearly engrossed all the offices which have fallen to the share of the uncovenanted. With the little education which they then received, they found themselves in the enjoyment of lucrative employments, and as they came up to the very frontiers of the covenanted service—touched the skirts of the members of the Civil Service, they felt certain wishes awaken to which their bosoms had been strangers, and found new prospects which were continually enlarging to their view. They felt themselves deprived of certain rights and privileges, to which as citizens, they had a clear and perfect right, and they were therefore loud in their demands to obtain them. They succeeded and were satisfied with the result of their efforts. They saw themselves placed on the same level with the British citizens of Calcutta, and they felt they had done enough.

Something was still required to be done. They wished to be eligible to the employments filled by the covenanted service. The barrier required to be broken down—a breach was necessary to be made. But this task was not to be accomplished in one day. It was not the momentum of one blow which would have overturned the wall of separation. A series of well-directed and continued efforts was required to attain success; a regular plan, a congeries of means was necessary for such a purpose. The battle was to be waged in England. The interest and influence of Leadenhall Street which are even felt within the walls of Parliament were not only to be counteracted but to be overcome.

To accomplish so much, colossal strength was necessary. The purse of the Nabob of Arcot would not be enough. The cup of Fortunatus would just answer the purpose. As all necromancy was at an end, and the King and Queen of fairy land were no more gracious to us, poor things of clay—it was required of the East Indians to form a large fund and keep the springs well supplied, that the amount of silver might not be exhausted, until the work was done. The circumstances of the body did not allow of the organization of such a fund. Their means were narrow. They had freely given, and they could give no more. They had put forth efforts and it was not possible to do any thing on so large a scale as was urgently necessary for so great an undertaking.

The magnitude of the means to be employed and the uncertainty of final and complete success deterred the East Indians from making the exertion which was required. They had reached the wall, and as they could not scale it, they relapsed

into a state of inactivity. Nor was their inclination to continue in this state, shaken by the importance of the interest at stake. On the other side of the scale they calculated the sacrifice which must be made to secure the interest after which they so eagerly sought. The amount of the latter preponderated considerably. Most of them who had engaged in the great cause with which the name of Mr. Ricketts is associated, had by this time married, and feeling themselves encumbered with the wants and the cares of an increasing family, they were not in a position to make so great a pecuniary sacrifice as the importance of the subject demanded. Nor are we disposed to reproach them. Any amount of liberality which is made at the cost of the comforts and future prospects of the family, may be not a virtue but a virtual dereliction of a highly sacred duty.

We would have no reason to find fault with the East Indians, if their inactivity had been confined within the limits of the movement that was demanded to effect an organic change in the constitution of the Company's service; as their paucity and comparative poverty would powerfully plead in their behalf. This inactivity however, is a vice which like the parasitical plant winds round the powers and faculties of the human mind, deprives them of their energy, and in the end destroys their vitality. The effect on the character of the East Indians produced by this inactivity was precisely as we have stated. It at once deprived them of that energy which was once their characteristic.

Another circumstance contributed not a little to render them forgetful of their own welfare. The increasing circle of English conquests in this land; the multiplying relations of the Honorable East India Company; and the consequent vast increase of business, territorial, judicial, and revenue, rendered necessary the establishment and enlargement of offices; and hence a great number of situations or rather clerkships were thrown open to the competition of the uncovenanted. As the Hindús were not so well educated as they are now, these appointments fell to the lot of the East Indians. In fact they enjoyed the lion's share.

As a knowledge of reading, writing, and spelling, were almost the only qualifications which were requisite, the East Indian body found it an easy matter to enjoy these clerkships. Their sons were at an early age admitted into offices and their advancement in life was as rapid, as it was certain. No sooner did things arrive at this state, than the East Indians became apathetic in the great work in which they had been engaged. They were presented with two advantages,—the one immediate and the other remote. Time and sacrifice and great exertions were required to accomplish the dissolution of the monopoly of employments which the Civil Service enjoyed. Here were employ-

ments of smaller value it is true, but still within the reach of the East Indians and of the meanest capacity.

This apathy exercised great influence in deteriorating the character. Had the competition for employment as clerks been confined to the East Indians alone, we question whether we would have witnessed so rapid a retrograde movement as we now do. A fictitious importance would have still been observable. An air of gentility would have been manifest. But the impetus which native education had by this time received, threw a great number of the Hindús into the arena of competition. Every year sends out a large and a larger number of these well-qualified and well-informed youths, and the struggle is becoming more severe and trying.

It is commonly observed that in those lands where a dearth prevails extensively, the lower classes anxious to obtain food, send out their little children to labor, when their physical strength is utterly unequal to it. The result of this improvident anxiety is that the poor children die of fatigue and overstrained exertion. This is the consequence which is now being sorely felt by the rising generation of the East Indians. Their fathers, most impatient that they should have a *footing* in a Government Office, take them out of schools at a very early age. Their education is but just begun. Their improvement is at once suspended. Their minds are dwarfed and their intellects are unfurnished with ideas. The character of the East Indians, deprived of the forward motion, now swings backward.

As the mental improvement is thus for ever laid aside, the manners, which are little more than the outward manifestations of the mind, continue "unaltered and unimproved." The rising generation of the East Indian body, viewed in the mass, are remarkable for the absence of that solidity of character which is an earnest of future greatness and ultimate success. Removed at an early age from school they are too quickly thrown into the world and carried away by the whirlpool of fashion. The gaities and pleasures of this life engross almost all their attention—they too frequently become mere coxcombs; plunge themselves into debt, from which they can never extricate themselves honorably,—or marrying at an early age they are soon burdened with a large family, and the remainder of their lives is painfully anxious about "making two ends meet" and ensuring a provision for their children. The love of fashion awakens the feeling of ostentation and no sooner is a young man in the receipt of 80 or 100 Rs. than he purchases a buggy and horse of *ten times* that amount. Few or none think of saving. All are content to carry on a life-long struggle with their small means and the necessities of their being. The prospect of a pension after thirty years of ser-

vice, is the staff on which they lean for support during old age. It is their dependence against youthful extravagance and levity.

A love for the pleasures of the world is, in proportion to the scale on which it is displayed, a motive to exertion or a means to the ruin of the character. If it be sought for amidst the splendour of wealth or the pomp of hereditary nobility, it is found to exercise a powerful influence on the moral and mental energies. On the other hand if it be sought for as a means of enjoyment, the influence on the character is highly detrimental. As resources begin to fail the man of pleasure, he contracts the circle of his enjoyments at each period of his descent, until he sinks to "right earth." Like the flight of an eagle whose object is no longer to dally with the sun but to reach the earth below, he wings his flight round and round—the circle narrows, until "plumb" he drops on this "nether world."

The pleasures which now too generally beguile the East Indian youth are characterized by their meanness. Dancing and dancing and dancing, seems to constitute the sum of them. These dances —or as they are called, "balls and suppers," are conducted in a very common style; and while the intensity of the enjoyment is sought after, embarrassed circumstances and small means display them in a scale which is as contemptible as it is ridiculous. These jovial meetings fail to exercise a wholesome influence, even on the dress and manners of the partakers of the delights; and in this way, their characters suffer deterioration. A carelessness in the observance of conventional decency is the mark of a debased mind.

The following fact is most humiliating to the East Indians. After as careful a revision of the records of the Insolvent Court as could be made, the following result was obtained. The calculation was made in the proportion of the numbers which belong to each class. Of all the various classes of men who in this country have sought and obtained the benefit of the Insolvent Court, the rank is estimated as follows:—East Indians—Europeans—Jews—Armenians—Mahomedans—and Hindús.

The fact of men in debt being considered, there is not a doubt but that the East Indians, in proportion to the body, will also be found to contain the largest number.

It is perhaps useless from what we have already stated, to give a description of the social condition of the East Indians and of the amount of female influence in it. The latter is extremely feeble at least for good. In every state of Society we can easily infer the character of the weaker sex from the characteristics of the male portion of the whole family. This has been done, and it would perhaps be invidious to say aught regarding the condition of the females and the influence "for better or for

worse" which they exercise on the class to which they belong. One thing is clear, and that is, that an educational establishment for East Indian females, of a superior description and on a permanent footing, is imperatively required. Where is the Ricketts, alike able and willing to grapple with the difficulties of founding it?

We have, in attempting to give a compendious view of the East Indian body, endeavoured to estimate their characters impartially. We have not "set any thing down in malice." We have spoken the truth as far as our local observation extends,—the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Our earnest desire is to do good. "A friendly eye" will discover faults, but this discovery is intended to lead to the amendment of them—to supply what is deficient—to make straight that which is crooked—to improve what is good. A flatterer's eye will praise every thing and his conduct will serve only to perpetuate evils. A patriot loves his country, and he is not the less a patriot who points out the weakest part of the defences and recommends their being either strengthened or well guarded. We have undertaken the task in a spirit the reverse of hostile.

It is alleged that the East Indians shew too great a predilection to become quill-drivers. We have already pointed out the consequences of this excessive partiality for the Government service on their character and their future prospects. But they are not without some excuse. The Government service is of all services, the most certain and most advantageous. The emoluments now are not what they were. Yet there are few men who possess that adventurous spirit which will lead them to prefer a dependance on public patronage with the credit system in full sway here, to a Government employment, "sure and certain." The certainty of the salary; the enjoyment of full wages in cases of sickness; the probable success of leave of absence with the retention of the situation; the prospect of a pension; the advantage of medicine free of all expense from the Company's Dispensary; and the small expenditure of labor and the little demand for talent—are all or each of them, powerful inducements to seek employment in the Government Offices. If *nepotism* be one of the failings or weaknesses of the Court of Directors for admission into what is truly said to be, "the noblest service" in the world—surely the elder East Indians may be excused for their great desire to secure clerkships for their sons and for their unyielding tenacity in adhering to them. The fault we have to find with them, is the great injury which they inflict on their children by depriving them of that sound moral and intellectual instruction which would elevate them in the social scale, and raise them in the estimation of the governors of the land.

Besides, we think that there are new employments thrown open to East Indians in the judicial and revenue branches of the service which are worthy of competition. The offices of Principal Sudder Amín, Sudder Amín, Múnsiff, Deputy Magistrate, and Deputy Collector are not to be despised. There are two great hindrances we know against parents permitting their children to compete for these honorable and important offices. The *time* of the dependence of the sons on the exertions of their parents is prolonged to *one* and *twenty* years; and a certain line of qualification is necessary. The amount of interest which is demanded to secure these offices is the same with that which is required for securing clerkships. In our opinion these *hindrances* can be easily overcome. However, to this day, parents have done nothing towards their removal, and it therefore becomes incumbent on the sons to have such self-dependence and make such self-exertions as will enable them to occupy the posts of subordinate Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors of the land.

We would recommend two methods which appear to us very feasible, and which if carried out would redound to the honor of those who adopt them.

The first is, to study the vernacular languages and the British-Indian regulations, during leisure hours. The Government Offices generally open at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and close at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The hours before and after the official day, instead of being spent in idle pursuits, which neither fill the mind nor make men wiser and better, can be very profitably employed in the prosecution of the abovementioned studies. After sufficient knowledge has been gained, the parties may submit to an examination, and should they succeed, they will soon meet with employments, in the executive departments of the state.

The second is for the youth who have left school, to continue their studies—more especially the study of English literature. Private study will not exactly answer the purpose. There are many excuses which generally interrupt private study and thus deprive the individual of the benefits flowing from it. A class should be formed and a competent person employed to superintend and direct their studies. Emulation and example would be powerful stimulants for the improvement of the youth and the regular and gradual prosecution of their studies. There cannot be a doubt of the success of the method, provided all join heart and soul and cheerfully co-operate with each other.

These two methods would in some measure correct the anxious haste of parents to remove their children from school with the evils attendant on it—these two ways would secure certain ad-

vantages to the youth which would have great influence on their future lives and characters. The means now proposed are small, but in our opinion the smallest means should be greedily laid hold of and employed. While we wait in the expectation of enjoying larger means, we permit many opportunities to pass through our hands, unimproved and lost for ever. A number of small means will make up a large sum. Drops of rain fill our rivers. Steps only six inches high lead to the highest eminence; in other words, small means are not to be neglected. The slightest efforts are not to be despised. The Ganges at its source is but a small bubbling fount. The only thing required is unremitting perseverance and steadfast honesty; and small means and slight efforts will accomplish in time a vast amount of good.

Why, we know not, but the fact is that there is entertained a very preposterous opinion respecting the influence of Government among the East Indians. They would rather undertake nothing themselves—they will think of nothing but of Government. If Government will take such a thing in hand, then it will succeed. If on the other hand, the Government will not bestow its favor or its countenance on any attempt, it will, nay, in their opinion, it must languish, wither, and die. We would, had we the space and the time, cheerfully undeceive them. The influence of Government on life and property, is we know, positive; in all other matters, it is *negative*. Government does not sow our fields or ripen our corn—produce our raw materials or confer value and utility on them—build our ships, or guide their path on the fathomless ocean. It *restrains* the violence of lawless rapine and the red hands of murder; and individual energy, wealth and intelligence accomplish the rest. Government cannot teach or render science easy, or art facile. It has the means to endow and establish schools; and individual observation and exertion accomplish the rest. The high and ennobling principles of Virtue, Truth, and Justice are beyond the reach of Government directly to inculcate, or establish in the human heart. These lie far beyond the might of "sceptred kings." In these respects the king is no better than the clown. Where then is the utility of depending so much on Government influence? Where the necessity of looking up to Government on all occasions? Let each East Indian proceed earnestly and seriously to the work of self-improvement and the ultimate success of the body is certain.

If there be any one fault, greater than another, of which too many of the East Indian body are guilty, it is the propensity, to sneer, to jeer, and to scoff at every attempt which is sincerely and honestly made to entertain and instruct them—to bring them together—and to induce a community of feeling among them. They are now

separated from each other—split into classes, of which one is *cynically* disdainful of the other;—and hence any attempt which requires the co-operation of the whole and demands their unanimity, is certain of proving a failure. Not content with sneering at and ridiculing every proposal and every measure which have for their object the melioration of the class, they are too much given to *newspaper-writing*, and that also, not with the view of eliciting discussion which is to terminate in any solid advantage, but simply to display penmanship or official style, or satisfy some petty vanity which has been wounded, by pouring the virulence of their disappointment, anonymously, into the columns of a public journal. This propensity to write and to laugh at all and every thing shews the absence of that proper and manly feeling which forms the basis of character. It proves beyond a doubt that the people are weak-minded enough to seek a crowd when their individual presence is necessary, and to laugh that they may appear wise. Every good and rational undertaking has been commenced under very inauspicious circumstances; and, if East Indians will not display more moral courage to support and continue those projects which would conduce to their future improvement and welfare, the world will be apt to conclude that they deserve to be unnoticed and disregarded.

However we must not fling our censure so indiscriminately. There are among the East Indians many estimable men, who are now filling honorable posts in the uncovenanted branch of the service, and who are discharging their duties most creditably and satisfactorily. We could, only that we are reluctant to write down names, make mention of several judicial and revenue officers and assistants in the Government Offices, who have won for themselves the good will of their superiors and who are remarkable for their intelligence. The records of the Mofussil Courts will shew what they have done in the capacity of subordinate judges; and the improved revenues of the country are greatly attributable to the exertions of the Deputy Collectors. As Deputy Magistrates they have been found useful. Many of them now discharge the business, once done by members of the Civil Service, of writing all the despatches to the Honorable Court of Directors; and these despatches are executed with care, zeal, and intelligence.*

* We subjoin a statement of the Calcutta East Indians engaged in the various pursuits of life.

The statement may not be absolutely correct. It has however been carefully prepared.

Clerks in Government Offices	about	759
Ditto in Merchants' Offices and at Attorneys'	„	230
Principal Sudder Amins	„	7
Sudder Amins	„	4
Múnsiffs	„	5
Deputy Magistrates	„	1
Deputy Collectors	„	9
Salt Department	„	2
Abkarí Department	„	5

On the whole the *class* has not much improved. There is still a *hankering* for employment as *keranís;* and, though many East Indians are engaged in other departments of human ability and industry, the preponderance is still for *keraníships.* We trust that the *ratio* will diminish every year until it will appear in an inverse form. The prospects and conditions of the East Indians are more favorable *now*, than they were years ago. Many honorable and lucrative employments are now open for competion to them. There is a greater disposition manifested to employ, in the affairs of Government, the agency of those born and educated in this land. There is a desire to assist all who are worthy of succour. But unfortunately the present character of the East Indians, when contrasted with the character of Ricketts and his colleagues, will be found to have fallen off considerably; and if the Hindús have now taken an undue slice of the Government patronage of the uncovenanted offices, the fault is wholly to be attributed to the East Indian body. They have virtually committed suicide. Their apathy with respect to their own interests —their desire for the trifling and puerile vanities of life—their sluggish contentment with the little learning which they may pick up at school—their propensity to sneer at the exertions of their own class—all these have restrained their progress and allowed the Hindús to win the prizes at the disposal of the Government. Once they had the start of the Hindús. They carried every thing before them. The tide has now turned—the conquests are being recovered one by one; and unless the East Indians honestly and truly exert themselves, not even a *keraníship*, worthy of the name, will be left to them.

Schoolmasters	about	110
Coachbuilders	„	7
Shoemakers	„	9
Undertakers	„	6
Preventive Service	„	22
Confectioners	„	3
Engineers and Mechanics	„	65
Printers	„	72
Booksellers	„	1
Auctioneer	„	1
Civil Architect	„	2
Portrait Painters	„	2
Subordinate Medical Department	„	85
Indigo Planters	„	30
Merchants	„	7
River Traders	„	19
Brokers	„	2
Missionaries (Baptist)	„	3
Merchants	„	7
Covenanted Service, Military	„	2
Ditto ditto Medical, (one Veterinary Establishment)	„	2
Uncovenanted, ditto ditto	„	2
Students, Medical College	„	13
Drummers, Fifers and Band Master	„	73

In the other departments of human ability and industry, established in every civilized society, there are no East Indians to be found. The rest of the class may be known to be employed as Cooks, Butlers, and Seacunnies.

A statement similar to the above, from Madras, Bombay, and Agra would be very desirable.

ART. V.—1. *Egypt's place in Universal History, by Christian C. J. Bunsen, D. P. H. and D. C. L.* 1838.

2. *Illustrations of Rock-cut Temples in India, selected from the best examples of the different caves at Ellora, Ajunta, Cuttack, Salsette, Karli, and Mahavellipore. Drawn on Stone by T. C. Dibdin, from sketches carefully made on the spot, with the assistance of the Camera Lucida, in the year* 1838-39, *by James Fergusson, Esq. London,* 1845.

3. *Picturesque Illustrations of ancient Architecture in Hindústan, by James Fergusson. London,* 1847.

4. *An Essay on the Arian order of Architecture, as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir. By Capt. A. Cunningham, Engineers. Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, September,* 1848.

5. *MS. Notes on Archæology and Mythology in Orissa, by W. F. B. L.* 1848.

THE leading motives that have led to the excavation or erection of structures that excite the admiration of posterity, have been piety and vanity. In every country, and from the most remote times, the greatest productions of art, for the most part, had reference to the spiritual idea. We find it continually developing itself in the temple and the tomb. One very old nation was particularly remarkable, for the prodigious labour and perseverance, it manifested in the exercise of this principle. The economist will perhaps ask (observes an acute writer)—'from what source the oppressed Egyptians drew the wealth, and where they found the encouragement at all times to finish their gigantic undertakings which were begun in times of greater prosperity; but the only answer which we can give is, that the chief encouragement at all times to any great work, is a strong sense of religious duty, and the only fund of wealth upon which men can draw for their generosity, or nations for their public works, is to be found in self-denial."* It is given unto all men to die. It is the same with nations as with individuals. They have their infancy, maturity and decline. As men die of age, so do nations and their religion. The polity and religion of Pagan Greece and Rome, died together. Sometimes the religion lives on, though the nation be not, as with the Jews and Copts. As men too die a violent death in their prime, by some unforeseen stroke of fate, so some nations perish in the maturity of their strength. The

* History of Egypt, by G. Sharpe.

traces of human adventure and action long past, have a powerful charm for the mind. To follow them out is a dignified pursuit. The sentiment with which they are regarded, forms a strong stimulant to exertion. It confers an interest on the wanderings of the traveller through a country fraught with historic associations; that is wholly wanting to regions in a mere state of nature. With what different feelings the tourist goes over the wearisome prairies of America, or Australia, and the highways and bye-ways of Syria, Greece or Italy. The fragments of wreck cast up ever and anon by the surges of time, arrest the attention even of the most thoughtless. There is something awfully impressive in the tale that they whisper, of nations utterly swept away, and of doom fulfilled. Continually are we falling in with a link here and there, of that broken chain of the obscure or the unknown; that even to touch, has a spell for the imagination. Who has not felt the thrill of the mind that sets it, as it were in a moment, careering through time and space. Who has not experienced the charm of tracing the trail of hoar antiquity, or pioneering through the ruins of empire? Time, by a great poet, has been justly called the beautifier of the dead, whether it affects inanimate forms or the memory of those who reared them. A certain sanctity attaches, to whatever has once been consecrated to the ideal. As significantly impressive of convictions that once powerfully swayed multitudes of our fellow-creatures, they have still, even in their desolation, a touching eloquence for us. It is a language indeed not of the living, for the place of those concerning whom it tells, knoweth them no more. Nevertheless it syllables forth a claim to our sympathies as men, entreating that we should rescue from utter oblivion, those who endeavoured to make unto themselves a name. Humanity hath ever an interest for that which relates to itself. In wandering over a barren heath even, we linger at the spot where the huntsman lighted his fire. We question even the ashes, and speculate upon the time when that fire was lighted; and the occasion. What is history itself but an extinguished fire, that is lit in some obscure waste, that emits a burning, or a cheering light, for a time, and then becomes extinguished for ever.

Man is continually straining after the beyond, and the unknown, as children strive to catch the rainbow. It is here, it is there, it spans the valley and overtops the mountains, and anon it is gone. As the illustrious Newton supposed comets to be the aliment of suns, so the intellectual light of man requires to be fed, by some fine element beyond his immediate sphere of movement. There is much in the globe we inhabit,

to set the enquiring faculties into active operation, but it is too limited a field for the pilgrim of earth. He is not content even with measuring the planets and calculating the nature and distances of remote systems. He must also look into the depths of the infinite, as far as his imperfect organs, and senses, dizzied by their unfathomable mysteries, may permit. On and onwards still he goes, with a wistful gaze towards that dim curtain that separates him from the invisible, and the inaffable. Baffled he returns once more to the region of created miracles, unable to find a clue for his guidance, from immensity to immensity. It becomes a relief to him to return to the visible and the tangible, to clamber over ruins, and to re-construct the designs of primeval art, from such fragments as may be found. Who has not felt the travail of the soul that is blended with the delight of such researches? Who has not in the course of his moral pilgrimage, groaned in spirit, on reaching the supposed boundary of the ascertainable, and from the gulf, round or beyond which, he can trace no further, heard as it were, an unearthly voice, like that which struck the ear of Vatheck from the abyss at Samarrah, exclaiming "more! more!"

Surely this continual intellectual craving, of itself, forms no mean testimony to the purposes of man's being, and his ultimate destination. It becomes a necessity of his existence to search into what is beyond him. Alps on alps arise, but there is no rest for his soul until he endeavour to surmount them. He may fail, but feels consoled by the reflection, that he has made the attempt. It is not for one's country alone, that it is sweet and becoming to die. Science and literature have also their martyrs. The sweet landscape that allured, may perhaps prove a mirage—but still it was with an unselfish purpose that the pilgrim sought the path. Some indeed venture far to seaward—and die of the calenture. Others, perhaps, pass the greater portion of life in pursuit of a phantom. Under the influence of *Maya* they toil on, overlooking what is, and playing hide and seek with what is not, till like the hero of la Mancha, at the last, truth beams silently, yet cheerily at the close, with assurance of the rest that the spirit has long sought for in vain. The enquiring instinct is deeply rooted in man's nature. It is the vital principle, it may be said, of his immaterial part. The sacred records themselves bear witness to its resistless power. Even animals, though in an inferior degree experience its working. Creatures, it has been ascertained, that are not the familiar companions of man, evince a curiosity in regard to *his* movements that sometimes proves destructive to their own safety. How limited would be our knowledge of the

terraqueous globe but for the all-powerful incentive of curiosity or the love of gain. How much does not real science in all its branches owe to both! In travelling through a strange country, how interesting it becomes to find, perhaps when least expected, and far from human haunts, a broken down wall, a ruined tower, or even a cairn of Cyclopean stones; in short any thing that tells of man having been there, and having left his mark upon the spot. What man or men? How came he or they to fix upon that now desolate waste? What can we glean from that ruined wall, this roofless tower, or that huge heap of stones in regard to the mundane economy, and spiritual hopes and fears, of those who reared them? These are questions that immediately suggest themselves, even to the most phlegmatic observer. There is a thirst of the soul to ascertain, if possible, the particulars in regard to the remains of any work of note, or mark, to which man hath put his hand. The desire to ascertain what has been, is more wise than a wish to pry into the future. Perhaps indeed, what is to be, may to some extent, be inferred from a consideration of what has been. Retrospective curiosity, it need scarcely be observed requires regulation, like any other principle. The imagination must be curbed, lest it deviate into the enchanted forest* of mere hypothesis and wild extravagance, where even a Tancred might lose himself. Kept in due subordination the archæological instinct may become a powerful spring of exertion, and an instrument of moral enlightenment. He who in some degree does not recognise its force, and importance, must surely be amenable to the charge of intellectual apathy. It is an offset of that grand root of rational curiosity, which is more or less common to all, and the want of which would, as it were, constitute to the mind what lameness is to the body. In the sacred records themselves, we have illustrations of the avidity with which the mind strives to trace the unknown, or the mysterious. Why should dreams of the night disturb man's peace? Are they, so to say, glimpses into the recondite of being, of what may have been, or is to be, but is as yet nebular to the eye of the spirit? Do they impress the mind after a manner not understood, are they of, and in ourselves, or of and from some influence or volition, beyond us, fascinating with an undefinable dread? Why do they disturb the reposing man, and continue

* Dove in passando le vestigia ei posa
Par ch' iui scaturisca, o che germoglie.
La s' apre il giglio, e qui spunta ra rosa;
Qui sorge un fonte, iui un ruscel si scioglie, &c.

La Gerusalemme, Lib. Canto VIII.

to make him uneasy when he renews his wakeful occupations? It has been asserted that the process is only a fantastic developement of something suggested in the waking state, or a disturbed reflection of images and things encountered in the course of daily occupation. For instance, the monarch of a country famous for its wisdom, becomes troubled in his mind. It is not without reason that the Egyptians were celebrated for wisdom, for even from the earliest times it appears that they believed in a resurrection from the dead, in a judgement beyond the grave, and a state of felicity or the reverse according to desert. The monarch of this ancient country, the mother of art and science, and of occult lore, beyond perhaps what is known in our philosophy, becomes more than uneasy, because he beholds in a dream of the night something that he feels to be portentous. This shadowy pageant within the realm of his own mind, throws him off the balance of self-possession, and he must needs inquire what could it possibly mean. Man in short, was pre-ordained to be a reasoning, and speculating being. He is so constituted as not merely to see, and to hear, but to feel, to think, and to analyze. It is his vocation not merely to labour, but to inquire. Effects, the causes of which are not recognized, are sure to set his spirit in motion, either to dive or to soar. As it is the glory of God to conceal a thing, so is it man's vocation to endeavour to find it. To trace results to true causes is the delight, no less than the privilege of the highest order of intellect. As the air we breathe is to our physical economy, so is scientific and reverent investigation to the soul. In the oldest book extant,* a series of questions put with a sublime abruptness, even still demand an answer. Surely it was intended that along with a profound impression, of the power and wisdom of the omnipotent, these questions should also excite his creatures to enquire? Much as we may deem of our own advancement in knowledge in modern times, some of the matters alluded to in these queries are still a mystery. How many amplifications may we form to ourselves on the basis of these queries? What is thought? what is light? what is gravitation? what is electricity? Surely then we may well admit that the questions put to the patriarch some thousands of years ago—contain in them the germ of most comprehensive knowledge! When are they all destined to be conclusively answered? Do they not carry with them an authoritative stamp of an improving intention, suggesting that in the kingdoms of nature the be-

* See Job xxxviii., ix.

holder should also be an observer? Do they not hint, that the looker on should also be an ardent enquirer, and that every man should endeavour, by induction, to ascend from nature to nature's God? Do they not while comprising a boundless body of scientific research directly encourage us so to strive, that we may read the invisible in that which is palpable?

There is much of the history of our species, and of our planet, regarding which the sacred records say little. Their grand purport was not to eliminate art and science, or to illustrate progress; but to demonstrate to man his double nature, and his spiritual and social relations, responsibilities, and duties. What was deemed requisite for the demonstration of a transcendental circle of verities, is laid down simply, distinctly, and decisively. No indication in regard to man's calling is clearer, than that he is not only eminently qualified to be an earnest and truthful enquirer into all about him, and even beyond him; but that this inquisitive faculty is a necessity, or healthy exercise of his powers. Much then of the history of man is to be looked for in other books besides the volume of revelation. It is traceable through covert paths, and obscure bye-ways, where perhaps the common observer would never look for it. Every age complacently deems that "wisdom will die with it," and that it has gathered and conned all that was worthy of note, in those that have passed away. When least expected, however, some old truths, or speculations, supposed to have been buried in the thick darkness of remote cycles, come back again, come like, into the field of view. Dynasties that had fallen into the darkest obscurity, or oblivion of the remotest antiquity; are again brought into clear relief by the labours of a Champollion, a Gell, a Prinsep, or a Bunsen. Within the last fifty years, the researches of geology have enlightened us, in regard to many curious facts respecting the past conditions of the planet we inhabit. In the region of archæology also, most important discoveries have been made, within the same period; which encourage the hope that a portion, at least, of the past eternity is about to reveal its secrets. We live in wonderful times when several departments of science have advanced with a rapidity of progress almost astounding. Are we yet arrived at the culminating point, that shall enable us to say, that we know as much as those who have gone before us, to say nothing of knowing more? We are prone to assume that we have reached a higher degree of knowledge than our predecessors. That is however, a point that requires to be weighed with the greatest circumspection. To what country

are we to appeal as an umpire in the enquiry? Who will sit at the balance and pronounce upon its poise? India and Egypt, Syria and Assyria, each puts in a claim for remote antiquity. If for India, we read Asia, the question were simplified, but of late years, India seems to have put in its sickle as if it would reap the whole harvest for itself. Leaving the question about as undetermined as we find it, respecting the counter-claims of India and Egypt to the highest antiquity, as respects institutions religious, moral and social; it suffices now to remark that historically considered, Egypt has preceded India as the great nursing mother of national worship and art. Towards the valley of the Nile would seem to have gravitated streams of early post-diluvian knowledge, that had not at the same early date, inclined to India. The more we know —the more do we desire further to know, regarding those—

> '—— Who under names of old renown,
> Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train
> With monstrous shapes, and sorceries abused
> Fanatic Egypt, and her priests to seek
> Their wandering Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
> Rather than human.'

If all the mysteries of the Nilotic land of wonders, are not yet sufficiently patent, to give us such sharply cut out details as we might desire, of events and circumstances that go back for their date some four score centuries or perhaps more; it is at least consolatory to know, that much is now clear, or certain, which a few centuries ago formed a painfully dark enigma. 'Through the efforts of modern hierologists, rays of light have been cast athwart the gloom, that aided by the father of history, gives us considerable insight into manners, customs, and conquests of Pharaonic glory, respecting which, no one for ages before could pierce the thick veil of ignorance. Ages before Athens and Rome were heard of, the arts of civilized life including literature, were known in the valley of the Nile.'*

To the antediluvian history of the human race only seven chapters of the sacred records are devoted. Four more intervene between the settling down of the Ark, and the call of Abraham. Much therefore regarding man's earlier history remains unknown. The necessity that called for the cataclysm of which every nation on earth has a tradition, must have been prodigious. There is sufficient to justify our inferring that idolatry and atheism—two extreme poles of thought, partly led

* Ancient Egypt, by G. R. Gliddon, Esq., U. S., Consul at Cairo.

to it.* Has not idolatry in one or other of its forms been the cause of great misery and final ruin to dynasties and nations? Even when what is understood by gross idolatry may have been avoided, they have fallen into some form of idolatry of self no less dishonouring to the supreme, than the other. There appears also to have been an early falling away from religious truth on the part of the post-diluvian race. The idolatries, and other enormities, of which such are the usual concomitants, that we have a glimpse of in the annals of the Canaanites, give a sufficiently cogent index of pre-diluvian iniquities. However carefully men of sanctified life and aspirations, may watch over their family flock, some how there will attach a taint of corruption. We see clearly enough that Noah did not escape this trial. Is it inconsistent with what we know of human nature to suppose, that at least one member of the venerable patriarch's family had contracted a moral and devotional taint, from the force of vicious example in the old world, that was destined to produce in due course of time, an extensive harvest of bitter evil consequences? It may be said of the mind as of the devouring deep, that it keeps what it receives, though now and then it yields it up when least looked for. The Noachic family whatever care and assiduity might have been taken with their training, could scarcely fail to bear in recollection, more or less vivid impressions of pre-existing customs and superstitions. We are told that—'all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.' Religion we may presume, as has often happened since, lost its primitive simplicity. Innovations of form, and a corresponding innovation of doctrine, would act and re-act on each other. The social leaven would work, and a general corruption of morals follow. The first departure from the simplicity of divine truth recognisable after the deluge, was Sabæism or adoration of the elements and powers of nature, derived from tradition in the line of Ham. These traditions like all emanations of error would mix with certain generally recognised spiritual sanctions, till the extent of alloy dimmed their pristine brightness. Circumstances connected with the unravelment of some potion of the Egyptian mysteries, would seem to countenance the idea, that there existed in Egypt a belief in some leading truths, and spiritual requirements, even long before the visit of Abraham. It appears that the priests and sages of Egypt, as well as of India, in the earliest ages falling within the reach of profane history, acknowledged the eternal principle of the source whence all other beings had originally emanated, and with which, all or

* Job xxii, 15, 16-17.

a part were destined, after longer or shorter intervals, to be united in some manner. 'This doctrine or a species of theism nearly resembling it, appears to have been among the elements of the primitive faith. We may trace it not only to the Hindús and Egyptians, but to the Persians, the Chinese, the Scandinavians and the Celtic people, or those tribes subjected to the authority of the Druids.'* Could this knowledge have a Chaldean source? According to Josephus—Berosus mentions Abraham without naming him, when he describes him in the tenth generation after the flood as a Chaldean, righteous, great and skilful in the celestial science. Hecateus, he asserts, did much more; for he composed and left behind him a book concerning him. He further contends in regard to Abraham, that he was much admired by the Egyptians as a very wise man, and that he instructed them in astronomy and arithmetic—parts of learning they were unacquainted with before. It is intimated in the same passage, that he composed religious differences—which would tend to confirm the notion, that the Egyptians previous to his arrival, had some scintillations of original or patriachal truth, in their system of belief. The reader will not forget the obvious tendency of referring Egyptian knowledge or wisdom to a Chaldean source.'†

To define the origin and duration of Cycles of belief, and motive, in darkly remote ancient days, is not only of itself a very difficult task; but one requiring an extent of learning and ability (to say nothing of leisure) which few indeed can bring to its performance. It is one, which even the slightest attempt at, would be utterly beyond our power, or our province. This, however, may be stated as a fact, that it is impossible for any historian through the channels of profane record, to carry up his retrospective view beyond three or four thousand years B. C., or according to some, as the Baron Bunsen,—beyond six or seven. Bunsen considers the pyramids to be the tombs of the kings of the old empire, and the most important monuments of its grandeur. From his reasoning and that of others, their erection would seem to have long preceded the visit of Abraham. He further expresses his conviction that—'it may and will be the lot of our age to disentangle the clue of Egyptian chronology by the light of hieroglyphical science and the aid of modern historical research, even after the loss of so many invaluable records of the old world, and thus to fasten the thread of universal chronology round the apex of those undestructible pyramids, which are no longer closed and mysterious.' Nay fur-

* Prichard's Egyptian Mythology. † Antiquities of the Jews, B. 1, C. VII. VIII.

ther—at the very threshold of the enquiry, he expresses his conviction, that there exist Egyptian monuments, the date of which can be accurately fixed, of a higher antiquity than those of any other nation known in history, viz., 5,000 years,*—we may well then concur with him that Egypt is the monumental land of the earth, as the Egyptians are the monumental people of history. There are many whom Bunsen's announcement in regard to the duration of the Egyptian polity cannot fail to startle. Leaning so long as they have done on the deductions of the Usherian computation, they can scarcely be otherwise than disturbed, at what must be at variance with its long cherished conclusions. They will very likely recur to speculations of German rationalists—and look with distrust upon an enquirer who seems however to be of a very different order. At any rate the question is one of mere date—and affects no stated fact, circumstance, or doctrine, but what refers to accuracy of time. If according to Diodorus, the Chaldeans were an Egyptian colony, we may infer whence they derived their celebrity in astrology. This seems to have been in a great measure the source of Sabæism, or the worship of the luminaries of day and night. In Egypt itself, we have the same persuasion from of old, in the worship of the material sun or deity Re and of the intellectual, or Amum Re,† the spirit of the universe, which was supposed to be invisible in its nature—but was imagined, nevertheless, to be subject, by some manifestation or other, to the power of incantation. Notwithstanding this apparent inconsistency, that made the deity essentially subservient to the creature—all subordinate souls were supposed originally to have emanated from him. A thick veil conceals from our view the earliest period of Egyptian history and in respect to the state of the Jewish, during their some four centuries' sojourn in that country, we have only a very short abstract. Do we presume too much in surmising, that the veil is in some measure about to be raised, and that "Egypt's place in history"—once accurately determined, further additions to historical statistics of a highly interesting nature will also follow? According to Herodotus, the Egyptians were the first to maintain that the soul of man is immortal. Be the theory of archæologists and historians, what it may, to the plain of Shinar must we still look, as the central point from which the seeds of truth germinated. That the tares sprang up largely in Egypt, as elsewhere, is sufficiently notorious, but still, that grand impression of the soul's immor-

* Egypt's Place, &c. Introduction. † Wilkinson's Egypt, Vol. I.

tality and accountability, was there at the root of ordinances at a very early date.

The old-world civilization being in the family of Noah, the renewed population at its commencement, would be of that description of civilization to which the antediluvians had attained.* For some three hundred years after the dispersion at Babel, or perhaps longer, the human race would appear to have been left to multply and act, in the several localities of their populations, according to their national laws and circumstances; occupying those regions of the earth that lie between the Mediterranean, the Nile, the Euphrates and the Northern mountains of Asia, and principally in Syria in its largest sense, and in Egypt.† The earliest civilized nations then, which inhabited Asia and Africa, seem to have been of the line of Ham—and to them we owe the existence even at this day, of astonishing proofs of mechanical knowledge, and adaptation of dynamics that has ever been an enigma to posterity. Cush Mizraim, Phut and Canaan, the four sons of Ham, were the ancestors of Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. Various authorities testify to the Ethiopians having been of Indian descent. Sesostris at first subdued them, but the Ethiopian kings, in their turn, penetrated into Egypt and at several times governed it. The recollections that press upon the mind in connexion with that European city which has been called 'eternal'—and that world metropolis, of beauty, grace, and art, where Athena's august fane still glitters in ruin, crowning the steep of the Acropolis; must yield in interest and antiquity, to the remains which the traveller views with awe in the valley of the Nile. The pile of the Coliseum and the temple of Theseus have a certain date—but where are we to look for those of the catacombs, while that assigned to the erection of the pyramids is apt to make one draw a longbreath of wonderment.

The character of the mythologies of Egypt, Greece, and Rome differed as widely as that of their buildings and social institutions. The one delighted in open air, gay processions, and victims elegantly decked with flowers as they proceeded amid music and singing, towards the altar, erected in the open court of some beautiful temple. The other shrouded itself in gloom and darkness, in excavated halls of rock, or dismal subterranean galleries, and labyrinths, where none but the strictly initiated, and the aged, could follow the Hierophant. There is, in a word, a magnificent interest about Egypt, and a spell as it were, in that mystic river for all time, that once ran

* Sacred History of the World, by Sharon Turner, Vol. II. † S. Turner, Vol. III.

blood. It is impressively associated with the history of revealed truth, and the terrible manifestations of divine power that were exhibited on the field of Zoan. How many in ages gone by, wandering through this land of wonders, have looked up in despair for a key to the picture writing on its oldest monuments, that tantalised the eye, but gave no information to the mind! Though the Egyptian history so far as it goes gives no hint of the origin of the human race, yet Bunsen is of opinion that the examination of its germs, may perhaps do more than any other study, towards the elucidation of the primitive history of man. Nevertheless, no historical investigator according to the same eminent authority, will consider the Egyptians the most ancient nation of the earth, even before he has called to his assistance the services of the philosopher and the mythologist. 'Their very history shews them to belong to the great middle ages of mankind.' Among other strikingly important conclusions Bunsen arrives at, are these.—That the Egyptians possessed writing and books at the earliest period of which we have any monuments. That the earliest writings were contained in their sacred books, one of which is still extant. In these books were contained elements of the history of the old empire. That Egyptian history subdivides itself into three comprehensive periods—the old empire of Menes—the middle empire during which Egypt was tributary to the Hyksos, who reigned in Memphis—and the new empire from the 18th dynasty, which expelled the Hyksos, downwards: and that from an early period of the new empire, have been preserved two monumental tablets, and one written list, containing copious registers of kings belonging to the two previous empires. —viz., The tablet of Tuthmosis, the tablet of Rameses, and the Turin Papyrus.

As from their long sojourn in Egypt, some have contended in the face of strong facts and inferences to the contrary, that the Jews were imitators of the Egyptians even in matters of sacred interest, it may be requisite to remind the general reader not accustomed to such inquiries, that with respect to theology, no two systems can be more directly opposed to each other, than the Hebrew and the Egyptian. It is true that Egypt recognised among their esoteric doctrines, the existence of a spiritual and eternal being; but it was carefully concealed from the body of the people. What ought then to constitute the basis of all morality, was thus reserved for the benefit of a mere fraction of the people, to be used as a mystic engine for governing them. The creation of matter, and the mere existence of any

other gods, of any sex, than the One Almighty, were no where parts of the ancient mind out of Judea.* Granting then that there may be even indications, that most of the Christian doctrines had been more or less intimated to the primeval times, but were superseded by others of human invention; yet is there no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion as to the effect upon the general mind, and that so far as we know, it was very inconsequential. The Egyptian religion may possibly have presented a very different aspect in the days of the great Jewish lawgiver, from that which is to be collected from the testimony of later times; but if the Egyptians retained in any measure, the simple faith of the patriarchs, at the time of the legation of Moses, we shall have still stronger reasons for believing that it was preserved in a state not less genuine among those pastoral nations, the simple and unvaried tenor of whose existence precludes all great innovations. 'We must therefore conclude that in promulgating that great and conspicious tenet—(the worship of one invisible God—and denunciation of all idolatry) which Moses continually displays, as the end and principal aim of his regulations, he was neither guided by the lessons, nor influenced by the examples of his Egyptian instructors.'† The same acute annotator, justly remarks, that the founders of the Egyptian polity, made it their chief endeavour to depress the mass of the community, while the system of society established by Moses was one of perfect equality. The Egyptian priesthood too claimed a real property in one-third of the whole territory of the country, while the Levitical priesthood, though equally elevated in dignity, were excluded from territorial possession.

As the work of Baron Bunsen is comparatively new here, the first volume only (in an English dress) having been published, our readers may not be sorry to receive some abstract impression of its gigantic grasp of subject,—we cannot, he states in the introduction:—

> We cannot claim the introduction of a period of more than thirty centuries, the chronology of Egypt, into the general chronology of the world, without submitting it to the test of that general chronology. We shall commence therefore, with the lowest point in general history, the foundation of the Macedonian empire, and proceed upwards in an unbroken line, along the turning points in the history of those nations with which that of Egypt is connected. The epochs of the Persian and Babylonian dominion, both of which we find by astronomical and historical records, will first be noticed; and then we shall pass on beyond the Olympiads, the

* Sharon Turner Vol. II. † Prichard.

limits of Grecian chronology, and the threshold of the Jewish, the dedication of Solomon's temple. Prior to the latter event, there is no systematic computation by years; nothing save mere scattered dates, in which frequent contradictions occur, and requiring consequently to be verified and adjusted themselves, instead of furnishing us any guarantee in the prosecution of our chronological researches. Even this, however, should not deter us from making further investigation. We must still go onward, beyond the commencement of the Assyrian empire, of the days of the great legislator of Israel, in order to arrive at last, through seemingly barren ages, the supposed non-age of human civilization, at the starting point of all Egyptian chronology, the production of an empire of Upper and Lower Egypt by Menes.

There are not sufficient data as yet to determine the proper place of India in history. Till this be ascertained—the dates of her institutions, religious and secular, must for the most part continue, as hitherto, hypothetical. We look forward then with no little interest to the forthcoming volumes of Baron Bunsen, in which the comprehensive scheme of research sketched above may be brought to its instructive completion. The first volume furnishes ample assurance of his eminent fitness for the arduous task he has undertaken. Prepared as we were, by common report, to anticipate much from his labours, yet are we free to confess, that so far as we have had an opportunity of judging for ourselves, the result far surpasses our expectations. His apparently dispassionate temperament, his freedom from bias (save perhaps a little excusable tendency to magnify German claims), his catholic and cosmopolite spirit, his extensive and profound learning, his demonstrative erudition, his herculean powers of application, and his fearless impartiality guided by a guarded consideration for what men deem most hallowed; admirably qualify him for a world-archæologist. All that has yet been achieved for India, is but a conjectural approximation to dates and events—and the sifting of the historical from the fanciful and the fabulous. We need those astronomical and historical synchronisms, to be found in Egyptian records. We have here no Manetho, no Herodotus, no Eratosthenes, or even Clemens, to guide us along the dark and tangled path. We have, however, remains of antiquity that cannot fail to aid us, in groping our way through regions of desolation and ruin, dim with the fated doom of ages. With the aid of such energetic and accomplished enquirers as a Fergusson, and a Cunningham, much may yet, and soon, be achieved. Would we had a few more such, not forgetting Capt. Kittoe. Would also that we could rouse 'Young Bengal' to become their imitators, instead of wasting their youth and strength on worse than vanity.

It is a matter of universal assent, that a time comes when there is a proneness to fall away from the simplicity of previously received impressions and teaching. The old standard at length is departed from as too naked and unadorned. Things must be fringed, tinselled, veiled and allegorized. Matters not sufficiently cogent, acquire a new and undefined dignity, until at length they lose altogether their original point and become myths. Human pride, and especially genealogical pride, is ever anxious to conceal the humbleness of its origin, and to divert attention from its native insignificance or sterility, by closing the view with some modern antique or other, in shape of a picturesque ruin that fain would pass for medieval. No-bodies must become some-bodies, and make others bow before their upstart pride, pomp, and circumstance; or they die of pride begotten pangs, that wither up all enjoyment, as of old was the case with the son of Hammedatha, the Agagite. What were once figments of vain-glory acquire in process of time the authority of verities, enhanced by dynastic presumption. Time the beautifier, is the great magician, a touch of whose wand changes every thing. What was once rapacity, cruelty, or villany, becomes forecaste, chivalry, magnificence, in short the fulfilment of hereditary glory, and the very palladium of aristocratic self-complacency. Even language itself, as ideas develope, and civilization advances; with flexible power, adapts itself to the shifting conditions of place and time. What was at first crude, barbarous and ungenial; becomes the nourisher and exponent of poetry and art, as a root once despised and deemed poisonous has become the too facile aliment of millions. We see this law of flexibility, and change, remarkably illustrated in the languages of Europe, in which some four or five centuries have made such modifications, that Dante and Wycliffe would now neither colloquially understand, nor be understood. It is true that oriental nations have a stamp of permanency in regard to language and institution, which those of the West have no just pretension to. Even these, however, to some extent form no exception to this condition of mutability, or rather this destiny of adaptation. It has also been the fate of every religion, some time or other, to become corrupted by vague traditions, or unauthorised assumptions. Then comes a violent rebound, or reformation proportionate to the original counter-force. A struggle ensues for life and death, between the old and the new form of faith, merging in an ascendency of the strongest. Next comes a lull of security, that gradually ends in indifferentism or scepticism. This we find to have been the case with the Jews in all their phases of Government. It was the same

with the ancient Persians with whom Zoroastar was a reformer. There can be no doubt that human sacrifices were formerly practised in Egypt, notwithstanding Sir Gardner Wilkinson's argument to the contrary. Porphyry quoting Manetho's work on 'archæology and devotion,' says that, Amos* abolished the practise of human sacrifice in Heliopolis. Buddha was an Indian reformer, by whose efforts, human sacrifices as a national, or at any rate a public rite, would appear to have ceased. The ancient Persians had also been familiar with human sacrifices, from which they were most likely weaned by their reformers. It is highly probable that the idea of the metempsychosis itself originated in a pious fraud for abating the same horrid rites. It might also have become instrumental for a merciful purpose, when animals were slaughtered by hecatombs, as they no doubt were when human victims were as units to the sum. We can well imagine the advent of a Buddha to have been hailed as a realization of a benevolent will, when the simplicity of Sivaism degenerated from its primeval elemental form, into the licentiousness and truculence that have always been the concomitants sooner or later, of the adoration paid to the reproductive, and destructive powers of nature. From the early reverential regard to the sanctity of the principal elements, and an anxious dread lest they, the great sources of life, should in any way be contaminated through man's criminal negligence, sprang the scrupulousness, or as it has become, the *un*-scrupulousness, in regard to the remains of the dead, which we witness in the east even at this day. The Persian Sabæism consecrated not among material objects, the symbols of destruction, of death, and of lust, but the most beautiful and beneficent elements, fire and solar light,† and above all, the energy of life and the soul which they were supposed to shadow forth. The worship of Siva and Bhavani, with all the obscene and atrocious circumstances which characterise it, have been shewn to have been of later date than the simple doctrines of the Vedas sanction. Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion‡ that the worship of Rama and Krishna by Vaishnavas; and that of Mahadeo and Bhavani by Saivas and Jats; have been gradually introduced since the persecution of the Bhuddhists and Jains.

The striking resemblance in many points between Egyptian and Hindú polity, has been remarked on long ago, by acute

* Amos according to Ptolemy priest of Mendis, was cotemporary of Inachus.

† Prichard. ‡ Asiatic Researches, VIII.

enquirers who have been somewhat puzzled to account for it. Several authors have alluded to the oriental origin of the inhabitants of the Nilotic valley. We have seen that a historic tradition represents the Ethiopians to have been an Indian, or perhaps it would be more correct to say an Asiatic colony. This may in some measure account for the circumstance. The earliest civilization of the re-peopling earth was most conspicuously displayed in Egypt; and its inhabitants have always been considered, and represented themselves, to be the most ancient nation of the world, an impression of national vanity not borne out by the traditions, or facts of history. On the other hand, Sir William Jones has noticed, of the Zend or ancient language of Persia, that in every ten words six or seven are pure Sanskrit, which as well as the similarity of their devotional exercises, sufficiently shews, that from the earliest periods, a considerable degree of familiar connection existed between Iran and India. There were points of difference, however, observable between the Egyptians and the Hindús, though concurring in several peculiarities. For instance the Egyptians held, that no deity ever lived on earth.* The Egyptian priests believed in one deity alone, though abstract ideas there, as elsewhere, were puffed up into deified wind-bags. The images of the Egyptian deities were not supposed to indicate real beings who had actually lived on earth. The very fact of a God being figured with a human body and the head of an Ibis, might sufficiently prove the allegorical character of Thoth or Mercury, and suggest the impossibility of any other than an imaginary or emblematic existence.† There is great reason to imagine that Hindústan drew its science from Iran, and we are informed of the intercourse between Babylon and Phœnicia.‡ How the original wanderers to Egypt, whether of a Caucasian, Chaldean, Iranian, or Indian origin; found their way to the banks of the Nile, is one of those points on which we cannot pronounce an opinion. The date of the sacred books of the Egyptians, is now established as of very high antiquity. Indeed the art of writing was known to them, from an antiquity more remote, than can be demonstrated of any other nation. That of the sacred books of the Hindús is a question of much greater uncertainty, and far more difficult explication. The comparative absence of astronomical and historical synchronisms, such as are referable to, in regard to Egyptian records; deprives the enquirer

* Wilkinson, Vol. I. † Ibid, Vol. 1. ‡ Oriental Collections, Vol. II.

of those stepping stones, that would aid his progress through the slough. According to Colebrooke these sacred books were arranged in their present form in the fourteenth century, B. C., or two hundred years later than the Pentateuch. The only means left to us, of surmising what the ancient faith of India was, anterior to the advent of Buddha, are derivable from the Vedas, and the institutes of Menu, which are of more modern date by perhaps six centuries or more. Colonel Kennedy* concludes, against the assertion of Mr. Bentley, that the brahmanical books contain internal evidence of their having been composed within the last eight hundred years. He further maintains, that so far from this, these books are traceable through a period of at least three thousand years B. C., a point that surely stands in need of further confirmation. Whether the brahmans possess the means of substantiating a claim to such high antiquity, remains to be demonstrated, but even if they did, they would still be distanced by the data of Egyptian chronology. It is we believe pretty generally admitted, that the early brahmanical writings are in a great measure now unintelligible. But supposing that their sense were capable of being more fully and clearly developed, it is doubtful from the evidence of what has been collated and declared, whether they would prove of much historic value. In Egypt, as well as India, a priestly form of Government terminated in the monarchical. In regard to science, the Egyptians as compared with the Hindús, bore the palm. In philosophy as in every thing else, the Greeks were their pupils. Even until within the last three hundred years, the skill in astronomy of the ancient Egyptians, was in advance of modern discovery: as Mr. Gliddon has shewn in the work already adverted to. 'The Egyptian priests told Solon many things that must have humbled the Athenian pride of superior knowledge.' Their knowledge of geography, was far superior to that possessed by the Hindús which is perhaps no compliment to them to state. The Hindús indeed, from their national habits, no less than belief, had the most preposterous notions on the subject, and consequently made but very little progress in it; whereas before the Christian era the Egyptians had intercourse with the Indian Peninsula and the Spice Islands. The ancient Indian geographers divide the globe into two hemispheres, the superior and inferior. The first or northern, is represented as the region of beauty and delight and in it Indra presides with the Súrs or good genii, holding his court on the refulgent summit, or Meru, or in

* Researches into the nature and affinity of Hindú mythology.

other words the North pole.* The Southern or inferior again is the domain of darkness and horror, inhabited by the Asúrs or evil demons, the sovereign of which is Yama.

In an essay by that able antiquary, General Vallancey, relative to the oriental emigration of the Hibernian Druids, their knowledge of astronomy as testified by fragments of Irish MSS. is referred to, as affording some measure of proof, in regard to their emigration westward. It is a remarkable circumstance, argued the General, that when the rest of Europe through ignorance, or forgetfulness, had no knowledge of the figure of the earth, in the eighth century, the rotundity, and true form of it, should have been taught in the Irish schools. For the proofs of his assertion, the General refers to several curious sources of information and inference, which we need not, however, further resort to. Astronomy in a word was the parent of all idolatry, and all the deities of idolatry were cyclic.† Cycles formed the grand mystery of all their religion. In continual dread of the deluge, the cyclic idolators, pretended to foretel the future dissolution of the world, by idle and vain astronomical calculations. Hence partly the founding of the Babel tower and perhaps of the pyramids themselves. Sir William Jones, in his chronology of the Hindús, establishes as propositions, that the three first ages of the Hindús are chiefly mythological, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of astronomers or the heroic fictions of the poets, and that the fourth, or historical age, cannot be carried back further than about two hundred years, B. C. It was also the opinion of the same profoundly learned chronologer that Sisac, king of Egypt, was the same as Sacya, who diffused the influence of his religion from Egypt into India about a thousand years, B. C.‡ As respects the astronomical pretensions of the Hindús, they ranked higher at the end of the last century, and the first years of the succeeding, than they do at present. The astronomical system of the Surya Siddhanta is virtually that of Ptolemy. The views of Bailly have been demolished by La Place, De Lambre and Bentley. For a long time indeed the Hindús have retrograded in regard to astronomy. The Trivalore tables were not only boasted of as a philosophical treasure-trove, but became on account of their supposed antiquity, a kind of locus standi for assailing revelation itself. Here was a people claiming the possession of astronomical observations, of near four thousand years date, though the evidence produced has failed to show, that the people by whom they were preserved

* Oriental Coll., V. II. † Ibid. ‡ Antiquity of the Indian Zodiac.

understood the precepts connected with them, for the calculation of eclipses—for though the tables extant, are yet used in the preparation of almanacs, the modern Hindú astronomers who use them according to rule, do not understand the principle of their construction.*

'It is needless now'—says Mr. Fergusson, in speaking of Indian history, 'to refer to the absurd system of the Yugs, or astronomical eras invented with the present Hindú system shortly before the Mahomedan invasion; but there is one date, that of the Kalí Yug, 3101 B. C. which forms no part of the astronomical system, but, on the contrary, appears to be a fixed historical date, representing, whether correctly or not, the first eruption of the Sanskrit races into Hindústan.'† The system of the Yugs was nothing more or less than a juggle—very cleverly contrived—but still a juggle, being founded on a planetary conjunction that never occurred, nor is likely to occur; and calculating backwards towards the point of suppositious conjunction. La Place decided that the epoch had been imagined, in order to give a common origin in the Zodiac, to the movements of the heavenly bodies; and shewing that our latest astronomical tables do not allow us to admit the conjunction supposed in the Indian tables. The service done to the cause of true science, abstract and historical, by our sturdy townsman, the late Mr. Bentley, is now better understood and appreciated than it was thirty years ago. He had the great merit of perceiving for himself, with the acumen of a self-taught intellect of great strength, and the tenacity and reliance of deep conviction, that the Surya Siddhanta, confessedly the origin of the Trivalore tables, can scarcely be above seven or eight hundred years old.

Apart from the interest we feel in gazing on the ruins of old and stately structures, there is a peculiar charm akin to what is felt in reading a fine romance, in exploring caverns and excavations. Even a coal mine, or any mine, is sufficient to attract tourists into their deep and dark recesses. How much is the intent enhanced when a mystery is attached to such scenes as in Egypt, Elephanta and Ellora. Whatever renews the impression of such scenes, or refreshes the memory more at leisure regarding them, or by keeping them, as it were, longer under the eye, affords the advantage to the mind, of reflecting more profoundly upon their scope and details; adds to our enjoyment, and increases our stock of knowledge.

* See No. II. Vol. I. of this work—article on the Astronomy of the Hindús.

† Picturesque Illustrations, &c.

Mr. Fergusson's works are a splendid monument of his own energy and talents, and a most valuable addition to our pictorial and archæological stock. In his introduction he contrasts the estimation in which the slightest relic associated with the mythology and history of Greece is held with the indifference that prevails in regard to those of India. Any discovery of antiquities to the westward of the Tigris, stirs up all Europe, and a large expenditure of life and money is thought nothing of, if a few time-worn fragments of indifferent Grecian sculpture are obtained for the national museum, which at the same time neither contains, nor cares to possess, one single specimen worthy of the name, of the arts or antiquities of India. He blames the English Government for never thinking of India but with reference to the supply of troops wanted, and the amount of revenue out of which they are paid. Science until very recently has fared little better—since there is not much to record in regard to Government encouragement of it in India, if we except the great Trigonometrical survey.* The imperial Government even neglects opportunities of acquiring relics that might have been acted upon, were not that great monster bugbear expense, that true dragon of the Hesperides, always in the way to frighten people. Why, for instance, has that obelisk lying prostrate at Alexandria, and bearing the names of Thothmes and Rameses the II. and believed to have been made a gift of to our country by Mahomed Ali, never been removed? The French took theirs from Thebes, and were even at the expense and trouble (no mean enterprise) of taking it down. Our mercantile-principle based Government does not deem the one placed at its disposal, worth the taking away, though lying so comparatively convenient. Delays are dangerous, and it is to be feared that this rare exotic specimen of art may be lost to England altogether. Surely when it was attempted to make Trafalgar Square, a sort of Brummagem Place-de-la-concorde, the obelisk of Sesostris would have been in better keeping than the uncouth Nelson Column—and its atrocious statue. The entire place in fact, is a miserable failure, and an awful illustration of national taste. Frugality properly exercised is a most commendable quality in all governments. A conscientious and well-regulated economy of public money, is earnestly to be desired, but it is humiliating enough, as is too often the case, to see enormous sums wasted on objects of very secondary consideration, while the most stinting parsimony cuts short the

* We must consider the Medical College as a splendid exception to this remark. The Government too, it should not be forgotten, contributes Rs. 500 per mensem to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

claims of science and art. 'No where except with the most niggardly hand'—testifies Mr. Fergusson—'has money been granted or influence used to assist in promoting those enquiries, and what information may have been collected by the zeal of individuals, is allowed to perish in the archives of the different presidencies.' Or worse still, it may be added, delivered over by the India House authorities to a Montgomery Martin to make ponderous compilations of. What has been done for India in respect to acquiring, and extending, a greater knowledge of its archæological and historic materials, we mainly owe to that association founded by the illustrious Sir William Jones. For years, (alas! too few for the world, but sufficient for his own glory,) its first president was the life and soul of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Let us not forget while hearing of the brilliant success of the Royal Asiatic Society, how much is due to the parent society of Calcutta. There is ample room for the operations of both. Let us not, however, from mistaken patriotism, impoverish the local institution, in order to enhance the splendour of the home society. The house of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, may be considered a kind of national museum. Let us hope that natives of India will take a lively interest in promoting its success, and making it an instructive as well as pleasant lounge. In this way it might prove eminently suggestive for good ends. It might inspire a taste in the minds of native students at our schools, that might be productive of excellent results in the archæological and historical, as well as the scientific field of research. Associated pursuits and collectanea may, to the superficial observer, and the mere worldling, appear scarcely of a nature likely to repay the trouble they demand, because its results cannot be shewn to affect such profits as the shop-keeper sums up. Little do such dream, that in a heap of what they may deem rubbish, may be found historical or illustrative links and fragments, of great value.* To seek such out in their obscure recesses and corners, and to draw them from various quarters into one central receptacle, is a much more laborious process, than to limit one's attention to such objects as lie in obvious detail in one's way. It may be that some of the articles collected, or the observations they give rise to, may be deemed, at the time, of very questionable importance. Who can tell, when they may chance to contract a new value. The pearl diver may often have to go down before he can bring up one pre-

* The writer of these remarks had once upon a time four or five very old looking copper coins presented to him, by a friend who had been a great traveller. On these, in his ignorance, he set no great store. One of them nevertheless, enabled the late Mr. James Prinsep to identify one of the missing Bactrian Kings.

ciously productive shell. To the fostering care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the world owes a large debt of knowledge, on various subjects; that otherwise might have still remained in obscurity, or have even been lost to the world altogether. It afforded, and continues to afford, a stimulus to exertion, in order to rescue from oblivion, much that is worthy the attention of rational beings, that has been preserved by means of the art of printing, to excite a spirit of philosophical enquiry in others.

Much of the indifference alluded to, as far as the public is concerned may be traced; Mr. Fergusson thinks, to the faults of some writers who have published remarks on Indian topics, who have treated the whole as a tissue of puerile fables; while others have indulged in nearly as wild and absurd speculations as the Hindús themselves. As respects the asserted immutability of Hindú polity and speculations, we find him concurring with former observers—as Professor H. H. Wilson.

If the assertor of the doctrine (of immutability) would only study the accounts left by the Greeks of *that* country, he would see how totally inapplicable, their descriptions are to the habits and customs of the people in the present day; but without putting it to so severe a test, I would ask him to accompany me to Ellora; and there standing by the European bungalow, to remark that in the cliff under his feet, there is a long series of caves, extending through a period of at least two centuries, all purely Buddhist; a little to his right another series, less pure, and shewing traces of the Hindú religion, which at last become distinct and reigns supreme in the far famed Kylas. From the period of its excavation all traces of the Buddhist religion is lost, for a period of probably equal duration. This again gives place to the Jaina religion, a mixture of the former two, which seems to have supplied their place at the time the last caves were dug, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Again as he turns round and looks behind him, he will find the two large cities of Aurungabad and Dowlatabad—in all their buildings and forms as purely Mahometan as Bagdad or Damascus, and within a gun-shot of the caves, the modest tomb of Aurungzebe, the most bigotted and zealous of all the Mahometan emperors of India! In front of him again, are to be seen in the distance the temples of the Jangams, Vishnavas, sects that have no representatives in the caves; while his race may probably be the germ of the sixth form of faith, which in less than twelve centuries have succeeded each other in that spot. Did the cities of India retain their monuments as perfect as their rock-cut edifices, they would all I believe, exhibit a like fickleness of faith on the part of their inhabitants. Indeed we have seen the religion of the Sikhs, and many of the sects of Bengal, spring up almost in our own day, and among ourselves spread over whole masses of the people.*

The alleged primeval antiquity of the monuments, Mr. Fergusson disposes of easily. The earliest of these, or the rock-cut, are Buddhist. Admitting that the founder of that religion died only 543 B. C. his faith did not become the religion of the people till three centuries after his death. He

* Picturesque Illustrations.

believes that no cave can claim a higher antiquity than those of Dasaratha near Gya, which date, about two hundred years before our era. Earlier than this we have only the laths, or inscribed pillars of Asoka (were they borrowed from the obelisks of Egypt ?) and his inscriptions on the rocks of Cuttack, Gujarat, &c. Then came an interval of seven or eight centuries, when the caves formed the only tolerably complete series of monuments. Mr. Fergusson points out the necessity of bearing in mind, that India is now, and always has been inhabited by two distinct races, the aboriginal or Tamul, and the foreign, conquering, or Sanskrit race. There is a curious list contained in a note to Professor Wilson's translation of the *Mrichchakati*, of those countries which were considered as barbarous tribes or Mlechkas, that is otherwise than Hindú, a title assigned to people, who are chiefly, if not wholly, natives of Southern India. 'We might suppose that the natives of the Peninsula were not universally Hindús, at the period when this play was written. They must however have received the religion not only of the Vedas but even of the Puranas before the Christian era, as the name of Cape *Comorin* proves. [*Kumari* a name of *Parvati*] * * * among the countries specified are *Kernata*, (Carnatic) *Andhra*, (Telingana) *Vira*, or Virat (Berar,) *Chola*, Coromandel,' &c.* Historically we scarcely tread on sure ground in India, till the accession of Chandragupta, who is supposed to have usurped supreme power about 325 B. C. His grandson Asoka, prince of Oujein, ascended the throne of Maghada about 263 B. C. 'His reign appears to have been the culminating point of the prosperity of his dynasty, for after his death (226 B. C.) we have no illustrious name in his line, and the principal events of Indian history were enacted on the other side of India, where Vikramaditya ruled with great splendour in his capital of Oujein, and re-established there the Brahmanical faith; and so great was his power and influence, that his reign (57 B. C.) is the era from which the greater part of the Hindús now date their chronology.'†

Buddhism is represented as in a flourishing condition at Oujein, in the Mrichchakati, whether the date be in the century before, or the first or second of the Christian era. One of the actors is an ascetic chief of all the Vihar or Buddha establishments at Oujein.

Many centuries have elapsed since Hindú writers were acquainted with the *Bauddhas* in their genuine character; their tenets were preserved in philosophical treatises with something like accuracy, but any attempt to

* Hindú Theatre, Vol. I. † Fergusson's Picturesque Illustrations.

describe their powers and practices invariably confounds them with the *Jainas*—the *Mrichchakati* is as yet the only work where the *Bauddhas* appear undisguised. Now we know from the Christian writers of the second century, that in their days the worship of *Butta* or *Buddha* was very prevalent in India. We have every reason to believe that shortly after that time the religion began to decline."*

The king Sudraka is very celebrated in Hindú history—and is considered as the first usurper of the Andhra dynasty. He succeeded to the throne by deposing his master, the last of the Kanwa race.† From the circumstance of the Rajah's brother (Mrichchakati) who affects literature, never alluding to the chief actors in the Puranic legends, the learned translator infers, that the Puranas were not in existence, at the time the drama was written. It was intermediate between the death of Asoka, and the dethronement of Vikramaditya by Salivahana, that the Andhra usurpation took place. Their sway in Maghada lasted near five hundred years. 'In the beginning of the fifth century they were overthrown by a revolution which transferred the sovereignty of India to a new dynasty and another new capital; and Patna after being for fifteen centuries the metropolis of India, sunk, like even its more venerable predecessor Ayodhya, into the rank of a provincial town from which it never emerged.'‡ From the sources at our command, Mr. Fergusson is of opinion, that the leading tenet of the ancient religion of India was Monotheism, with a slight (?) admixture of elemental worship, with its ritual of prayer and sacrifice. Image worship or idolatry in any shape seems to have been totally unknown. 'No trace of their buildings now exists in India, nor any description of them either by native writers or foreigners. * * * On the other hand, the religion propagated by Buddha has left many monuments, not only in Hindústan, but in all the surrounding countries.' Pertinent to this part of our subject, are some remarks from the Rev. Dr. Stevenson's preface to his translation of the 'Kalpa Sutra'—published but a few months ago. This work contains the life and doctrine of Mahavira, the great Jain ascetic, who was a Digambara, or in other words, went about in a state of perfect nudity. Parsavaanath, and all his predecessors, if he had any, were clothed in decent apparel, with the single exception of Rishaba. Mahavira no doubt considered the innovation he had made, a reformation, and necessary to

* Preface to Vol. I. Hindu Theatre. † Preface to Mrichchakati.

‡ Picturesque Illustrations.

shew the perfect sage's superiority to all worldly feelings and passions. The common sense of Gautama led him to see the inexpediency of this, and therefore he moved about clothed in yellow garments.

The second point in the Jain traditions which I imagine has a historical basis, is the account they give of the religious practice of Rishaba, the first of their Tirthankars. He too like Mahavira is said to have been a Digambara. In the Brahmanical Puranic records, he is placed second in the list of kings, in one of the regal families, and said to have been father of that Bharat, from whom India took its name. He is also said, in the end of his life, to have abandoned the world, going about every where as a naked ascetic. It is so seldom that Jains and Brahmans agree, that I do not see how we can refuse them credit in this instance when they do so, the only point of difference between the two parties being, that while the Jains maintain that Rishaba followed an institute worthy of being adopted by sages in any age, the Brahmans stoutly maintain that no one is authorised to follow his example. However this may be, it is certain that even according to the traditions preserved by the Brahmans themselves, Rishaba, Kapila, Gautama, and other sages maintained opinions, and followed practices, which vary much from the present orthodox standard, and if in these early ages there was no regular Jain or Buddhistical organization, as little was there an exclusive Brahmanism. The truth seems to be, that at the period referred to there was no regular division of caste among the people, of schools among the philosophers, nor of sects among the religionists. All shades of opinion were tolerated; the broachers of new theories, and the introducers of new rites, did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old Vedic system of elemental worship, looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self-denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of heresy and schism. And such it may be remarked in passing, is the very view taken of the opinions and practices of Bairagis and Gossains, by nine-tenths of the Hindús of the present day. After a time, however, either sectarian zeal became too strong for its possessors to abstain from taunting the followers of the old system with their obtuseness, or the others alarmed at the prevalence of these novelties, ran with fire and sword to the rescue of the old superstitions, and thus a schism was perpetrated, which, at one particular era at least, that in which Buddhism fell, and the modern Saiva system of Hindúism was established, made India a field of contention to opposing religious sects, and with the extermination of that religion which had been dominant during the period of its greatest glory, occasioned the loss of those historical documents, which recorded the largesses and exploits of the sovereigns of a hostile faith. During the early ages, the religious warfare in India was carried on, as far as we can learn, chiefly by the legitimate weapons of discussion and argument, though the edicts of Asoka, no doubt, had arguments founded on the logic of the Emperor, as well as that of the Dialectician. The open practice of sacrifice, and other Brahmanical rites, was prohibited; but there was no reason for supposing that, while the Buddhists had the superiority, they ever so far contradicted the precepts of their religion, as to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures in a holy war. The same cannot be said of the Brahmans, who themselves admit, that under the direction of Kumarilla Bhatta,

about the eighth century of our era, carnal weapons were employed to put down the Buddhistical and exalt the Saiva faith."*

The more we learn about the history of the Hindús, the less applicable shall we find eulogies on their toleration, which were more current fifty or sixty years ago, than they are now. Whenever Brahmanism by whatever hue it happened to be tinged, whether of Sivaism, or some more genial shade of belief, happened to be dominant, it was and will be intolerant. It crushed Buddhism, and would crush every other countervailing religious system to-morrow, if it could. The recent stir made about the change of faith on the part of a native teacher in the Hindú College, was very significant—and we all remember the sentiments with which the orthodox members of the native aristocracy here, viewed the abolition of Sati. It is, we believe, now pretty generally allowed, that the natives of Bengal are more bigotted and superstitious than any class of their countrymen in the Upper or Western provinces. The worship of Vishnu and Krishna, is of a less gloomy caste, and milder in its modes, and more social as it were, than that of Siva and Kali—which has a peculiarly besotting, as well as corrupting effect on the minds of its votaries. Nine years ago the Rev. Dr. Duff in a pamphlet published at Edinburgh, regarding Bombay, observed that though there and in the adjacent country, bloody sacrifices be frequently offered up in the temples, and penances in the form of self-inflicted tortures constantly practised, yet neither the one exhibition nor the other, is of a character so bold, obtrusive or multitudinous as in Eastern India—consequently in the West, Hindúism may be said to display an external aspect, considerably less savage and ferocious than on the plains of Bengal; aye and in the very metropolis of British India! The following passage from the same work is highly important as it indicates a starting point of date for some of our Indian antiquities, as well as of the religion that furnished the motive for their elaboration:—

Here, a momentous question, as regards the exposure *of Hindú Chronology and History* presents itself;—what was the era of the rise and fall of Buddhism? This most important and *practical* question till of late could only be answered by plausible conjectures. No authentic era whatever could be fixed on along the whole vast line of Indian history. At length, however, one grand epoch has been incontrovertibly determined. It is the result of one of the most valuable discoveries in Indian antiquities since the days of Sir William Jones. On those pillars, in widely distant provinces—on the isolated crag of Girnar in Gujarat, and on rocks in the

* "The Kalpa Sutra and Nava Tatva, translated from the Magadhi, by the Rev. J. Stevenson, D. D.

vicinity of Juggernath in Orissa—inscriptions have been noticed, graven in *unknown* characters—characters which the most learned of the Brahmans could not decypher, and of whose origin they could render no account. At length, however, the ingenuity and perseverance of Mr. (James) Prinsep of Calcutta have been crowned by the unfolding of these mystic scrolls. The character is now found to be an antiquated form of the Deva Nagari or Sanskrit alphabet; and the words to be vocables of pure Sanskrit, with slight variations of inflection. The rock inscriptions at Girnar and Juggernath—at the opposite extremes of India—are very nearly identical transcripts of the same royal edicts of a universal sovereign of India. The contents are essentially *Buddhistical*, embodying the leading principles and precepts of the Buddhist creed. Now into these royal proclamations, are introduced *the names* of at least two *of the successors of Alexander the Great!* Antiochus of Western Asia, and Ptolemy of Egypt! And these are re-produced in such a way, as to leave no doubt whatsoever, that the issuing and engraving of the edicts must have been coeval with the reign of the Grecian princes named therein. From this and other coincident circumstances, it no longer admits of question, that Buddhism was in the zenith of its power in the *second* and *third* centuries *before* Christ. From that period it began to decline; and there are various concurrent circumstances to prove, that about the second century of the Christian era, it was universally swept away before the returning flow of a triumphant Brahmanism. The *practical* purposes to which this important discovery may be applied are manifold. First, it presents us with what has all along been a grand *desideratum*, viz., an incontrovertibly determined epoch in Indian history. The value of this in a *Missionary point of view*, can scarcely be over-estimated. It must be generally known how essential and integral a part chronology is in the system of Hindúism. The Brahmans reckon their time by circles of millions of ages. Their historical accounts they throw back into the abyss of these ages; the incidents of the last two or three thousand years of the present degenerate age, or *Kali-yug*, being usually unworthy of record or transmission. Now the existence of Buddha was too notorious to be denied, or effaced from the monuments of antiquity. It became then an object with the Brahmans, to render the admission of his existence as innocuous to their own system as possible. Accordingly with that plastic and all comprehending suppleness which distinguishes Hindúism, Buddha has been appropriated by the Brahmans themselves, and actually connected with an *avatar* of Vishnu. * * * Now, this incarnation of Vishnu, in the form of the infidel deceiver Buddha, is placed by the Brahmans in one of the *yugs*, about *a million and a half years ago*.*

In regard to the cavern temples of Salsette and Elephanta,

* In considering the Dumar Lena, the finest and largest Brahmanical excavation in Ellora; Mr. Fergusson notices its striking resemblance to the Elephanta cave, both in size, plan and detail. The Dumar Lena, however, is the largest, and its details are described as somewhat better finished. This temple and the one at Elephanta, according to Mr. Fergusson's views, must have been excavated in the tenth century of our era. Though there is no trace of Buddhism at Elephanta, yet a small statue of Buddha (are there not two—one on each ride? We have not the means of certifying the point, or of refreshing memory) at the side of the grand entrance has puzzled archæologists. We concur in the opinion, we have heard the Rev. Dr. Duff express on the subject, viz.—that it was done as a triumph of Brahmanism over Buddhism in the decline of the latter, since nothing could better shew that triumph, than a statue of Buddha sitting as a Durwan at the entrance of a Brahmanical rock temple. Mr. Fergusson, it will be seen, brings the date of the Elephanta excavation down eight centuries lower than Dr. Duff ascribed to it, in his observations on Bombay written nine years ago.

we may now consider public opinion as pretty well made up that the former are Buddhistical and the latter Brahmanical. *When* then—asks Dr. Duff, could the former have been excavated? He answers the question most cogently himself; 'when, except during the period of the triumph of Buddhism? And when the latter? when—if of more modern date—except *after* the restoration of Brahmanism to its wonted supremacy.' Dr. Duff from this view of the subject, taken in connection with monumental and historical data, came to the conclusion, as most probable, that the rocks of Salsette were hewn into Buddhist temples in the *third* century B. C., and those of Elephanta into Brahmanical temples in the *second* century A. D.* It is but just that we should allude to the general conclusion come to by the Revd. Dr. Duff, seeing that in the main, so accomplished an antiquary as Mr. Fergusson concurs with him in impressions derived from Mr. Prinsep's contemplation of the laths of Asoka. 'I am not aware,' observes Mr. Fergusson, 'of the existence of any cave anterior to, or even coeval with these, (*the laths*) nor of any structural building whose date can reach so high as the first centuries of our era.'†

A comparison has been ignorantly made between the architectural styles of Egypt and India. We fear that some who have indulged in such a speculation, were ignorant as far as personal observation of one or the other country, perhaps of both went. A blind man, we learn, compared the colour of scarlet to the sound of a trumpet. The untravelled man is apt to fall into similar mistakes. People who behold something stupendous, compare it with something else, that they have read or heard of, also of a stupendous character, but in a very different way. It is impossible to view the master-pieces of excavation, or structure, in Egypt and India, without one's feelings being stirred up from their depths. Some, however, have really no depth in their contemplations, and see a similarity where there is none, merely because they have never thought either of analyzing their own impressions, or the nature of the features, and their differences, on which these are grounded. Mr. Fergusson very justly exposes the absurdity of any comparison—(a comparison too prevalent) between the two styles. In reality no two styles can be more discordant. In regard to priority of date, though in most cases the palm of antiquity is ascribed to India, as the prototype, yet Mr. Fergusson, (being in accordance with the tenor of our foregoing remarks,)

* Bombay in April 1840, &c. by Alex. Duff, D. D.

† Illustrations of the rock-cut, temples of India.

reminds the reader, that Egypt had ceased to be a nation before the earliest of the cave temples was excavated.

Most of our readers, no doubt are aware, that the printed work explanatory of 'the illustrations of the rock-cut temples' —was originally in a more succinct form, read to the Royal Asiatic Society. It is impossible to suppress a sentiment of regret, that one so competent to do every justice to the general subject, as Mr. Fergusson is, should have been so cramped by circumstances, as not to have been able to carry out his original intention. It is to be feared that we are retrograding in regard to typographic courage and public spirit. A publisher is now-a-days, by *some* as difficult to be found, as an honest man was in the days of Diogenes. We learn sufficient from Mr. Fergusson's preface, to satisfy us that the reader class in England, and the archæological reader class especially—must greatly increase in number, before such magnificent works, as Mr. Fergusson's,— works worthy of Royal patronage, find sufficient encouragement, to make it otherwise than ruinous to the author, to bring them out. But this is beside the object before us. Our author expresses his conclusions, that prior to the advent of the present Buddha a Brahmnical religion, existed in this country, a deistical fire-worship, very unlike the worship now bearing the name. That contemporary with this a Buddhistical religion also existed, differing but little from the other—though the former has itself perished. 2. That it appears certain that the correct date for Sakya Buddha obtaining Nirvana, was, 543 B. C. 3. That from the time of Asoka till the destruction of the Andhra dynasty of Magadha, in the beginning of the fifth century, Buddhism was the principal religion of the north of India.

We learn from Herodotus and other sources, that the Egyptian priests were in possession of mysterious secrets, in which was contained perhaps the wisdom, or abstract knowledge, in which it is said that the great leader of the Exodus of Israel was himself learned. These secrets were communicated only in gloomy and dark recesses, and at a late hour in the night. Perhaps, in them, the leading truths of religion were stripped of that husk of imposing ceremonial, in which only they could be approached by the unlettered and the vulgar. While exploring the Elephanta caverns, we felt strongly impressed with the idea, that they had been excavated for the purpose of exhibiting to the initiated, mysterious rites that appear to be no longer known, so as to form any part of the observances of the Brahmanical religion. The caverns are so constructed, as to have formed most likely, different stages to which the neophyte was successively conducted. It is not unlikely that curtains of

thick cloth were attached to the ranges of pillars in the great Trimurti hall, so as to shut out the triple-headed statue until a particular juncture of the ceremony. The crowd, on this supposition, might have been admitted to what may be called the verandah of the cave, or the open space anterior to the pillars. The first step of the process after this—was, we may imagine, to conduct the neophyte to the great Linga or emblem of Mahadeo—towards which he had to descend down a considerable slope from the gloomy mouth of the cavern. Between this chamber and the great Trimurti hall, there is a purposely dark aperture of communication. To view the caverns to advantage, they should be seen by night as well as by day. It is now common for parties from Bombay, to dine in the verandah of the great hall, and in the course of the night to fire a blue light or two. The effect of this is wonderfully magnificent —and enhances the impression of the triple Siva statue most imposingly. To witness this effect, of itself, is almost worth the trouble of a visit to Bombay on purpose. Though we may not be able to define our reason for thinking so, we certainly incline to the belief, that what is now done merely to amuse a party of gay tourists, may in some way have once formed a feature of the rites. That, in fact, at a particular moment, the neophyte who had been led groping into the dark hall, was all at once amazed and terrified, by a similar pyrotechnic contrivance, starting the trimurti into splendid yet awful relief. During the time the light lasts, the material of the dark statue seems to change into white marble of metallic splendour, while the impression of that grand and unearthly face, becomes truly sublime, and life-like. Siva, throughout, is the principal figure, in all the sculptured groups; the execution of which is admirable for that class of oriental art. The Linga worship of Siva we know, was every where the predominant form of the Hindú faith, when the Mahomedans first invaded India.

With respect to the *Yogis*, by whom mystical rites were mostly cultivated, it may be observed, that there are many reasons for giving them a remote date—the excavations, at *Elephanta* and *Ellora* appear to be their work—the sect is now almost extinct in Hindústan—and the *Kasi Khand*, a work probably of seven or eight centuries remote, states that the *Yoga* cannot be practised in the present age. Mysticism in fact gave way, first to the philosophy of Sankara Acharya in the seventh or eighth century, and was finally expelled by the new doctrine of *Bhakti*, or faith, which was introduced by *Ramanuja* and the Vaishnavas in the eleventh century, and has since continued to be the ruling dogma of every sect of Hindús."*

Much as we owe to the energy of individuals, in regard to

* Professor Wilson—preface to Malati and Madhava.

unravelling the tangled skein of Indian antiquities—we may consider ourselves only as on the threshold of the subject. Data are daily accumulating, and the day is most likely not far distant, when the thick darkness that envelopes the earlier history of Hindú faith and polity, will clear away. We were in hopes that Dr. Bird of Bombay would ere this, have submitted to the public, the stores of information which he is understood to have accumulated, regarding caves, temples, &c. As he is now in England, it is perhaps owing to his anxiety to bring it out under the most favourable circumstances, that the appearance of the expected work has been so long delayed.

The information conveyed in Captain Cunningham's valued essay in the Kashmírian rock temples is equally new, welcome and important. In regard to antiquity, however, they do not pretend to a higher date than some of the Buddhist remains described by Mr. Fergusson. We find them concurring in a conclusion, come to previously by Sir C. Fellowes, regarding the archæological remains of Xanthus—that forms, of wooden structures, peculiar to the earliest state of society, were continued in rock and stone excavations, and edifices—serving as models for all time.* We see this in the body of Hindú temples, which is evidently formed upon the model of the common cottage of the country. Captain Cunningham calls the style of architecture common to the Kashmírian temples, the *Arian* form, being used by the *Aryas* of Kashmír. We confess that we were puzzled, till we read the explanation—to account how the name of the great western Heresiarch, came to be connected with any order of architecture. Would not the Aryan or Aryasian order, have been a more accurate cognomen than Arian? These remains are remarkable as exhibiting undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art. The characteristic features of this architecture are its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled doorways crowned by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercolumniations. The buildings, 'are entirely composed of a blue limestone, which is capable of taking the highest polish. * * Not one of these temples has a name excepting that of Marttand, which is called in the corrupt Kashmírian pronunciation, matan, but they are all known by the general name of *Pundavan-ki-lara*, or "*Pandus-houses*," a title to which they have no claim whatever.' Some of these buildings date as high as the end of the 8th century, and there are others that Captain Cunningham

* Mr. Dennis in his interesting work on the Etrurian cemeteries, states, that those cut in the rock of Bieda stood out like isolated abodes, shaped too into the very form of houses, with sloping roofs culminating to an apex, overhanging eaves at the gable, and a massive central beam to support the rafters.

thinks must undoubtedly be much more ancient, perhaps even as old as the beginning of the Christian era,—one of them dates from 220 B. C. Some of them Captain Cunningham deems Siva structures, as the temple in the *Takht-i-Suliman*, that of Payach; and others Buddhist, as the cave temple *Bhaumajo*, the erection of which, he concludes must have preceded in date that of all the other temples of Kashmír. The temples are of three kinds, the oblong, the square, and the octagonal, and these again are subdivided into the closed and open. All the existing roofs are of pyramidal shape. The interior decorations are of two kinds, those of the walls and those of the ceilings.

Even at first sight, one is immediately struck by the strong resemblance which the Kashmirian colonnades bear to the classical peristyles of Greece. The first impression is undoubtedly due to the distinct division of the pillars unto the three members—base, shaft, and capital, as well as the fluting of the shafts. On further inspection the first impression is confirmed by the recognition that some of the principal mouldings are also peculiar to the Grecian orders, but more especially to the Doric. Thus the echinus which is the leading feature of the Kashmirian capital, is also the chief member of the Doric capital. A still closer examination reveals the fact that the width of the capital is subject exactly to the same rules as that of all the classical orders, excepting the Corinthian. Even the temples themselves, with their porches and pediments, remind me more of Greece than of India; and it is difficult to believe that a style of architecture which differs so much from all Indian examples, and which has so much in common with those of Greece, could have been indebted to chance alone for this striking resemblance. * * * Another striking resemblance between the Kashmirian architecture and that of the various Grecian orders, is its stereotyped style, which during the long flourishing period of several centuries remained unchanged. In this respect it is so widely different from the ever varying forms, and plastic vagaries of the Hindú architecture, that it is impossible to conceive their evolution from a common origin, I feel convinced myself that several of the Kashmirian forms, and many of the details, were borrowed from the temples of the Kabulian Greeks, while the arrangement of their interior and relative proportions of the different parts, were of Hindú origin.*

Mr. Fergusson thus classes Indian architecture. The first class or Buddhist commences with the Dagoba, or relic-receptacles. Their form is always that of a dome on a low circular basement or drum, surmounted by a pedestal which supported the tee, or state umbrella, or series of umbrellas. These buildings are more numerous and important in Affghanistan, and the Punjaub, than in India-proper, where only three or four are known. Two of these are at Sanchi near Bhilsah, erected probably about the Christian era. There is another at Sarnath,

* Captain Cunningham's Essay on the Arian order of architecture.

near Benares, erected some nine or ten centuries after the Christian era. The next class of Buddhist monuments are the Sthupas, whence the English word "Tope," indiscriminately applied to them. In this class, may perhaps be included the temple at Budh Gya. The third class of Buddhist monuments, are the Chaitya caves, of which the oldest and most perfect specimen is at Karli. Chaitya means simply an object of worship. Mr. Fergusson feels certain, that they are copies of halls of assembly and worship. They resemble though perhaps accidentally (?) in almost every particular, both of form, size, and purpose, the choirs of Gothic churches of the 11th and 12th centuries—the dagoba occupying the place of the altar, and being, like it, strictly a relic-shrine. The fourth and last class of Buddhist monuments which like the Chaityas, we know in India only in the rock-cut temples, are the Viharas or monasteries—the oldest of which are to be seen in Behar, Cuttack and Salsette. They consist, in the earliest examples, of a mere grotto or cell, then of a verandah leading into one or more cells, and lastly of a verandah leading into a hall surrounded by cells.

The second class or Northern Hindu style, includes all Brahmanical caves, temples and structures—of the Sivites and Vaishnavis—as Elephanta, Ellora, &c. The buildings at length mix with Mahomedan forms. The earliest of these is Bobaneswar, though it cannot be supposed the first, nor indeed the hundredth of its style.

The third or Jaina class is a mixture of the other two—and the principal specimens of which are to be found at Khandigiri, Cuttack, and at Guzerat to the northward of Abû, where they will be found, Mr. Fergusson believes to be of the 8th or 10th century. There is little in this style, he thinks, which we cannot trace either to Hindú or Buddhist art; except the domes, which form, he conceives, it would be absurd to imagine the Jains invented.

The fourth class of style, or the Tamul, is as easily distinguishable as that language is from Sanskrit. In Bengal we often see wooden specimens of this style of Pagoda, drawn on wheels at certain festivals. They are of rectilinear pyramidal form, several stories high, each of which is alternately ornamented by alternate square or oblong pavilions, with niches for statues and other ornaments.

A fifth class Mr. Fergusson makes out of the modern Hindú, springing up from a mixture of Hindú and Mahometan forms. It is unknown in the South of India; and the best specimens exist in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Rajputana.

The Sixth class is Capt. Cunningham's or the Arian style, of which the temples of Marttand,* and of Avantiswami, are truly beautiful and splendid specimens; for a good idea of which, we have to thank Capt. Cunningham's happy pencil.

On the whole, there is no characteristic, Mr. Fergusson thinks, can be stated with perfect certainty of all these styles of architecture in Hindustan, (the same remark indeed applies almost to all art) except that their history is written in decay. The most ancient will generally be found the most perfect. Is it not so in Greece, and Rome, and with the remains of gothic architecture in England? It would, he thinks, be quite as correct to reason of Greece in the age of Pericles from the present state of the kingdom of the Bavarian Otho, as to compare the state of India in the age of Asoka with its present state. The absence of the arch, in all Indian constructions of any kind, is an universal feature, whereas the arch was known to the ancient Egyptians. As far as his own researches go, Mr. Fergusson is positive, that he has never been able to detect any trace of an arch in any ancient building in India. 'The want of knowledge of the arch must always have been felt as a serious inconvenience by a people like the Hindús, who in all their ornamental buildings employed stone roofs; and their architects have in consequence been driven to a variety of expedients to supply its place, the most common of which, as well as the most elegant, is the bracket capital, which, with very few exceptions, is only found in India, but this is nearly universal in all styles.'† Without the aid of a sketch, it would be impossible to give the reader an idea of the bracket capital, or the mode in which Mr. Fergusson demonstrates that it was in some measure, made to subserve the purposes and effect of the arch. Another peculiarity he notes, is the division of columns into sixteenths. Perhaps had Capt. Cunningham borne this fact more in mind, he might have been less severe on Hindú architectural forms. Instead of being, as he somewhat hastily, it strikes us, asserts—'a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together either with

* Dedicated to the worship of the sun. Captain Cunningham alludes to 'human-headed birds facing each other surmounting the imposts.' Could these be meant for harpies? Sir Charles Fellowes has sketched harpy figures from the Xanthian tombs, bearing away a child in the claws. We have not the work by us to refer to. Mr. Fergusson also gives a view of a small Vihara in Kannerah with a Buddha seated—with 'two flying figures above'—but we cannot make out from their appearance, whether any relationship can be traced between them, and the figures alluded to by Captain Cunningham, and Sir Charles Fellowes.

† Fergusson's Picturesque Illustrations.

or without keeping '—we have here at any rate a principle of proportion, or a key to form, the division of these columns following the analogy of their monetary and measuring system, or some multiple or submultiple of the number 16. These pillars, as we learn from Mr. Fergusson, were always originally square blocks, and the bases and the capitals remain so—but the shaft itself is very seldom left in a plain state. The first process is to cut off each angle, so as to reduce it to an octagon. The third to cut off the eight angles, and thus make sixteen sides, and a repetition of this process makes 32. Frequently in the more ornamental buildings, the whole pillar is a mass of sculpture from base to capital ; but every where, nevertheless, we shall find the simple form of division stated.

The principal part of all northern Hindú temples is the *Vimana* or great tower, always containing in its centre, a square apartment called the *Garbha Griha*, or the womb of the house, in which the images are placed. Externally is seen to rise from the garbha griha a kind of tower, having an angle of 40 or 45 degrees at the apex. This, in all the older temples, is surrounded by a pickle-bottle-stopper like ornament, called *Amla sila*, which generally rests on eight griffins, or monsters of some sort. This again is surrounded by the kullus or pinnacle, which takes the form of a vase, or lotus. In front of the cell there is generally a recess or anti-chamber called *Antarala*, and this again is preceded by the *Ardha mantapa* or porch, which, in almost all cases, covers the same space of ground as the Vimana or temple itself, and is of the same square plan. The Vimana with its mantapa and intervening antarala, form properly speaking, the temple. They seldom stand alone without additional buildings, one of the most common and indispensible of which is a Mahatapa or great porch. In upper India, it is called a *chaori* or nuptial hall, and seems to have been used for marriages, or any religious ceremony performed in public. Into it also the images of the gods were at certain seasons exposed to view.*

It is impossible, on seeing what he has so admirably done, not to join in Mr. Fergusson's regret, at his inability to visit the group of Buddhist topes and buildings near Bhilsah ; as from his taste, knowledge, and experience, much light might have been thrown on structures, the meaning of which is still so obscure. The great tope at Sanchi is the most considerable and complete, known, either as to height, circumference, or formation. So

* Picturesque Illustrations.

far as is known, it has not yet been opened. The drawing of the sculptures on its gateway, have a Grecian roundness, spirit, and grace. So far as Mr. Fergusson could judge from the said drawing, the sculpture is so similar both in character, and execution, to that in the older caves at Cuttack, that he seems inclined to refer it, on that evidence alone, to the same date. Could he allow himself to guess a date, he would fix on the age of Salivahana the Buddhist king of Oujain; or the first century. The gateway itself, the drawing of which is represented in the title page of the 'Illustrations'—is above forty feet high in extreme height, and is carved with sculpture, from the ground to the very summit, representing various emblems and objects of worship peculiar to the Buddhist religion. Among these, is a representation of Buddha himself as an object of worship, which is considered as a strong proof of its antiquity. We wish it were in our power to avail ourselves of the descriptions of particular temples, that the materials before us amply supply—but without some kind of pictorial illustration, they would scarcely be intelligible. We must therefore content ourselves with a very limited reference to them. The following account of the temple of Kanaruck, commonly known by the name of 'The Black Pagoda'—and of the neighbouring scenery is taken from the manuscript notes forming No. 5 of our text, which is now published for the first time:—

It is situated about eighteen miles N. E. from Púrí. For the first twelve miles, the road is through heavy sand—not even a tree to divert the eye of the traveller. After crossing a branch of the Cajori river, the nature of the country changes: villages are to be seen scattered here and there, at no great intervals; and the sand is covered and concealed by a coarse strong grass, on which browse numerous herds of antelope. The temple presents itself to view, dim and indistinct, in the distance—towering above the sand hills like a thin lofty pyramid—seeming, by moonlight, like a spectre of the giant-genius of antiquity. Approaching it by that pale light, the pagoda assumes the appearance of a clump of trees. Nearer, and nearer still, you discover that no idea of the great height of the walls can be formed until you are immediately beneath them. Sand-hills have fashioned themselves on every side of the temple, and jungle has sprung up among the fallen stones—from amidst which peer out upon the passer-by, the most grotesque faces—remnants of huge figures which in former days adorned the now ruined tower.

These odd faces are of a generation long passed away. When this present "evil age" shall have fled, or when the Hindus shall have had their fill of the contemplation of human misery,—then it is, that in their opinion, the world will be restored to a state of former purity. The tenth incarnation* of Vishnu is then to take place.

The "Preserver," mounted on a white horse, with a drawn scimitar in his

* This incarnation is styled "Kalki, the horse;" it is a very singular one in many respects.—*W. F. B. L.*

hand, blazing like a comet, is then to renovate creation with an era of purity. What do these grotesque faces seem to say to this vain delusion?

We can imagine Nature,* could she but speak, would say to them—their faces would beam with a contented look, could they behold the descendants of the mighty dead who reared them, using to advantage the present transient hour—the Hindu forsaking idolatry and storing his mind with knowledge—becoming a convert to Christianity, and fitting himself now for the performance of a worthy part on the great stage of life!

Close at hand, eastward, in a tope of mangoe and banyan trees, is a small temple, dedicated to Mahadeo: it is kept up by some byragis, who, with numerous bears and wolves, are the only living things about. The country around is most desolate-looking—save where there are a few trees, beside which the traveller may encamp. All supplies must be brought from a village about three miles distant—where there is a salt-gola. The sea is about two miles distant from the black pagoda.

We have been led to be thus particular in describing the "country" of the place, as we believe it never has been done before; and we may be pardoned the vanity of supposing, that after reading our description a few, now or in after-years, may be possessed of sufficient archæological zeal to visit what we have already endeavoured to paint, and what we are yet about to describe.

All that is now standing, of the Black Pagoda, is a section of the great tower, and the anti-chamber—a huge square building of the most solid description, with a lofty pyramidal roof. The roof is formed, on each side, of a series of steps—as is generally the case;—but here the carving upon them is of the most light and elegant description. It has been justly compared to fine lace-work. The subjects of the carvings appear to consist chiefly of the march of armies—with different sorts of cavalry and infantry, armed after various fashions: then there are elephants and chariots and palanquins—the whole forming a grand picture of ancient Eastern magnificence.

Between each step are single figures of deities,—and here and there may be seen large figures of animals far projecting from the other sculptures: the body of this part of the temple is also covered with various carved devices of flowers, and male and female forms in obscene attitudes. The ground-plan of the ante-chamber, styled by Stirling, the "Jagmohan," is a square, measuring sixty feet on a side. The total height of this building is rather more than one hundred feet; and the altitude of the wreck of the great tower is said to be one hundred and twenty†. The pagoda is chiefly composed, like the other temples of Orissa, of red granite, of a hard, brittle, heavy quality—the dark stains on which, we should imagine, geologists would ascribe to some decomposition containing oxide of iron.

Fallen from above the northern door-way, are the *Nowa Griha*, or nine Brahmanical planets, beautifully carved in one block of solid black stone, resembling marble. Venus, or Friday, is represented as a handsome plump young female; and the ascending and descending nodes, as strange-looking

* The East has acknowledged Nature as a sister, for the worse, not for the better. We fear that the celebrated Michelet and his disciples (the people. By J. Michelet) will not agree with us in the above remark. Although the wars, disasters, and servitudes to which the people of India have at various times been subjected, have not certainly, to use the French Historian's words, "been able to exhaust the milk of the sacred cow,"—yet, apart from the glories of tradition, and the glow of antiquarian enthusiasm, we must have real *usefulness* to make this what he calls "that thrice blessed country."—*W. F. B. L.*

† We believe a considerable portion of his well known land-mark to mariners, was blown down in October 1848.—*Ibid.*

monsters—the whole apparently in profound meditation, presided over by Thursday (Jupiter)—"distinguished from the others by a flowing majestic beard." The features of the figures are as perfect as on the day they left the sculptor's hands; in short, the whole of the sculpture, at the black pagoda, is in a wonderful state of preservation.

Scattered about, on all sides, are elephants, horses, lions, &c., which have fallen from the gateways. Westward are visible the remains of walls, a court-yard, and a fine well;—and opposite the northern gate (one of the portals of which, surmounted by a lion trampling on an elephant, still rears its head above the sand and brush-wood) is a low, stony, eminence, the appearance of which leads you to suppose that it, too, has been a part of the old pagoda. The interior of the ante-chamber is filled with huge blocks of stone and iron beams; where these were originally in position, is by no means easy to conjecture. Stirling says "it seems probable that they formed part of an inner or false roof, but neither is it easy to assign any precise place for such a ceiling."

The Black Pagoda is dedicated to the sun, or *Surya*—which, in addition to the Rajah who built it being of a warlike turn, may account for the numerous sculptures of chariots and horses. The God of the sun, himself, is generally represented in a car drawn by seven (green) horses; or, it is said, he may be seen sitting in a car drawn by a horse with *twelve heads*. This charioteer, it is well known, is *Arun*, or the dawn, i. e. Aurora who has blushed for so many young poets,—and, strange coincidence, she is said to be the same as the dawn in the Irish mythology. Vishnu is one of the epithets of the sun, "in whom," says Moor, "will be found to merge all the idolatrous machinery of all systems of mythology." This learned author, on the authority of Wilford, likewise observes, "that at night, and in the west, the Sun is Vishnu: he is Brahma in the east,—and in the morning: from noon to evening he is Siva."

Various reasons are assigned for the desertion of the Black Pagoda, built in 1241 to 1247, one of which is said to be the violation of the sanctity of the place, in the Mogul time, by the crew of a ship, when a loadstone, formerly lodged on the top of the great tower, and which had the dangerous propensity of drawing ships near the shore, was carried off!—and, in consequence, the image of the god was transferred to Jagannáth—Púrí.

On the authority of Stirling, we give the above strange fable; and it is believed by some natives of the neighbouring villages.

Brij Kishore Ghose, in his "History,"* has rather a meagre account of the Black Pagoda;—but he could not well have said much more. We may not yet require the natives to become archæologists. The head clerk of Púrí entirely differs from what we have above stated, concerning the desertion of the temple. According to this most recent authority, the Black Pagoda was "never consecrated, nor was any idol placed within it."—(History, page 71.) This was in consequence of the sudden death of the Rajah who built it—about whom, we suspect the author to be mistaken. It is strange enough that the Head Clerk, and Stirling, should both write down the same superintendent of the building, Shibai Sautra—and yet be so widely different in the name and dynasty of the Sovereign founder. Brij Kishore Ghose asserts that this "noted temple" of the Sun, is styled the temple of "Kunarukh," after a village of that name; we suppose this must be the small village already alluded to. But travellers thither have informed us that they heard nothing of a village, so termed.

* The History of Puri with an account of Jaggannáth, by Brij Kishore Ghose, Head Clerk Cuttack.—*W. F. B. L.*

Kunarukh is likewise mentioned by Stirling. The Head Clerk of Púrí, if he has not immortalized the Black Pagoda, as the historian of Orissa has done, at least knows how to appreciate excellencies in the fine arts, when he remarks that—the "images are very neatly sculptured, and are of a style, and a description, scarcely to be seen in any other temple in India." Such then, is the Black* Pagoda.—Dark, massive, splendid pile—now falling to ruin—farewell!

BHOBANESSER. Hitherto we have been conducting our readers over ground which the *Vaishnavas*, or followers of Vishnu, have every right to claim as their own: although they allow Siva to be mixed up with their worship, and frequently to play an important part in it.†

* The walls of the Black Pagoda according to Mr. Fergusson are about 10 feet in thickness, and as an exterior he considers it one of the very best specimens of Indian architecture. This Temple we learn from Mr. Fergusson had a narrow escape from being employed to build a light house at False Point. It was however found that the river afforded an easier communication to the ruins of the fort, and palace of Barabutta, which was therefore pulled down on purpose. This sort of Vandalism is always to be deprecated. We learn from Colonel Sleeman's 'Rambles and Recollections' (vol. II,) that a boatman with whom he held a conversation, thus expressed himself.—"The Jats and the Mahrattas did nothing but pull down and destroy while they held their *accursed dominion* here; and the European Gentlemen who now govern, seem to have no pleasure in building any thing but *factories, Courts of Justice, and Jails.*" The Colonel himself confesses that the Taj, and all at Agra—'sadly exalt the past, at the expense of the present, in the imaginations of the people.' We should scarcely have expected a bit of Vandalism like this on the part of the Marquess of Hastings, respecting whom we learn from the same work.—'The Marquis of Hastings when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful of the marble baths, of Sha Jehan's palace at Agra, to send home to George IV. then Prince Regent, and the rest of the marble suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fret work and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction on account of the government, by the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. *Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down and sold in the same manner.*' Out upon such Vandalism we say—wherever, whenever and by whomever exercised! Nevertheless—we must not forget that a better spirit has been developed—for we learn from the same work that the Cuttub Minar and the Taj have been preserved and repaired by the liberality of Government.

† Occasionally, when the subject of Hindu mythology has been brought forward in society, we have heard various speculations concerning the marks borne by the Hindus on their foreheads, or their distinguishing lines and circles of sects. The most simple and common, is the single wafer-like ornament. Then come the more gaudy marks—broad lines worn by the *genuine Saivas* and *Vaishnavas*—the former horizontal, the latter perpendicular. These lines, it would seem, vary in distinctness, according to the position or taste of the wearer. Among the Vaishnavas, the mark of sect chiefly refers to deified heroes, or one or other of the incarnations of the "Preserver:"—thus,—some adore Krishna, with Rama—others simply Rama. And the latter hero is often made synonymous with Krishna. The worshippers of Krishna, styled "Gocullast-has,"—from Gocal, a name of Krishna, the cowherd, wear on their foreheads a double upright line of chalk, with a red circle. But those of Rama add an upright red line in the middle of the double white one: which must also denote the worship of Krishna with Rama, and *vice versa*. Some of our Indian readers have doubtless frequently observed a small red circlet on the Hindus forehead, without any accompanying marks. We believe it to be most common among the Rajputs,—and is simply *a* sect of *the* sect of Rama, or of Krishna or of both together. Thus, on the whole, it is extremely difficult to *mark* the various sects. The *Saivas* wear three horizontal lines, 'with ashes obtained if possible, from the hearth on which a consecrated fire has been:"—they likewise wear the small red circlet. Exclusive worshippers of Ganesa, and Surya, are seldom found among the Hindus; and their marks are little different from those of the orthodox followers of Siva and Vishnu. The subordinate gods being all underlings of these two, such must necessarily be the case.—*W. F. B. L.*

Our intelligent contributor next while inviting us to proceed to Bhobanesser, warns us that we are 'to behold much that is grand, no less than foul, in Siva and Kali—the patrons of all that is vicious and horrible;'—

Bhobanesser is situated about eighteen miles nearly direct south of Cuttack. You emerge from scattered jungle and comparative vacancy into a small world of temples; and the inquisitive traveller is probably lost amidst so much to wonder at, as he passes on through the spacious city, that he may lack leisure or inclination, on the spot, to make notes concerning the temples or enter into a disquisition as to the story of their ancient time. He must wander on; and, as he wanders, he must admire. The "city," as you approach by the north-west, passing the small village its substitute which at present exists, abounding in ruins. Then at intervals of fifty or eighty yards, or in clusters at the same average of distance, temples rise majestically to the view—all breathing forth a great and scientific antiquity. On arrival at the southern side of a superb tank, called Binda Ságur, we find ourselves in the midst of a most striking landscape. The tank is to the north of the great temple, which princely relic, tried by the storms and changes of twelve hundred years, nobly towers to the height of one hundred and eighty feet. Beside it, like as at Jagannáth, there are numerous smaller temples, of various designs; but all are of the same style of architecture. The great temple or "the great Pagoda of the Ling Raj, or Lord of the Lingam," is enclosed by a huge wall; but it neither appears so large nor is it so barbarously magnificent, as the wall of the temple of Jagannáth. The Ling Raj temple and that of Púrí, in a sort of barbarous grandeur—if we may so term it—differ materially: Bhobanesser is embosomed in a rich picturesque landscape; Jagannáth rears its ugly head amid the dirt and filth of a town.

South of the tank, Binda Ságur, nearly bordering upon it, is a small cluster of temples, surrounded by an irregular enclosure. On the extreme side, situated near a good encamping ground, you can, from an elevation see down into the court yard—where the voices of a few Brahmans resound throughout the almost deserted walls. The principal temple of the cluster is about ninety feet in height, and, strange enough, we were informed that the whole of this small Khetr, the only instance of the kind, we believe, at Bhobanesser, is dedicated to Vishnu.

"The natives say that there were originally more than seven thousand places of worship consecrated to Mahadeo, within and around the city of Bhobanesser, containing no less than a crore of lingams."* At present we should imagine there were, including every place of worship, nearly one thousand temples and sanctuaries. The average height of the majority of the temples may be reckoned at about seventy feet; and the height of the least of the towering structures is "never less than fifty or sixty feet." Not the least pleasing peculiarity about these temples is the green shrubbery, which is entwined around the ruins. This sombre foliage bears a sort of life and death along with it; it leads us to consider the principle of association which connects past with present, and "animate with inanimate things." And, while we view the stem of the foliage cleaving and forcing its way through the stones, as if it would rend the temple asunder, we may be led to deem it emblematic of the fact that the life and soul of the great human drama is change. The grand mystery of it, is likewise changing.

* Note by Stirling.

—And it was a true sense of the passing nature of every sublunary thing—animate or inanimate—bringing strongly home that well-known burst of poetic eloquence, that made Shakespear exclaim:—

> "The clond-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The *solemn temples*, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
> And, like the unsubstantial fabric of a vision,
> Leave not a reck behind."

We have already attempted a conjecture as to the decline of the once famous city of Bhobanesser; let us now take a more close survey of its deserted streets. Proceeding towards the south-west of the Binda Ságur, we pass through the *burdand*, or principal street, at the extremity of which will probably be seen, an immense *ruth* or car. The great Pagoda, or "Lord of the Lingam," is, in many respects, similar to the temple of Jagannath; but the carving on its fluted exterior, is of a far more chaste and magnificent description. Jagannath has certainly the disadvantage of being disfigured with chunam and red paint—while Bhobanesser remains in all its hard, rough purity.

The Ling Raj and all temples dedicated to Siva, have no *Chakra** but are surmounted either by an urn, or what resembles the frame of a harp—sometimes approaching the form of the letter D. We were unable to discover whether or not this latter form pertained to any distinct emblem of Siva; but it may be, or have some connexion, with the bow of Indra. The colour of the "Destroyer," and his bull, is white—supposed to have reference to his unsullied purity of justice;—and from the harp like-summit of the great temple, waves a white flag with a small red demon in the centre. Siva holds as his commonest attribute, a trident,—which emblem, "the Trisûl," sometimes surmounts his temples.

The most picturesque view of the great Pagoda of Bhobanesser is to be obtained by proceeding two or three miles westward, on the road to Khandgiri—when, from its vastly superior height, it becomes the only temple observable; then it certainly does present a most noble appearance—towering like an apotheosis of science, asserting the undisputed right of India to claim a high rank, among the nations of a great and scientific antiquity.

The Brahmans of the place assert, that Bhobanesser is 1270 years old; but, according to Stirling, it is not more than 1191. It is by far the oldest place of celebrity in Orissa,—and seemed to us as old as old could be. The traveller who visits Bhobanesser, should proceed thither with Moor's Hindu Pantheon, and the reports of the London "Archæological" and "British Architect" Societies, and there pitch his tent for at least ten days. We can imagine what a strange mixture of opinions there would be, were only a few scientific geniuses of our own land—some inquisitive wise old members of the "Institute"—let loose upon this wonderful spot. The confusion of languages at Babel would alone resemble the confusion of opinions. Forty temples of considerable height, to be seen at a glance: upon some of these, carvings similar to our own coats of arms. On this would come remarks concerning the Egyptians—the supposed authors or original inventors of that "pomp of heraldry." Then, on other temples, urns cut like the Grecian and Ro-

* Stirling differs with us on this point:—"On the summit," says he "stands either an urn, or the *Chakra* of Vishnu." "The fable is, that irresistible fire, flames from the *discus*, when whirled by Vishnu: this certainly seems more emblematic of a Destroyer than a Preserver: but in the Hindu mythology, the *Chakra* is Vishnu's own attribute—and *besides* himself, is only found with Indra. At Bhobanesser we could only perceive the *Chakra* in the solitary Vishnu Khetr already mentioned.—*W. F. B. L.*

man specimens. Then the cave temples, and singular stones: so tending to produce discussion on Druidism and Buddhism. Then the simple, primitive bridges, of a few rectangular stones—of an age when the graceful arch was yet centuries from being known:—here, surely, is a wide field for the antiquary;—not the upstart of a day, but—the real *bona fide* Jonathan Oldbuck.

Either in, or near the Burdand, there are eight handsome *muths*, pertaining to the great Pagoda—the only place of worship generally frequented by the Sivaites at Bhobanesser. As you pass near the muths, you behold lying by the side of the street, a huge stone, which is not without its history. It was brought from Khandgiri, some ten years ago, by order of Runjit Singh, for the construction of a pillar or monument at the shrine of Jagannáth Púri, in honour of his majesty. But, unfortunately, the stone cost 700 Rs. in carriage, from Khandgiri to Bhobanesser—a distance of about six miles—which put an immediate stop to its further progress;—and so here the massive block lies, apparently having crushed to pieces the vehicle that had once supported it—known among the natives by the name of Runjit Singh's stone. That very stone, which was to have hallowed the memory of the lion of the Punjab, has had its own repose, while the chieftains of that magnificent country, whose Government had certainly sounded the trumpet of alarm for our power in India, became divided into factions, and the Sikh soldiery became mutinous, disorganized, and fallen—that stone has lain in its original position during these important political changes; and the traveller, most probably, will find no change upon it when the "hurrying to and fro"* of the present time shall long have ceased, and the country of the five rivers, is enjoying prosperity and protection under the British Government.

To turn from this digression.—One of the most curious features about Bhobanesser is the number of small cave sanctuaries—we can scarcely call them temples—which everywhere meet the eye. There are likewise many small places of worship, of a similar description, not under ground.

There is a tank, south-east of the Binda Ságur, faced with stone, around which may be seen sixty of those "small antique looking" buildings, in which, according to Stirling, sixty female ascetics, devoted to Debi, lived and died in days of yore.—Although these cells seem hardly large enough to contain the human figure, even in a setting posture, yet, considering the suffering that Hindus will endure for their religion, there is a great probability about the story.—In most of the sacred caves and cells about Bhobanesser, and in most of the temples, either the entire symbol, or a remnant of the *lingam*, is sure to be seen. Over the door-ways of each of the Bhobanesser temples; and, in short, of nearly every temple in Orissa, are carved the *Nowa Griha;* but here they are vastly inferior, both in the scale and the beauty of the sculpture, to those at the Black Pagoda. What could have been the object of the perpetual recurrence, in design, to these nine Brahmanical planets?—The "Genius of the Hour" has set his ineffaceable seal on the work; and that which in it is inevitable "has a higher charm than individual talent can ever give, inasmuch as the artist's pen or chisel, seems to have been held and guided by a gigantic hand, to inscribe a line in the history of the human race. This circumstance gives a value to the Egyptian hieroglyphics, to the Indian, Chinese, and Mexican idols, however gross and shapeless. They denote the height of the human soul in that hour, and were not fantastic but sprung from a necessity as deep as the world."†

* Nov. 6, 1848. The assembly of the army of the Punjab.—*W. F. B. L.*

† Essays, by R. W. Emerson.

Let us now proceed with some slight examination of the principal temples at Bhobanesser. The great Pagoda, like that of Jagannath, has its principal gateway, or entrance, on the eastern face—which is likewise flanked by huge griffins, or lions in a sitting posture. The wall enclosing the Ling Raj, and the buildings and temples immediately pertaining to it, is said, by Stirling, to measure six hundred feet on a side. Figures of strange animals project from each face of the Bar Deival. That "on the eastern face is by far the largest, and it has between its feet an elephant of comparatively diminutive size, on which it is trampling." The lion and the elephant, in the position, and proportion, thus described, is an emblem of the Gajapati, princes of Orissa.

The *Jugmohan* and *Bhog Mandap*—the apartment in which the idol's food is served up—it would appear are constructed on a similar plan to those at Jagannath. Of the minor temple, in the grand enclosure, dedicated to the various deities of the Hindu Pantheon, Stirling writes, that they are adorned with "elaborately wrought cornices, beadings, arabesque and reticulated ornaments, and clusters of pilasters, with figures of men, animals, serpents, and flowers intervening, arranged in such an infinite variety of devices, that the eye is absolutely bewildered in endeavouring to trace out any particular pattern or design." Adjacent to the Ling Raj, in your scientific stroll, may be perceived several small temples, dedicated to Kali,—on which the carving is of an exquisite nature, and the devices so numerous, as fully to answer the above enthusiastic remarks of Stirling. On the minor temples,* generally, the groups of Munis—philosophers—instructing their pupils, will be found. *Muni* is supposed by some to be a name of Buddha: Buddha, according to Sir W. Jones, may be only a general word for philosopher.

Buddhism in Orissa probably fell with the death of the sovereign builder of Bhobanesser—who favoured the religion of Buddha—and who, anxious to preserve a memorial of it to latest ages, caused the Muni groups to be carved on most of the temples. If it be not so, how are we to account for the appearance of sculptures of a master imparting instruction to his pupils, at such a shrine as Bhobanesser, where all other figures and groups are of an obscene, a licentious, a warlike, and inhuman description?

Unlike as at Jagannath, "pomp and circumstance" are alike wanting at Bhobanesser. The reason of this is—perhaps, a more powerful one than the decline of the religion of Siva—because Bhobanesser is poor. From want of support, we believe that even the small and wretched remnant of state at present existing, will in a short period have vanished. A few hundreds of pilgrims annually visit the place, on their way to the Púrí festivals; and a Ruth Játrâ, in April,† draws a comparatively small crowd of fanatics from various corners of the district. But it is not difficult to observe that Bhobanesser has fallen. It enjoys no support from Government, in any shape; and we question very much if it receives any from the Rajah of Khurdah,—although it did formerly—the present Rajah's ancestors having granted some of the lands and endowments, attached to it. Bhobanesser seemed to us a poverty-stricken place, and its religious occupants—even the pundahs, a lean, beggarly looking set of people;—which is never the case when idolatry is in a very flourishing condition.

* The ruined courts of these are strewed with relics of the worship of Siva, such as bulls, lingams, &c.

† "There are two public roads in this district,—called the Jagannath and Khurdah roads. The former runs between Cuttack and Púrí."—"The latter, constructed between Cuttack and Ganjam, *via* Khurdah, at the expense of Government, has extremely facilitated the march of troops," &c.—"*History*," p. 68.

We now take farewell of the once celebrated "city" of Bhobanesser, with an earnest hope that the time is not far distant when places of Christian worship shall rise upon the ruins of the temples of Siva, when the Hindu shall emerge from darkness into a marvellous and lasting light, and learn to venerate himself and be venerated as one who can distinguish between beast and man. Such a change is to be produced only by the exertions of faithful, discreet, and zealous missionaries, and the philanthropic co-operation of our countrymen generally.

From all that has as yet appeared, it may be affirmed, that the Buddhists were undoubtedly the earliest cave diggers in India. This of itself, bearing in mind all the other circumstances that turn upon the question, is tantamount to proof, that Buddhism is an older religion than Brahmanism, as it *now* exists. In all the older caves of Behar and Cuttack, there is a total absence of an image, or indeed any object of worship whatever. This is sufficiently demonstrative of their great antiquity. The earliest caves were mere anchorite cells. As time wore on however, this simplicity was wholly departed from, and Chaitya caves, with images, and ornaments, afforded a hint for the establishment of Monachism elsewhere. Afterwards, according to Mr. Fergusson, we find every gradation of decline, till Buddhism merged into Jainism. The time is scarcely yet ripe, for a compendious digest, of all the materials that are accumulating daily, on the subject of rock-temples, and relics of oriental art. At a recent meeting of the Branch Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, we learn* that Dr. Wilson directed the attention of the meeting to the fact, of several cave-temples hitherto wholly unknown to Europeans, having just been brought to notice in various parts of the Mahratta country. There are twenty-two of them altogether, near the village of Kuda in the Koncan and about forty-two miles, in the straight line from Bombay —and said to be very magnificent. Four of the Kuda caves are *Chaitya.* The principal one is sixty feet in length, with several bas reliefs of Buddhas, dolphins, male and female figures, &c. From this we infer, that these temples were excavated in the decline of Buddhism. There are several inscriptions, but as yet they had not been decyphered. The date of these excavations, will probably be found to be, about the seventh or eighth century of our era.

In regard to the Nineveh sculptures, we apprehend that they will be found to be an extension of, and an improvement upon Egyptian forms. Mr. Layard,† has done for Assyrian forms what Wilkinson, Champollion, Belzoni, Rossellini and other travellers, and scholars, have done for Egypt; given us, as it

* *Bombay Times*, 24th January, 1849. † Nineveh and its remains, by A. H. Layard.

were, the open air, and domestic life, of both gentle and simple. It is we trust not a remote contingency, that Major Rawlinson may be able to do that for the arrow-headed inscriptions, that the lamented Prinsep did for another department of oriental antiquities, by finding a sure clue, and pursuing it vigorously, yet judiciously and discriminatively. A light may thus be cast into the dim halls of long deserted pride and glory, that may further illustrate the great truth, that nations may have perished from a cause that has not always perhaps been sufficiently borne in recollection, viz. that the dark side of their character, has evinced, that human nature would not have improved under their domination. It is only very recently, that antiquarian research has shewn, that ages before the straw hut of Romulus arose on the Palatine Mount, there existed in Italy a nation far advanced in civilization and refinement. Nations, however, require a conservative principle beyond their own sagacity, a principle in short that shall truly and holily—

> ——————— Assert Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to man.

If civilization and refinement alone, could preserve a state, Etruria according to all that has reached us, deserved a better fate; for before her intercourse with Greece, Rome was indebted for whatever tended to humanize her, to that state.* The type of the Etrurian tombs, the very shape of the doors of those cemeteries, would seem to point to an Egyptian origin. Mr. Sharon Turner has alluded in his great work† to the singular tradition of the Jews, that the Romans were one of their colonies, and that a descendant of Esau founded the city of their Tiber. This derivation has not only been the belief of eminent rabbins, but they add to it an expectation, that the full accomplishment of the final prophecies against Edom, will yet be effected, in the destruction of Rome and of the Christian state which has issued from it.‡ Mr. Turner in corroboration of this, remarks that the Romans had a peculiar veneration for the red colour, however it may have originated. The possibility of the Abrahamic descent, thus hinted at, is carried still further down, in a manner that cannot fail to surprise, if it does not convince.

Esau was distinguished for the red colour of his skin, and as the name Edom was attached to his descendants, and to the country which they occu-

* 'The Cities and cemeteries of Etruria,' by George Dennis.

† Sacred History of the World.

‡ That Tyre was 'caput filiorum Esau' and that the Idumeans were Romans, is the assertion of Rabbi Solomon, and Bartolocci quoting this, says it was a common saying among the Jews, &c.

pied, because it meant red. I think it probable that his colour, like that of the negro, was transmitted to his posterity, and that they were called Edomites and Idumeans, that is, Red Men, because they were externally of that appearance. Having reached the Arabian Gulf, and occupying the naval stations, as at Eziongaber; and the Jewish tradition of them is, that they spread their colonies abroad. Now I find that the Indians of North America, are also characterised by the redness of their skins; a red copper colour is their general appearance, and it has been stated by some travellers, that they have several customs which are peculiar to the Jewish population, this has caused some to speculate, that they may have descended from one of the expatriated and lost ten tribes. But connecting these similarities with their colour, it has seemed to me a greater probability, that they may have originated from a colony of the descendants of Esau. This will account for any likeness of custom with the Abrahamic family, and also for the peculiar tincture of the skin. Hence it is a possibility that the red men of America and the red men of Idumea may have had the same ancestral origin and this family affinity.*

We give the above as Mr. Sharon Turner stated it, as a mere transitory supposition, without pronouncing any opinion upon it. It is singular, nevertheless, that architectural remains have been discovered in America, that point even to a more ancient lineage than the Edomite. Recent accounts from the United States, advert to the curious caverns of Durango in Mexico (say lat. 24° 30′ long. 103° 35.) which have been described and entered, containing hundreds and thousands of mummies similar to those of ancient Egypt. What a singular fact is this! How are we to account for it? How little after all do we know, in comparison to what we would desire to know. Were the people who prepared these mummies, and who in like manner we may presume, themselves become in process of time, the objects of embalment—were they descendants of the ancient Egyptians—or are we to look for the curious coincidence of embalming and pyramid erection, and catacomb digging, and the sentiments of which these things were significant, as being common to an old world people, and to the so called new world people—and that these two had no relationship whatever? This surely does not seem probable. This remarkable point in the history of man, refers rather to an old world civilization in America, at a date so remote that it is not traceable in any known system of history. Will not this naturally bring back attention to the era, when the Spanish connection with America commenced, and the annals that

* Sacred History of the World, V. 2.
In his "excursion through the slave states of America," Mr. Featherstonhaugh, (we have not the work by us to refer to) gives an account of burial places of the Indians or red men—as immense mounds of apparent great antiquity--which were originally of the form of truncated pyramids, rising terrace by terrace to a great height—and containing vast numbers of skeletons—each in a half-sitting posture.

may perhaps yet exist in Spain, regarding such traditions as might have been picked up, by the more reflecting men among the ranks of the Buccaneers. There is little doubt that the Egyptians, or Phœnicians, or both, circumnavigated Africa, and may therefore be supposed to have crossed the Atlantic, and got to America.* Be that as it may, before bringing our remarks to a close, we beg the reader to understand, that they are written in a hesitating and suggestive spirit, by one who feels his own disqualification for doing the subject any thing like justice. In the hopes, however, of its exciting abler pens to take it up, we have, though not without misgiving and reluctance; ventured to introduce it, it may be thus crudely and imperfectly, rather than no notice at all, in a publication like this, should be taken of works, the topics of which undoubtedly have a local interest for archœological amateurs. In the same diffident spirit, but availing ourselves of sources of information, with which some of our readers, perhaps are more familiar than we can pretend to be, —we would submit the following as probabilities or inferences.

That the Sanskrit, Brahmanical, or conquering race, came across the Indus and were of Iranian extraction.

That if not identical with the Parsís, or ancient Zoroastrians, they were in religious connection with them.

That a relationship also existed between both, and the ancient Egyptians, especially in the Ethiopian line.†

That this relationship, is apparent in various coincidences or synchronisms, religious, climatic and social.

That the religious relationship has reference to a concurrent Sabæism.

That this elemental worship, preceded all approach to Brahmanism.

That the worship of Brahm, was an after thought altogether, merging at length into Vedism or a species of Pantheism.

That this Pantheistic element gradually led to image worship, the first image perhaps being, (next to that of the sun) that of the serpent.

That the snake, thus early, became the representative of Time or Siva,—and that the first step in Sivaism was snake worship.

That Buddhism sprung from an effort to reform the ido-

* Homer represents Menelaus in his baffling voyage, as having found his way to Egypt and Ethiopia. Il. B. IV. 80-85.

† The Ethiopians appear to have had a very early civilization—and to have borne a very high character in the days of Homer, who represents them as a blameless race *αμυμονας Αιθιοπηας*. Both in the Iliad (B. 1, 422-4) and the Odyssey (B. 1. 22-3) are we told of the God's taking pleasure in attending their feasts.

latry and cruelties of Sivaism, by bringing back the popular mind, to the worship of a ruling intelligence. That this soon degenerated into worship of intellect, of which each Buddha was the impersonation.

That Buddhism preceded the worship of Vishnu—Vishnu being only an extension, in all his incarnations, of the first Buddha.

That Yogiism—or Sivaism in its pristine form, disappeared or merged into that more complex system, ever since known as Brahminism.

The history of the oscillations of the human mind, from shade to shade of belief, manifested in material forms; is as affecting as it is curious. Nevertheless, is not the remark of an acute and learned observer* without strong grounds. 'Look at each of these religions and you see that there is a witness of oneness in all places and times. Look at them again and you see there is something which divides them from each other.' Brahm himself was emphatically an intelligence. Sakya Muni, in all probability, was the rekindler of feelings which had been existing previously. The human intellect was first recognised as the perfect organ of worship, and finally became its object. The author of the Boyle lectures, affirms of Hinduism, that it has only—the 'faintest conception of a divine will' —though recognising a divine original, from which the intelligence of man proceeds, and which it is to contemplate. In striving to ascertain what this light is—how it is distinct from the human intelligence, the Brahman becomes lost in speculation. The Buddhist cuts the knot, practically makes man's intellect the origin of all things; yet recognises a certain universal intelligence dwelling in the race, and concentrated from time to time in some person.'

To conclude, it is so obvious, as almost to seem trite, to observe, that knowledge is no exception to the universal law of all acquisition, of having to be earned with anxious labour. It is not to be picked up like a flower, but to be dug for like ungrown corn, or mined for like gold and gems. Man, no doubt, acquires with little effort perhaps, a species of discursive knowledge, that his mind loosely holds, and which through indolence, want of encouragement, or other cause he scarcely registers, and it becomes therefore of little comparative value. Ours is a recording age, but several things may slip through the sieve of the age itself, that may not be deemed worth record, though posterity may lament the omission of such. We have means and advantages for the purpose, that leave us without

* The Revd. Fredk. D. Maurice Boyle's Lectures, 1847.

excuse if we avail not ourselves of them. Centuries of records have perished throughout the world, either on account of the material on which they were engrossed, the difficulty of multiplying them, or the barbarism of conquerors. Perhaps we may in our national pride, smile at the extravagance of hinting at a time, when English records may be found only on stone and brass. Even now, how perishable in India are records, not excepting even our piles of useless voluminous official documents. The white ants will do a good deal in the way of abstracting from them, and puzzling the future archæologist. Ask for the work of fiction that delighted your boyhood, and the particular edition of it endeared to you by association. It is out of print, and not to be found. If any one in the days of Amenoph II. had ventured to say, that the Hieroglyphics would some day become a dark parable; and the great pyramid of Cheops, or the Sphynx itself, an enigma—would he not have been laughed at? For purposes that are grounded in wisdom, we may but dimly see the workings of, it is not, save with rare exceptions, permitted to men, to be wise beyond their age. The present generation has perhaps been greatly privileged in this respect, especially in the walk of physical science. All experience, however, shews how liable human vanity is to be inflated by a consciousness of intellectual superiority, and by none more than by a supposed discovery of a truth buried of old. Every man is apt to deem, that he views things from an angle, that makes them clearer to him than they were to his forefathers. This is also often vanity, and vexation of spirit. Let us all seek humbly after the probable, if not the true. All solid knowledge is permitted to us, we do not create it, no more than the landscape we for the first time behold in a newly discovered island, or a venerable desolation where a nation once moved. We may stumble on the roads that lead to the temple of truth—but we have not constructed them. Let us be assured that the sternest of poets sayeth truly:

Ora apri gli occhi a quel ch' io ti rispondo,
E vedrai il tuo credere e'l mio dire,
Nel vero farsi come centro in tondo.
Cio che non muore e cio che puo morire
Non e se non splendor di quella idea
Che partorisce, amando, il nostro Sire.
Che quella viva luce, che si mea
Dal suo lucente, che non si disuna
Da lui, ne dall Amor che 'n lor s'intrea,
Per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna
Quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze,
Eternalemente rimanendosi una.*

* Dante (Paradiso Canto XIII.)

ART. VI.—1. *Hyderabad Papers. (Printed in conformity to the Resolution of the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, of the 3d March,* 1824.)

2. *General Orders of the Nizam's Army.*

3. *Hints on Irregular Cavalry, by Captain C. F. Trower,* 1845.

No portion of India has been more prominently put forward, or occasoned more discussion than the Hyderabad State; and such has been the extent to which the affairs of that unhappy country have engaged public attention, that for many years past the Indian Press has rarely permitted any Act of the Nizam's Government to pass unnoticed. Our readers need have no apprehension of being involved in all the perplexity of these discussions. We have hitherto abstained from taking any part in it ourselves, and we are not now about to engage in it from any feelings of a personal nature. We have no desire either to excuse the errors of one party or to exaggerate the offences of another. Our solicitude is solely for the amelioration of the country and for the welfare of the people, and if we knew one party more capable than another, of bringing that about, to him we would point. Neither do we intend on this occasion to enter upon any grave consideration of the government or mis-government of the country, though when we do make bold to "expatiate and confer on State affairs" we shall endeavour to preserve that dispassionate impartiality which we sincerely feel upon this so much agitated question.

The task we have assigned to ourselves lies in another direction. Our immediate business is with the "Nizam's Contingent," its rise, progress, and present condition; but before entering upon its history, it is necessary as an introduction, that we should make some few observations on the present aspect of affairs, and take a brief retrospect of the causes which have brought the Nizam's Government into its present condition.

There is no part of India of which the reports are so opposed to one another. They resemble the contradictions of the two knights on the subject of the shield which was gold on one side and brass on the other. Each described truly what he saw, and only erred in supposing that to be the whole.

The Hyderabad politicians, like the English knights, would appear to see only one side of the shield. For while some zealous partisans, in their estimate of persons, have rung the changes upon the folly and incapacity of the Executive Government, and shewn a disposition to exaggerate failure or local embarrassment, there have been others equally ready, not only to

excuse all faults and imperfections, but to magnify every success. This ought not to be wondered at, seeing as we do every day that eulogy and invective may be had for the asking. There is unhappily no longer any room for controversy on this part of the question, for the conviction of all parties, whose opportunities have allowed them to form a judgment on the condition of the country, and on the characters of the leading individuals at the capital, now yield to the irresistible evidence of this notorious fact—that in the ministerial arrangement towards the close of the past year, where, out of many selections one might have been made that incurred some risk only of being wrong, the choice has fallen in a quarter, which cannot by any chance be right; though it is but due to the nobleman to whom we refer to state that the office, instead of being of his own seeking, is believed to have been forced upon him by his master against his inclination. But if the Nizam have neglected all those persons who are capable of aiding him, and shewn but little wisdom in his recent selection of a minister, it must never be forgotten with what benevolent motives he has, within a comparatively short period, disbursed from his private treasury, for the use of the State, the sum of two crores of rupees. We wish we could add for the benefit of the State; for, although appropriated no doubt with the best intentions, it is lamentable to reflect that at such a time so large a sum should have been so injudiciously distributed, as to tend to no permanent advantage, either in retrieving the embarrassments of the State, or in alleviating the difficulties of the country.

The spectacle of this once flourishing country—so peculiarly favored by its climate, its fertility, and its situation, shewing to what a height of prosperity it might be brought under the management of a just and humane Government—reduced to a state of poverty, anarchy, and wretchedness, by the vices and abuses of its rulers, presents an instructive, though melancholy, object of contemplation.

By what causes then, it may be asked, has this state of things been produced in the Dekhan? There has been peace in Southern India for the last twenty-eight years. No barbarous enemy has within that period ravaged the country. The Government has been allowed to rule in all important matters almost in its own way. With uninterrupted peace and security, with every thing in short that is commonly supposed to ensure national prosperity, how is it that the Nizam's Government, with its vast natural resources, has fallen into a condition of ruin and misery?

"The disorders in the Nizam's affairs," Mr. Russell recorded

so far back as 1819, "are not of recent origin. The Government of Hyderabad has not been in a secure or flourishing condition at any period during the last seventy years." Again, "when the present minister, Rajah Chundú Lall, succeeded to his office in 1809, every department of the Government was already in a condition tending rapidly to decay."

The troubles owe their origin to circumstances beyond the control of any particular minister; nor should blame be imputed to any man or set of men. Though of the respective merits of the several late ministers it may be observed that they would have lost nothing by following the favorite maxim of the Emperor Akbar, who is said to have borne upon one of his seals "I never knew a man lost upon a straight road." The defect belongs more to the system than to the agents by whom it is administered. Every administration for the last fifty years has been one of shifts and expedients. Every department of the Government has become in consequence notoriously corrupt. Bribes are given when contracts are to be procured. Bribes are given when accounts are to be settled. And bribes are given when disputes are to be adjudicated. Every situation is sold, and therefore every situation is abused. No one acts from humanity, no one acts from justice; and as no one will interest himself for another gratuitously, right, justice, and influence are alike to be purchased. As no public officer is inaccessible to a bribe, the whole Government in all its various offices has been linked together by corrupt practices against the interests of the State. All being alike actuated by one only passion, the thirst of gain, it is evident that where this system is universal, the Government *must become* oppressive, and the very foundations of justice and good rule be destroyed in every department of the State. The base becomes undermined, and the Government in consequence insecure; for in policy as in architecture the ruin is the greater when it begins with the foundation. That the system is bad and injurious to the interests of the country, is apparent, were any evidence wanting, in the oft-told tale of decrease of revenue, the misery and oppression of the lower classes, the insecurity of life and property; and worse than all, because the source of every evil, the system of anticipating the public revenue, and of farming it from year to year to the highest bidder—producing thereby a succession of collectors or contractors over whom there is no check—who in many instances reside at the capital, leaving their duties in the interior to be performed by some inefficient and irresponsible deputy—who have no interest in the welfare of the cultivating classes beyond the current year—and whose only aim is extortion in

order to be prepared for the exactions which may at any time be levied on them by the Government itself. Instances might be adduced where the collectors have in consequence become so wealthy as to be enabled to present the Government periodically with ten and even twelve lakhs of rupees.

But instead of attempting to trace the source of the evil, or wasting time in unavailing regrets at what can never be recalled, we will at once make this concession, that the weakness and disorders of the Hyderabad Government, irrespectively of the evil administration common to all native States, are in some degree the necessary consequences of the Nizam's political situation, and that from causes arising out of an alliance with us, the Nizam is as much the victim as the author of the abuses which we are now deploring.

We need only point to the treaty of 1800, as one immediate cause of embarrassment, by the continual drain made on the revenues of the country for the maintenance of a contingent force, commencing from the formation of the first brigade in 1813. And however much this may have contributed to the advancement of our mutual interests, it has undoubtedly tended very materially to exhaust the treasury of one whom we professed to befriend. By the treaty in question the Nizam is bound to provide in time of *war* 6,000 Infantry and 9,000 Cavalry. Out of this engagement has arisen *in time of peace* the present expensive force, at a sacrifice of nearly one-third of the revenue, for we believe we are not wrong in estimating the cost of the contingent at 40 lakhs of Hyderabad rupees, or about 32 lakhs of Company's rupees a year; and although our information may not be so correct in regard to the income of the State, the accounts having for many years been accommodated to circumstances, we have no reason to estimate it at the present time, at more than one crore and a half of Hyderabad rupees. The result is an empty treasury, heavy debts, large arrears to the city troops, and no credit.

Let us not however mistake the nature of the evils, and give our attention exclusively to the means of replenishing the treasury. Exhausted as the finances are, we still think there are higher considerations even than finance, and that the general amelioration of the country is of still greater importance; for no gain on the score of revenue can ever ultimately compensate a Government for the sufferings of its subjects, and for the numerous other evils of incalculable magnitude which experience has shewn to be inseparable from the vicious system of native administration.

In this situation of affairs the great point for inquiry, is, whether any system can be devised for relieving the people from oppression, and saving the country from further depredation; and whether there exist any means of adjusting the public finances, or of supplying the present alarming deficiency in the revenue? The discussion of these several important and very inviting questions would exceed our limits. But if on the subject of finance we come to consider generally the course which policy prescribes, there can be but one opinion. When the income of an individual falls off, he either contrives to increase it, or he retrenches his expenditure; or, rejecting this prudent alternative, he becomes bankrupt. The same principle applies to a Government, and it is obvious that the Dekhan State has long been in the predicament of the imprudent man in all that regards the conduct of its affairs. If the income of the country is inadequate to its expenditure, if it cannot be increased, and if the State will not limit its expenses, ultimate ruin must be the consequence. Relief can only be sought in a reduction of expense, and if the Nizam would but consent to disband the greater part of the numerous inefficient and useless troops, which are upheld for a purpose avowedly of utility, but practically of mischief, great resources would unquestionably be found.

Of these mercenaries belonging to various tribes, there cannot be less than some 35,000 in and about the capital. They are at best but a turbulent body of adventurers, and on more than one occasion when clamouring for their pay have shewn themselves a mischievous and mutinous band. Several attempts have been made to rid the country of these people,—a measure far more easily devised than carried out, owing to the inability of the Government to pay them their arrears previously to discharging them.

We are aware that our native friends are extremely ungrateful to the great men in their neighbourhood who take the trouble of forming plans for their future welfare. They have an unfortunate propensity of being happy in their own way, and of managing their own affairs themselves. But if our common interests be inseparable, as we believe them to be, then the time cannot be far distant when something must be attempted to retrieve the affairs of this exhausted country.—We would hope that some forbearance and moderation may then be shewn, and even any little display of occasional petulance and fretfulness under his leading strings be forgiven the Nizam; for in stepping in at the present crisis, (when moderate concession may conciliate and preserve,) to mend the fortune of our Ally, we shall

establish a reputation throughout India opposed to our *reputed* policy, and secure a certain advantage to ourselves by the continuance of undisturbed tranquillity in the Dekhan. And if it be true, that part of the mischief is to be ascribed to the minister of our own elevation, who ruled with absolute sway for thirty-five years, or in other words to our own interference, it is for that reason the more incumbent upon us to rectify our own misdoings. When that time shall arrive, we hope to see our sincerity and disinterestedness practically evinced, not only in repairing the machine without destroying it, but also in mending the fortune of our Ally without taking the opportunity of mending our own : for the least that can be expected of a self-constituted reformer is that his services shall be gratuitous.

It is said that the Nizam wishes to conduct the affairs of his Government in person, and has been influenced by this feeling in his choice of the new minister. We hope not. He tried it before and failed, not so much perhaps from natural incapacity, as from the want of the requisite experience and information. Beneficent in intention, and by no means destitute of good qualities, he has the good of his people at heart, but the misfortune not to know how to accomplish it. Success in such circumstances is hopeless. He is popular as he deserves to be among his own subjects, for not only is he neither cruel nor oppressive in his own person, much as he may look on and allow it in others, but he never witnesses distress without a desire to alleviate it. Yet let it, at the same time, be acknowledged that no oppression is so severe as that which prevails in lax Governments where the rich and powerful *will* prey upon the poor and weak. Irresolution and vacillation are his great defects. He has neither firmness for the management of his people, nor ability and perseverance adequate to the administration of the finances. Incapable of foresight, his measures necessarily fail after being pushed to a certain length, as much from the unreflecting manner in which his plans are formed, as from his necessities which allow them no time to come to perfection. In this way part of the work is mis-managed, and the rest left undone, while his ill-digested plans tend rather to confirm than to extirpate the evils they are intended to destroy. His amusements are of the most puerile kind, and the great object of those about him is to feed not only his pleasures but also his vanity, by instilling into his mind that nobody can rule like himself,—all the while keeping the cares and realities of Government at a distance. His dislike of the English, their habits and manners, is well known; and the minions about him take good care to keep this feeling alive by not only alienating his mind in every possible way from

the English, but by making him believe that all that we do, proceeds from interested motives. He is consistent in nothing but in his prejudices and in his opposition to the views of the Resident. His chief object is counteraction, and if it can be discovered that there is one party more acceptable to us than another, or one more attached to our interests than another, that in itself would be sufficient to excite jealousy, and to deprive him of the Nizam's countenance and favour; for those very qualities which would recommend a person to us, would be fatal to the Nizam's confidence in him as a minister. In other respects he is said to possess an amiable disposition.

But to talk to him of the science of Government, of the sources of national prosperity, of the causes of national decay, is to place before the Nizam images which he cannot comprehend. His views of policy are very limited. Instead of perceiving how much the prosperity of his subjects would add to the strength of his Government, his ideas would seem to be confined to maintaining every body without diminution of their unlawful gains, such even as are made by fraud. In this lies the difficulty of regulating the finances, because retrenchment would interfere with some man's job. Nor is there any indication of his ever having meditated, much as we believe he desires it, any precise design for the welfare of his subjects or the prosperity of his dominions.

Nothing can be more praiseworthy than the ruler of a country acquainting himself with the concerns of his own people; and much as one would naturally desire to see the legitimate sovereign in the exercise of his proper functions, yet as incapacity may be fully as mischievous as bad intention, we confess our trepidation at seeing the reins of Government in such hands; and should be very glad to see this amiable and well-meaning prince retire into the privacy of his palace, and his sedulity diverted into a channel more suited to his habits and bent of mind. For while we believe that his errors and weaknesses proceed more from the head than the heart, and are to be ascribed to his position, and that his rule has never been disfigured either by designed cruelty or rapacity,—yet so great is his timidity, indecision, and vacillation, that notwithstanding all his good intentions, the Government has become so paralyzed and powerless as scarcely any longer to possess the means either of doing good or preventing evil.

That the machine has been going down hill for the last fifty years is a melancholy fact; and that it has not already fallen to pieces excites astonishment,—though looked at in one point of view, a cheering inference may be drawn, for in so much vitality

there must be some principle of good. And if the Government hitherto so grossly mis-managed could only be extricated from its present embarrassments, and placed under the direction of a vigorous mind, a better revenue system gradually organized, oppression altogether abolished, and other gross errors in the interior administration rectified, there might yet be some hope of establishing a new order of things at once wise and salutary. To carry through such principles, the administration must be entrusted neither to the Nizam nor to his favorites, but to men of character and capability, of active mind and energetic will; and if native instruments of the requisite qualifications cannot be found, recourse must be had to European agency. Whether the crisis shall be for evil or for good, depends, under providence, mainly upon ourselves. It will be for us to sow the seed, yet without weeding the ground well, the desired harvest cannot be looked for.

But it is of little use, without the men to carry them out, to describe the measures for the amelioration of the country. The causes of the disorders are not we believe irremovable, nor its finances irretrievable. The State possesses the resources, if it will only produce them, and make a wise application of them; but when we look around for one to keep the machine in a right direction, we find none equal to the task. There are no projects, no ideas. All is veiled in darkness and corruption. There is no plan for the benefit of the country. There is only a sigh for the past, and nothing for the future. Yet one would suppose that the swift shadows of coming events were sufficiently ominous to startle the Government from its indolence.

There is a certain degree of calamity which overwhelms the mind. The Nizam would appear to be reduced to this state. Yet he has daily an example before him, as his ministers have had for the last ten years, that vigour both of mind and body, although the ordinary accompaniments, are not always confined to youth; but however much the resident may counsel and advise, however much he may resent the evils which he daily witnesses; the more earnest, the more anxious, the more eager he is, so much the more must he feel his heart sink within him at what he encounters. Painful indeed must it be to one in such a situation to behold as it were the vitality of the State gradually disappearing before him.

We are no advocates for violent innovations in the original institutions of a native Government; but where corruption and venality have taken such root, nothing less than a reform, which, commencing in the root of the State, shall be felt through the trunk and all its limbs even to the minutest ramification, can

eradicate the existing evils. To remove all impurity, to heal all the wounds inflicted by misrule, the huge Augean stable must be cleansed,—a task that might well dismay Hercules himself. We may then, and only then, to borrow happier language than our own, trust "that all things may continually amend from evil to good, from good to better, and from better to the best."

We will now enter upon the history of the contingent.

It is a matter of history that the Government of Hyderabad had been unfortunate in every war in which it had been engaged, between the death of Nizam-úl-Mulk the founder of it, who died in 1748, and the treaty of Paungul in 1790, with the single exception of a short campaign against the Mahrattas which Nizam Ally conducted with some success in 1761 ; and the result had in every instance, been attended with a loss of territory or of revenue. The grandfather of the present Nizam had good reason, from the unfortunate results of the battle of Kurdla in 1795, to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his own chiefs and troops. The few who did their duty were ill-rewarded, and the rest were suffered to fall rapidly into neglect. Such conduct might have been foretold from the manner in which the troops of that day were recruited and organized.

The Nizam,—reduced both in power and resources, irritated also by the disastrous results of the campaign which he in a great measure attributed to the English, in consequence of the two battalions then forming the Hyderabad subsidiary force, which had been subsidized from the British Government by the treaty of 1790, not being allowed to accompany him into the field,—gave the first proof of his dissatisfaction by intimating on his return to the capital his wish that the British troops should be withdrawn. The same feelings of ill-will which dictated this measure, led him also to give his attention to the increase and improvement of a large body of Infantry commanded by an enterprising French officer of the name of Raymond. It was the policy of the French party to magnify the power and resources of their own country, and on all possible occasions to depreciate the character and credit of Great Britain. The French corps composed the largest and most efficient part of His Highness's military establishment, and after the peace, the Nizam sensible of the value of their services, and the importance of augmenting and improving the force, put great power into the hands of its commander, and assigned territorial revenue for the regular payment of the troops.

The resident remonstrated against this proceeding. He further remonstrated against the intention of sending a detachment to occupy a post immediately upon the frontier of our own possessions.

The Governor General, deeply disquieted by this last measure, after instructing the resident as to the line of conduct he was to pursue in endeavouring to prevail upon the Nizam to recall the detachment, concludes as follows:—

"These arguments, urged in firm, but moderate and conciliatory language, will, I hope, prevail on the Nizam to comply with my wishes and acquiesce in the recall of the detachment. I deem this a point of the first importance; but, if he should still persist in his determination to continue it at Kurpah, you will adopt the language of remonstrance; and ultimately acquaint him, that I shall, in this event, be compelled, with whatever reluctance, to advance a body of troops towards our frontier."

At this critical juncture an event occurred, fortunate perhaps for both parties. The Nizam, alarmed by the rebellion of his eldest son, hastened to solicit aid and support of his ancient allies, whose friendship he had so recently slighted. An armed support was freely afforded, and for a time the French suffered neglect, while the English were treated with favor; but no sooner were the Nizam's fears dispelled than his former prejudices returned, and the French received every encouragement to recruit and improve their force.

Notwithstanding this the Nizam expressed his willingness to dismiss the French, provided the English subsidiary force was increased; but the conditions of the arrangement were considered incompatible with other engagements, and no decisive steps were taken. In this difficulty a medium course suggested itself,—that of encouraging English adventurers to enter the service of the Nizam, in the hope that they might be useful in counteracting the views of the French; but the expedient entirely failed, and little or no advantage resulted from it. The English made no advance, while Raymond's corps grew up into a regular and well trained army.

The French corps, originally about fifteen hundred, had in a few years increased to eleven thousand, and in 1798, amounted to fourteen thousand men, with more than one hundred European officers and subordinates. Its discipline, although inferior in some respects to our own army, was far superior to the Infantry of other native powers. There were field-pieces to each regiment with a park of forty pieces of ordnance and a complete equipment of military stores, together with a well trained body of Artillery men, many of whom were Europeans. Arsenals and foundries* had been formed for their equipment, and every effort made which could add to their strength and stability.

* The foundry, a large mass of red brick is yet to be seen on a hill in the vicinity of the residency.

These improvements had taken place subsequent to the battle of Kurdla; for when on that occasion, Raymond, who had nearly expended his ammunition, sent to the magazine for fresh supplies, he was told by the Nizam himself that "as he was bound by contract to furnish ammunition, he should not have any."

The French corps, as constituted in 1798, formed the only efficient part of the Nizam's military establishment, and retained such a degree of ascendancy over the councils of the sovereign, as to be an object of serious alarm to his minister. Azim-úl-Omrah, the minister to whom the business of the State was almost wholly entrusted, had repeatedly complained of their overbearing spirit and his inability to control it. The Nizam himself, although at one time reluctant to part with his French adherents, began at length to perceive that the actual power and resources of his own Government were passing into the hands of a party whose growing ascendancy might some day be turned against himself. These considerations, added to the reasoning of his minister, in the end prevailed; and the Nizam agreed to accept the alliance of the English on their own terms.

Negotiations were accordingly renewed with a view to place the English Government upon a more secure footing, and to induce the Nizam to abandon his French allies. The disposition of the minister continued favorable to the English Government, and after some little difficulty he succeeded in overcoming the prejudices of his sovereign, and inducing him to give his assent to a negotiation for the dismissal of the French corps, and the increase of the English subsidiary force.

M. Raymond, by whom the corps was originally formed, had died a few months previous to this, and disputes respecting a successor had occasioned serious dissensions among the troops. General Perron at length succeeded to the command; and although an active and enterprizing officer, and one well acquainted with the principles of the military art, his influence was not of a nature to avert the fatal blow now about to be inflicted on the French interest by the British Government. For this corps, so long the source of annoyance and apprehension, was now sentenced to dispersion, and the talents of its officers were unable to arrest its fate.

In the latter part of 1798 a new treaty was formed with the Nizam, by which the subsidiary force was increased to six battalions of Infantry, one regiment of Cavalry, and Artillery in proportion. The Nizam engaged by this treaty to disband the French corps in his service, and to deliver over its officers to the British Government.

The Nizam and minister, now both alarmed at the exorbitant

power of the French party, were, as as we were, anxious for their removal from the capital; but as the time approached for their expulsion, the sovereign, either from the influence of intrigue or alarm, hesitated. The minister, swayed by fear, likewise hesitated. In a situation so important there was no time for reflection. The Nizam and his minister were compelled to make choice between the English and the French, and as was to be expected, they determined in favour of the English. A proclamation was issued, by which the troops were informed that tho Nizam dismissed the French officers from his service, and that the men were released from all obedience to their European officers. The sepoys, who were encouraged to submission by the promise of future service under other officers, after some little hesitation, laid down their arms, and the French officers surrendered themselves as prisoners,—the whole affair occupying but a few hours.* Out of these materials arose various regiments called "Line," some of which continue as a mockery to the present day.

Thus was the power and influence of the French, who were on the point of erecting their standard at Hyderabad, completely annihilated in the Dekhan; and the Nizam, released from their control, rendered an efficient ally of the British, and enabled to co-operate with effect in the war soon after produced by the perfidy and restless ambition of Tippú.

The British resident of that day deserves mention here, as being the public officer who negotiated and concluded the treaty by which this important service was performed. The British interest at the Court of Hyderabad had temporarily devolved upon Captain (afterwards Colonel) James Achilles Kirkpatrick, and so high was the sense which Lord Mornington entertained of Captain Kirkpatrick's services on the occasion, that he recommended him as deserving of some mark of royal favor. He was subsequently appointed resident on the resignation of his brother, Colonel William Kirkpatrick.

During the war in Mysore, such were the successful exertions to bring the Nizam's contingent into the field, that the Governor General deemed the subject worthy of special notice.

"This force," writes the Governor General to the Home Government in March 1799, "under the general command of Mír Allum, formed a junction with the army on the 19th February; and it is with the greatest satisfaction that I remark to your Honorable Court the beneficial effects which the com-

* An interesting narrative of these proceedings is given in Lushington's Life of Lord Harris.

pany have already derived from the recent improvements of an alliance with the Court of Hyderabad. The Nizam's contingent actually arrived in the vicinity of Chittúr in a state of preparation for the field, before General Harris was ready to proceed on his march from Vellore."

In October 1800, Colonel Kirkpatrick, after a long and arduous negotiation, succeeded in concluding a new treaty with the Nizam, whereby the political ties which connected the British Government with the State of Hyderabad were drawn together more closely than before ; while the money subsidy hitherto paid by his highness, in defrayment of the expenses of the British troops employed in defence of his country, was commuted for the territories since known as the ceded districts. It is by this treaty that the Nizam is bound to furnish, in the event of a war between the contracting parties and a third State, a force as before mentioned of 6,000 Infantry and 9,000 Cavalry ; and the first occasion on which we find them employed appears to have been with the Hyderabad subsidiary force under Colonel Stevenson aganist the Mahratta confederacy in 1803.

On the death of Nizam Alli Khan in August 1803, notwithstanding the hostile designs of parties to excite commotions in the State, and to disturb the regular order of succession in support of Furríd-ún-Jah the younger son, Secunder Jah, owing in a great measure to the judicious measures adopted by Colonel Kirkpatrick, succeeded to the vacant musnud of his father, without the slightest opposition ; and the energies of the new Government were immediately directed to a vigorous co-operation with the British forces against the common enemy. The power of the Court of Hyderabad, stimulated by the unremitted exertions of the resident, proved eminently useful, and contributed in no small degree to the speedy and glorious termination of the war in the Dekhan.*

The sudden death of Azim-úl-Omrah was the next occasion, and the last of particular importance, that exercised the vigilance and address of Colonel Kirkpatrick. Numerous were the candidates who contended for the high station of this intelligent minister. In spite however of the active intrigues of the several competitors, Colonel Kirkpatrick was enabled to keep the appointment in suspense, until he received the instructions of the Governor General on the subject. The result is well known. The vacant office was conferred by the Nizam on Mír Allum,

* M. Perron, Scindia's General, wrote to the French commandant of the fort of Allighur in September 1803.—"Nizam Alli Khan is dead, his son has withdrawn his army, and declared war against the English. Fear nothing!"

a nobleman of the Court, distinguished beyond any other for his political sagacity and experience.

In October 1805 Colonel Kirkpatrick died, and Captain Sydenham was appointed resident, in which office he continued until 1811, when he was succeeded by Mr. (since Sir Henry) Russell.

After the disbandment of the French force; it became the fashion to maintain corps of Infantry resembling in some degree those in the Company's army; and to such an extent was this carried, that the corps of women which mounted guard in the interior of the palace, and accompanied the ladies of the Nizam's family whenever they moved, were taught to carry muskets, drums, &c., and to perform the manual and platoon exercises according to the French fashion. Two battalions of females, of one thousand each, accompanied the Nizam into the field in 1795, and were present at the battle of Kurdla, where, at least, they did not behave worse than the rest of the army. The battalions were commanded by two of the principal female attendants of the Nizam's family. The present Nizam still maintains an establishment of women; and however humiliating it may appear to the European mind, this corps may still be seen giving its sentries, presenting arms, and performing duties which ought more properly to belong to the regular soldier. It would pain the heart of some of our disciplinarians to see a sentry's musket giving place to a smiling infant, or perhaps the infant on one shoulder, the musket on the other. But this, although a digression, is no imaginary picture.

Some few years after this, we find the Nizam's troops consisting of Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery located in Berar having their Head Quarters at Aurungabad. The Cavalry were of two descriptions—Circarí and Jaghírdarí. The Circarí Cavalry, by far the most numerous, were composed of small parties raised and commanded by different sirdars. The whole system was faulty in the extreme. The head of a Pagah would let out his party for a certain sum per horseman, for which sum, horse, rider, arms, accoutrements and ammunition were engaged to be furnished. Every casualty was to be borne by the owner, so that it was the interest of the horseman to avoid every thing that would endanger the safety of his horse. A muster master was appointed, but it was soon found that he not only imposed upon the Government himself, but connived at the imposition of others. The muster roll of the Circarí Cavalry gave 7,150, and of the Jaghírdarí 4,340. But many of these horses had no existence but on paper. Of the Jaghírdar Cavalry about 1,800 belonged to Salabut Khan, about 900 to Súbhun Khan, and the

remainder in small parties of from twenty to a hundred horsemen to different inconsiderable Jaghírdárs. Of the Infantry there were about 3,000 Irregular, and about 5,000 Regular. The Irregular Infantry were Circar troops except one small corps of about 700 men belonging to Nawab Shums-úl-Omrah. Of the Regular Infantry two battalions of about 900 men each, belonged to Salabut Khan, and the remainder were called the Nizam's establishment of Regular Infantry.

In the year 1804 a proposal was made to the Nizam to maintain a regular establishment of the Silladar Cavalry, similar to the Mysore horse. After some negotiation the Nizam consented generally to the plan, but as he objected to all those parts of it by which alone the efficiency of the establishment would have been ensured, the proposal was necessarily abandoned; since, without some satisfactory arrangement for the regular payment of the troops, they would not have been at all superior to any other party of horse in the Nizam's service.

As may be supposed, the whole system of the Nizam's military establishment was defective. The only way in which our influence could be usefully exerted was in keeping their numbers complete, in getting them more regularly paid, and in suggesting plans for their disposition and employment.

The Irregular Infantry were fit for nothing better than the duty of sebundies, nor could any thing better be expected of men whose nominal pay was five rupees a month, and that paid irregularly.

The two regular battalions belonging to Salabut Khan were very respectable corps. They were commanded by an Englishman of the name of Drew, who had a few other Englishmen employed as officers under him. The men were dressed like our sepoys, and armed with our muskets, and what was of much greater importance, they were regularly paid.

The Nizam's own establishment of Regular Infantry was to us the most important part of his whole army. It consisted of six battalions, nominally of 800 men each, divided into two brigades, each brigade commanded by an European officer called a Major, with an European Adjutant to each battalion. The men were dressed and armed like our sepoys, and their establishment of native officers was nearly the same as that maintained in our own native corps. Part of this establishment is said to have been brought to a respectable state of discipline; but in consequence of the withdrawal of all supervision and control, they soon lost, not only the benefit of every improvement they had previously gained, but acquired most of the defects to which an establishment of the kind under a native Govern-

ment is liable. They are described as being at one time incomplete in numbers, loose in discipline, badly armed, and irregularly paid.

To make these establishments really effective, the resident, who had early applied himself to the organization and discipline of the Nizam's troops, recommended that the number and respectability of the European officers should be gradually increased, the men well paid and regularly disciplined, supplied with arms and accoutrements from our own stores, and the general superintendence and control over the whole vested in a British officer, who should exercise the necessary degree of personal authority, and keep the resident constantly informed of their real condition.

As no encouragement was then given to continue this proposed reform, the resident seems to have confined himself to inducing the Nizam's Government to introduce some system of regularity in the organization and payment of a few of the battalions at Hyderabad.

Of the troops at the capital there were two battalions, with a small number of guns in the old French lines, commanded by Major George Gordon. After his violent death, effected in cold blood by a rebel, his brother Major Edward Gordon succeeded to the command. These troops do not appear to have been in any way subject to the orders of the resident, but under the direct control of the Nizam's minister, by whom they were paid. In 1812 they mutinied for their pay, tied up their commanding officer to a gun, and threatened to blow him away, unless their pay was given them, together with a free pardon for their offence. Both were promised. Funds were sent from the residency treasury. But the chief mutineers were punished, as the resident considered that no promise should be held good which was exacted under such circumstances. After this the battalions were reformed, taken under the protection of the resident, and located in a new cantonment near the old French foundry.

This brigade, subsequently designated the "Russell brigade" out of compliment to the resident, was permitted to purchase, under certain arrangements, ammunition and stores from the Company's arsenal at Secunderabad. The brigade consisted of nearly 2,000 men together with a train of one 24-pounder, four 6-pounders, and two 5½-inch howitzers.

In 1813 Mr. Russell induced the Nizam's Government to allow him to disburse the pay of one battalion from the proceeds of the Peishkush, and to extend the same arrangement to the second battalion as soon as it was completed.

The attention of our Government was now directed to effect a

reduction in the Nizam's irregular battalions, and to supply their place with corps formed on the plan of the "Russell brigade." While these arrangements were in progress for the organization of the "Russell brigade," the Nizam's Regular Infantry in Berar was placed under the general control of the political agent in that quarter, who was assisted in his military duties by a staff officer under the designation of brigade major. Captain Sydenham was the political agent, and Lieutenant Parker, of the Madras Cavalry, his brigade major.

Considering the nature of the establishment, as it then existed, the number of persons interested in keeping up the abuses of it, and the difficulties which attended every attempt at innovation, quite as much was in a short time done towards the accomplishment of a reform as could reasonably be expected, though great care and constant attention were necessary to carry on the system of improvement, as well as to confirm the good which had already been effected.

The regularity with which the political agent succeeded in prevailing on the local Government to pay the troops in Berar was in itself an object of first-rate importance ; and the arrangements which he made for mustering the men, filling up vacancies, and supplying stores, were also highly judicious.

The political agent in Berar acted of course under the orders of the resident of Hyderabad. The resident, whose heart was in reform, was desirous that the whole of the six corps of Regular Infantry should be kept complete in numbers, and in every respect put upon an efficient footing; but as much time would necessarily be required for the adoption of the plan to its fullest extent, and as many difficulties stood in the way, it was wisely determined, so as to avoid the danger of undertaking too much at once, to introduce the system gradually—to limit the immediate measures of reform to the four battalions which composed the first and second brigade—and to transfer the remaining battalions to the exclusive authority of the native officers of the local Government.

The battalions which were the best disciplined were the first equipped, and ammunition for the ordnance and small arms was now for the first time supplied from the Company's arsenal, though the supply was very judiciously restricted to those corps which, in all other respects, were in a complete state of discipline and equipment.

The condition of these corps might be traced in a great measure to the support which they received from our political authorities, but still more to the individual character of their

commanders. The class of men too were widely different, depending of course upon the care that had been taken in recruiting and selecting them, for the rate of pay was everywhere the same. The Russell brigade was formed out of the finest men that Hindústan could produce, while most of the other regiments were recruited with less care. Some of them were composed of the refuse of the old French corps; others again of the personal adherents of their several commandants, while, it was well known that in some of the regiments their numbers were to be found only on paper.

In 1814 Lieutenant Hare of the Bombay army was appointed to the command of the Russell brigade, and at the instance of the minister, Rajah Chundú Lal, European officers were in due course appointed to the small bodies of Artillery and Cavalry attached to the force.

This brigade, under the energetic measures of Mr. Russell, and through the skill and assiduity of Captain Hare and the officers under him, attained, as we shall have occasion to shew, the highest state of efficiency, and formed the basis upon which the whole of the contingent was subsequently organized.

In September of the above year the following order was published to the troops, remarkable only as being the first order issued on their new organization.

"The divisions at present denominated cohorts shall be equally divided into two regiments, each to be completed to the following establishment:"

Europeans.				*Natives.*							*Attached.*								
Commandant.	Adjutant.	Serjeant Major.	Qr. Mr. Serjeant.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Drummers and Fifers.	Buglers.	Packallies.	Naiques.	Sepoys.	Total.	Armourer.	Blacksmith.	Bellows' boy.	Carpenter.	Chuckler.	First Dresse.	Second Dresse	Dhobis.	Hujjams.
1	1	1	1	10	55	56	20	3	10	53	800	1007	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	10

"It being supposed that all European officers attached to a corps of this kind are already conversant with their duty in every respect, regulations which of course would approach as near as possible to His Majesty's or those laid down by the

Honorable East India Company for the Government of their troops are rendered unnecessary. It is also expected that unanimity, the essential support of discipline and subordination, which is so necessary in every person engaged in the military profession, shall exist in the corps."

"As soon as the regiments are formed, it is to be hoped, that emulation between the two corps will take place. The state that a corps is in with regard to discipline must redound or detract from the military character of the officers attached to it, although it is in the service of an Ally of the Honorable Company; yet the sanction and support given to it by the lending of its officers, authorizes that strict mode of discipline introduced into their native army, and for which their officers are at all times accountable in whatever situation they may be placed. Among all nations every individual with an army is subject to the rules and regulations adopted by that army."

During the year 1815 the reform of the Russell brigade was prosecuted with great industry and perseverance. A brigade major was appointed in the person of Captain Jones of the Madras army. Other nominations and appointments were made to the European ranks of both commissioned and non-commissioned. A code of articles of war was authorized by the Nizam's Government, and other useful regulations introduced for the discipline and well being of the force in all its branches. The men were ruled by the best of all rules, the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. Of the native officers we find the services of some, "dispensed with by His Highness the Nizam," others again promoted for "gallant conduct." Nor were the interests of the whole as a body disregarded, for a proportionate increase was made to the pay of each grade, from the subadar to the private, respectively.

About the middle of this year the brigade was ordered into the city to suppress a disturbance created by the princes. Mobariz-úd-Dowlah, the Nizam's youngest son, had proceeded to the extremity of seizing and confining a servant of the residency. Captain Hare's brigade with two guns were accordingly ordered into the city. As the force approached the prince's house it was fired upon, for the houses on both sides of the road were occupied by armed men, who offered a determined and formidable resistance. The brigade pushed on resolutely, and with their guns blew open two of the gates, but they found that within which offered still greater obstacles than the gates without; and after a severe contest and an ineffectual attempt to penetrate into the prince's house, the force was under the necessity of retiring, but not without considerable blood-

shed, and the death of an officer belonging to the resident's escort.

The Nizam acted with great determination on the occasion. He enforced his orders for imposing an effectual restraint upon the violence of his sons, directed measures to be taken for apprehending and punishing their associates, and in the end removed the princes to the neighbouring fort of Golconda. Under the immediate sanction of the Nizam's own authority, tranquillity was soon restored to the city.

"The following," writes Mr. Russell in addressing Captain Hare, "are extracts from dispatches which I have received from 'Mr. Secretary Adam, in reply to my reports on the subject 'of the service on which a detachment of your brigade was 'employed on the 20th August."

"The Governor-General perused with concern your report of 'the loss sustained by Captain Hare's brigade in the attack on 'Mobaruz Jung's house, and his lordship especially laments 'the death of Lieutenant Darby. The failure of that plan 'cannot in any degree be ascribed to the conduct of the bri-'gade, or of Captain Hare, who as well as the other officers and 'the troops under his command, merit his lordship's appro-'bation for their steadiness, perseverance, and gallantry under 'very trying circumstances."

"I have great pleasure," adds Mr. Russell, "in being the 'channel of communicating to you this honourable testimony to 'the conduct of a corps in whose welfare I shall always feel the 'warmest anxiety from private inclination as well as public duty."

The year 1816 gave an Invalid and Pension establishment to the Russell Brigade. The subjoined extract of the resident's letter on the occasion deserves a place here, as expressing sentiments highly honorable to his feelings, and shewing the interest Mr. Russell continued to take in the child of his adoption. "Having," concludes Mr. Russell, "the honor and prosperity of the brigade most deeply at heart, I rejoice at this arrangement, as I do at every measure which contributes to the advantage of the native officers and men composing it. I request you will assure them of my constant protection and support. I shall always watch over their interests with the cordial anxiety of a friend, and I expect of them in return that they will cultivate a proper sense of the benefit they enjoy, that they will emulate the spirit of their European officers, and that they will distinguish themselves by the faithful and zealous discharge of their duties both in quarters and on service."

To give importance to the occasion a salute of nineteen guns was fired from the Artillery, a feu-de-joie from the Infantry,

and all prisoners were released from confinement. A compliment paid as much perhaps to the Nizam's minister, from whom the boon ostensibly emanated, as to the occasion itself.

Captain Hare appears to have understood the character of the native soldier. He took every opportunity of encouraging them by kindness and consideration, stimulating their pride, and animating them by the hope of reward.

As an indication of it, the following order was issued on the occasion of his Brigade parading for the first time with the Hyderabad subsidiary force :—

"The commanding officer requests commandants will communicate to the officers and men under their command, his entire approbation of their conduct and soldier-like appearance on parade the first time they have had an opportunity of appearing under arms with British troops, and hopes they will proudly support the good character and opinion which they have gained. He, in consequence, directs that there be no parades for exercise for eight days from this date."

In this year, Lieutenant Sotheby* of the Bengal Artillery joined the Russell brigade as commander of the Artillery, being the first Artillery officer appointed to the contingent. Of Lieutenant Sotheby, then a young officer, little could be known; but his intimate knowledge of all professional details soon became conspicuous, and made him invaluable in his new position. Without any facilities, but such as were derived from his own personal exertions, he had every thing to form and every body to instruct; and nothing but the most active zeal, and most untiring industry, (for he was a pains taking man of laborious and minute arrangement,) could have enabled him to overcome the difficulties against which he had to contend. Under this able officer the Nizam's Artillery was originally organized, and to him is chiefly to be ascribed whatever merit may be due for the state of efficiency which the ordnance department in all its details is acknowledged to have attained.

Towards the end of the year the resident inspected the brigade, when Mr. Russell, who cannot be made to speak too often, expressed himself in the following terms:—

"I have sincere pleasure in assuring you of the gratification which the performance of the Russell brigade at the review yesterday morning afforded me. Their appearance and movements were in every respect as good as could be either expected or desired. To me who have frequently witnessed their progress and discipline, and who know the skill and industry which have

* Now Major Sotheby, C. B., retired list.

been employed in their improvement, this was only a confirmation of the opinion I already entertained; but I heard several experienced officers, who were on the ground, and who had not had the same opportunities of knowing the brigade that I had, unanimously speak in the highest terms of their proficiency. I request therefore that you will accept my congratulations and my thanks, and that you will have the goodness to convey the expression of my applause to all the officers and men of the brigade."

In the same year (1816) the subject of a reform of the Nizam's Cavalry was brought under the notice of the Supreme Government. For the incursions of the Pindarries required that some vigorous measures should be adopted for the protection of Berar. As the Pindarries were famed for their proficiency in the art of running away, so it became essential to organize troops that could run after them; for rapidity of movement was all that was necessary in the contest with those plundering adventurers. Irregular Cavalry, efficient, and equipped for rapid movement, were the description of troops required; since the constitution of regular troops unfitted them for competing with the quick and desultory excursions of the Pindarry horse.

The Nizam's own establishment of Cavalry, as it existed in Berar, increased the evils which it was employed to suppress. The troops were as much dreaded by the peaceable inhabitants whom they were sent to protect, as were the Pindarries; and the province itself suffered infinite distress from their depredations. The resources of the country were neglected, the poorer people oppressed, and the military force capable only of mischief. Such were the evils of the native system, requiring the strenuous interference of our political and military authority to check. Some parties of the Jaghírdar cavalry were nevertheless susceptible of improvement as having a better description both of men and horses: these, it was proposed to select, to form them into light and efficient troops, and to re-model them upon a new and improved system under European control.

The general principles were to provide for the immediate organization of 7,500 cavalry in Berar alone. Rajah Govind Bukhsh, who then exercised chief authority in Berar, was called upon to furnish the greater portion. Some reluctance was at first shewn, but after rather a lengthened discussion, the Rajah acceded to the propositions of the resident, which were negotiated by Captain Sydenham with great zeal and intelligence, qualities that were conspicuous throughout the whole of that officer's proceedings. The Rajah consented to furnish a body of 5,000 cavalry for the protection of Berar against the Pin-

darries; but as that number could not be immediately organized, the party of Mysore horse then in the Dekhan were retained for the defence of Berar, for they were of a superior description to the Nizam's own cavalry, being composed of men who had learned in the school of Hyder and Tippú the duties of light troops.

The portion of the Jaghírdar horse were to be furnished, the greater part by Salabut Khan, and the remainder by other parties in Berar, to be under the orders of Nawab Futteh Jung Khan, a leader of approved courage and fidelity, and a near connection of Salabut Khan.

So many important considerations, both local and personal, were involved in this reform, as to render the accomplishment of the task one of no little difficulty. The Nizam, it was known, would throw impediments in the way, for it was his habit to oppose every measure proposed by us without reference to its intrinsic merits. There was the possibility also of exciting the opposition of the minister, as his concurrence in these changes would naturally draw upon him the violent hostility of all those powerful chiefs, whose emoluments would be curtailed by the proposed alterations; for every abuse requiring to be corrected, would necessarily be attended with pecuniary loss to some person or other. Added to these considerations, was the fear of wounding the pride of the chiefs in placing them under British officers. The success which had attended the officering of the infantry was considered by no means conclusive, since the character and the habits of the persons composing that force were essentially different from the mass of those of whom the cavalry would be formed.

But the two principal objects necessary to a proper constitution of the force, were its payment and the placing it under efficient command. Any plan of reform undertaken without the security of these two measures would be found totally nugatory. These being accomplished, there would be no difficulty in surmounting all other obstacles, and introducing such minor provisions as might be thought necessary.

The plan was at length submitted to the minister, who agreed to its adoption.

The Jaghírdars and others were required to pay their troops with punctuality; and as the greater portion of them belonged to Salabut Khan, it was anticipated, from the arrangements already introduced by that chief, that a regular system of payment might be depended on. No change was necessary in regard to the payment of the Mysore horse, as funds for that purpose were already provided from the resident's treasury,

and the amount re-paid by the Rajah of Mysore. The troops were guaranteed the continuance of their long established usages and customs. The pay of each silladar horseman was fixed at 40 Hyderabad rupees. Every horse killed or disabled on service was to be paid for by the state. And other beneficial arrangements were introduced, which made the situation of both native officers, and soldiers more advantageous, more creditable, and more secure in every respect. With all classes the proposed plan was extremely popular, and the service soon became, as it has been ever since, one of much request among natives of respectability and character.

The next point for consideration, and one requiring much circumspection, was the selection of an European officer possessing the various qualifications necessary to the efficient discharge of the delicate and arduous functions of the chief command of the party; for, although for ordinary and internal purposes the command might still be exercised by the native officers, yet the cavalry would neither be placed upon a respectable footing, nor maintained in efficiency, nor employed with any advantage to the state, unless commanded and led by European officers.

Alluding to the description of officers required with irregular cavalry, Mr Russell, as we gather from a small publication at the head of this article, thus expresses himself:—

"He would have to lead and direct them on all occasions, to guide them by his knowledge, and encourage them by his example; and above all he would have the difficult task of surmounting the prejudices of caste and religion, and reconciling the men to act with cheerfulness under his authority. But for this duty, difficult and complicated as it is, I have no hesitation in recommending Captain Davis. The integrity of his character, his known gallantry and enterprize, his temper and experience, his habits of personal activity, his acquaintance with the language, manners, and prejudices of the natives, and his skill in their peculiar modes of horsemanship, eminently qualify him for such a charge."

The direct superintendence of the troops in Berar had been previously vested in the political agent there; but in 1817 the system was modified, and the cavalry and infantry were respectively placed under the immediate command of two officers of the Company's service specially selected for the duty,—the general control and direction of the whole still remaining with the chief political officer on the spot, whose authority was to be exercised on the same principles which regulated the authority of political residents over officers commanding subsidiary forces.

Major Pitman of the Bengal army, who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone in his mission to Kabul, was nominated to the

general command of the Nizam's regular infantry in Berar. The war which was close at hand prevented any immediate reform, but at the close of it, he commenced with rather a severe hand,—forcing some of the old European officers to retire on pensions, replacing them by Company's officers, and driving most of the old men out of the ranks, but producing thereby a result which raised the regiments to a level with those in the Company's service.

Captain Davis, who had previously commanded one of the battalions of the Russell brigade, and who, as we have just shewn, had been strongly recommended by the resident, was appointed to the command of the cavalry brigade, composed of four risalahs of 1,000 each.—To Captain Davis was left the execution of all the details for carrying out the proposed plan of reform in the cavalry, and that nothing might impede the progress of the good work, he was allowed by the Governor General to select his own instruments to aid him in the important and difficult undertaking. The undermentioned officers were accordingly appointed :—

Lieutenant H. B. Smith	*Madras Army.*
Captain Pedlar	*Bombay Army.*
Lieutenant Wells	
Lieutenant John Sutherland.....	

Through the exertions of Captain Davis and his officers, this force, on the breaking out of the Pindarry campaign, was considered sufficiently organized to take its place with the army under Sir Thomas Hyslop. Their services throughout the war were " most exemplary," and afforded an opportunity of shewing the discernment which had guided Captain Davis in his selection of the officers to serve under him.

In the same year a small regiment of native cavalry of 300 men was organized on the plan of our regular cavalry, attached to the Russell brigade, and the command of it given to Captain Jones the Brigade Major.

The plan of lending English officers to discipline the troops of our native allies was at one time considered of very doubtful policy, and was at first proceeded on with caution; but after a time, the ground being supposed safe, it gradually enlarged, and in the end extended throughout the Nizam's regular army. But this reform was not effected at once, nor without difficulties that might not have been overcome but for the enlightened views of the British resident, who then watched over our interests at Hyderabad, directed and supported as he was by a corresponding spirit at the presidency.

On this subject we find among the Hyderabad papers the following letter from the Home Government under date the 3d April, 1814 :—

"In our dispatch of the 23d December, 1813, we apprized you of our intention, at a future period, to communicate our sentiments upon the subject of encouraging our allies to form regular battalions, disciplined after the European methods, and commanded by British officers."

2. "We have subsequently given to that subject all the attention which its importance required; and, upon full consideration, we are led to apprehend more danger from the extension of the European system of military discipline amongst the troops of the native powers, than we can expect to derive from their services."

3. "To the superiority of European discipline, is to be attributed the establishment of the British empire in India; and, in proportion as that discipline is extended amongst the natives not in our service, we must consider the power we have acquired exposed to hazard."

4. "The various contingencies which occur in the conduct of the affairs of so large an empire as we possess in India, have at all times made it advisable to avail ourselves of the assistance of native troops, not actually in our service, and to place them, upon such occasions, under the command of officers belonging to the Company's army."

5. "But we look upon the adoption of such temporary expedients in a very different light from the establishment of a system formed for the express purpose of introducing European tactics, in all their regulations and details, into the armies of any of the native Governments."

6. "In extending our subsidiary alliances, we have not been insensible to the risk of increasing our native force, beyond that proportion of European troops which ought always to accompany every augmentation of our Indian army; but we felt, at the same time, that there were circumstances connected with those subsidiary alliances, which counter-balanced the evil they were, in some degree, calculated to produce."

7. "The subsidiary force absolutely constitutes a part of our own army, is entirely under our own control, and can be changed, or even withdrawn at the discretion of our own Government; and although it is supported at the expense of our allies, affording them protection and authority whilst in amity with us, it gives them no strength in the event of hostile disposition."

8. "It appears to us, that the proposed plan, without the

advantages which have been stated, is liable to all the objections which can be urged against the subsidiary system : and whatever weight may be due to the opinions that have been brought forward in its support, the possible consequences of its establishment we deem of a magnitude sufficient to deter us from authorizing its further encouragement; particularly with reference to the artillery,—an arm in which it ought to be our policy not to extend the knowledge of it to the natives."

9. "You will observe, by their military despatch of the 8th November, 1814, that the Court of Directors are thoroughly impressed with the necessity of preventing the absence of our European officers from their regimental duties. The gradual reduction which they have ordered in the number of those officers, in itself constitutes a sufficient reason for not allowing them to serve with the native powers."

Again in January 1818.—"The doubts," the Court observe, "which we have formerly expressed, as to the policy of encouraging, generally, the princes in amity with us to maintain large bodies of regular infantry are by no means removed."

The Court appear to have had in mind the failure of a similar scheme in 1775, when the assistance of British officers being granted to discipline the Oude troops, it was found necessary in less than two years to discontinue the plan, for the following reasons recorded by Warren Hastings on the 5th May, 1777 :—

1st. "The superior pay and emoluments enjoyed by the officers in the Nawab's service, excited murmuring and dissatisfaction among those who remained in the Company's service, and by discouraging their zeal and attention to their duty, tended to the general relaxation of discipline.

2nd. "The want of effectual checks had been deeply felt, the principle of moderation which should actuate the conduct of officers in their public disbursements, having been found to have little influence when the expense was defrayed by a state on which they had no natural and permanent dependence. Hence the burthen had become too enormous for the Nawab to bear."

3rd. "The service having been too remote for the British Government to observe and restrain all abuses in it, local interests were acquired, and opportunities of making undue advantages afforded."

4th. "The officers employed on this service being exempt from the articles of war, the British Government had no further influence over them, than such as was created by a dread of losing their profits, which alone was insufficient to restrain excesses proceeding from the same principle."

This reasoning, even if suitable to the transactions of 1777, could not with reference to the great change in our political position, in the course of fifty years, be applicable to 1818. And here we may pause to enquire, where might we now be, had the several schemes for the advancement of our Empire in the East, been moulded upon results dependent on accidental circumstances of fifty years previous!

While these views, expressed in a strain of timidity, were finding their way to India, the reform of the Nizam's military establishment was still persevered in; for already had the Governor General given his sanction to the employment of British officers in His Highness' service. To withdraw them would have been unwise, as without European control, the corps would soon have become disorganized and have sooner or later reverted to their former inefficiency under European or East Indian adventurers. British officers were continued. At the recommendation of the resident, King's officers, Company's officers and individuals not in either of the services, were appointed. These last mentioned officers were, as they continue to be, designated "local officers." As early as 1823, we find as many as one hundred officers in the Nizam's service, forty of them local officers. It will be shewn that at a subsequent period the employment of King's officers was prohibited, and at a still later period, the prohibition was extended to local officers.

A question very early arose in respect to the rank which local officers were to hold in the service; as since the employment of King's and Company's officers in the Nizam's service, the relative position of the local officers had become materially changed. It was determined that officers holding King's or Company's commissions should take precedence of those who had no commissions; but with the view of consulting the feelings of the latter class, every proper care was directed to be taken against local officers being employed on detached duty with any of the junior officers of the King's or Company's service.

As it was important that the reformed troops should be regulated in their discipline and in all their internal arrangements by the same principles which prevailed in our own army, a code of articles of war, similar to that furnished to the Russell brigade, was made applicable to the Berar infantry.

In June of this year, when Sir Thomas Hyslop, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, assumed the general control of political and military affairs in the Dekhan, the Nizam's army was supposed to consist nominally of about 70,000 men, though probably not more than two-thirds were actually kept up; and even of that proportion the only useful part were

the reformed horse, and the establishment of regular infantry, and those only because they were paid, clothed, and armed through British influence, and controlled by the ability and exertions of British officers.

The reformed horse, consisting of 4,000 men, under Captain Davis, were stationed in different parts of Berar. Its organization had now been completed. And the gallant affair which had recently taken place in Candeish afforded practical proof of the value of the services which might be expected from it. A party of 600 men under the personal command of Captain Davis, after a rapid march of fifty miles, charged a body of Prembukjis' adherents, near four times their strength, strongly posted, and prepared to receive them. The enemy was almost immediately broken and repulsed, leaving some hundreds killed and badly wounded on the field. Both Captain Davis and Captain Pedlar, the only one of his European officers who had then joined him, received severe wounds.

The Nizam's establishment of regular infantry, as before stated, consisted of six battalions with artillery attached to them, of which two were stationed at Hyderabad, and four in Berar.

The two battalions at Hyderabad composed the Russell brigade, commanded by Captain Hare. The men were chiefly Hindús, natives of Hindústan. They did no duty in the city, nor with any other troops in the Nizam's service. In name alone did they belong to the Nizam. They were paid regularly every month from the resident's treasury, and considered themselves as Company's troops. For all practical purposes they were as much so as those on our own immediate establishment, and could be made quite as useful; for under Captain Hare the Russell brigade had by this time attained the highest state of efficiency.

The four battalions in Berar had not had the same advantages as the Russell brigade. They were well spoken of, and when employed on service had done their duty. They were commanded by European officers, and disciplined and equipped like our own troops. Three of the battalions were said to be in good order, but the fourth, of which the command was at that time vacant, was from various circumstances not in such good condition as the other three.—Captain Seyer of the Bengal army, who had highly distinguished himself in the Nepal war, in which he was severely wounded, was subsequently appointed to this vacancy. From this and Major Pitman's appointment great advantage was anticipated, and ultimately the Berar infantry became part of the present contingent.

There were besides, the troops under Salabut Khan, a chief

who had always been distinguished for his attachment and fidelity to our interests. They consisted of 1,500 horse and 2,000 infantry, paid from the produce of the Jaghírs held by him under the Nizam's Government in the neighbourhood of Ellichpúr. Salabut Khan's horse, although not equal to the reformed, were the next best in the Nizam's service.

The infantry composed a brigade under the command of Captain Lyne of the Company's army. The men approached in discipline to our own troops; but the inveterate abuses which existed in the corps, the number of officers and men whom it had been found necessary to discharge, together with an irregularity in their payment, had prevented so great an improvement being accomplished as might have been desired. They were in consequence not in a condition to act as regular troops with our army.

All that could be expected therefore of Salabut Khan's cavalry and infantry was that they should defend that part of the Nizam's territories contiguous to Ellichpúr.

No brigade in India was more highly disciplined or more complete in appointments, camp equipage, and bazars, than the Russell brigade. It accompanied the army to Malwa in 1817, composed part of Sir John Malcolm's division at the battle of Mehidpúr; and the records of that day shew that no corps was organized on better military principles, or better performed its duty. "The Commander-in-Chief," as we gather from a General Order of that day, "notices in the highest terms of praise the steadiness, courage, and discipline of * * * * * * * and the Russell brigade under Major Hare." And among those officers who in General Orders received the public thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, we find the names of Captain Hare commanding the Russell brigade, Captains Larride and Currie commanding the 1st and 2nd regiments, Russell brigade; and Lieutenant F. S. Sotheby commanding the artillery, Russell brigade.

Most of the other regiments co-operated with divisions and detachments of the British army. The Ellichpúr brigade served with Colonel Deacon's detachment, Major Fraser's regiment with Major Pitman's, Captain Blake's with Major Davis. But none of those corps approached in discipline to the Russell brigade, nor; with the exception of Major Fraser's and perhaps Captain Blake's, were they disciplined in a degree to admit of their taking their place even in brigade.

During this year the reformed troops were frequently employed against the strongholds of bands of freebooters known by the names of naiks and bhils, who had long infested

the province of Berar, and whom it was strongly suspected the local officers of the Government secretly encouraged in order to share in the plunder. The gallantry of jemadar Shaik-Kader-Bukhsh, with a party of two hundred reformed horse, was conspicuous. Dismounting his small party, he stormed and carried a strong ghurry sword in hand. The troops under Major Pitman were successfully employed in reducing the fort of Urjingaum, and detachments under Major Fraser and Major Elliot respectively were employed at different times in similar operations, and always with equal success. A party of reformed horse under Lieutenant John Sutherland likewise distinguished itself against the garrison of Newas. The gallant conduct of Lieutenant Sutherland and his party was thought deserving of being brought to the notice of the Governor-General; and in order to encourage and confirm the spirit of emulation which the example of Captain Davis and his European officers had infused into their troops, the resident forwarded letters both from himself and Rajah Chundú Lall, to the several native officers of the party, who were respectively addressed by the title of Khan and Rae, applauding their gallantry and good conduct on the occasion.

In March 1818 the following order was issued by Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm:—

"Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm cannot allow the separation of so large a party of the Russell brigade from his force as that ordered to march to-morrow, without expressing his great satisfaction with the conduct of the corps since they were first placed under his orders."

"The Russell brigade have received the thanks of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the reward due to their discipline and gallantry on the 21st December."

"It remains only for Brigadier General Malcolm to state that since they formed part of his division he had uniform cause to observe that state of excellence which it has attained. He also offers his best thanks to Captains Larride and Currie, commanding the two battalions of the brigade, and to Lieutenant Sotheby in charge of the ordnance. He has in the course of the service had frequent occasions to observe and applaud the zeal and activity of these officers. The Brigadier General must also express his particular thanks to Surgeon Mickle of the brigade for his great attention to the sick and wounded. He also begs that Brigade Major Tucker and the other officers of the brigade will accept his best acknowledgment for their officer-like behaviour throughout the campaign, and begs that his thanks may be conveyed to the native commissioned, non-

commissioned, and privates for the cheerful alacrity with which they have uniformly performed their duty as soldiers during a period of trying service."

As we ought not to deprive the Russell brigade of any of its justly earned laurels, we must add to that of others the high testimony of the most noble the Governor-General to its efficiency and good conduct.

"The return of the Russell brigade," writes Mr. Secretary Adam in addressing the resident, "to the dominions of His Highness the Nizam, affords the Governor-General an opportunity of which he gladly avails himself to express his entire approbation of the services of that valuable corps during the operations of the late campaign, and the cordial gratification his lordship has derived from the honorable testimony borne to the merits of Captain Hare and the officers and troops under his command by His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Hyslop and by Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm, under whose orders the Russell brigade has been acting since the return of Sir Thomas Hyslop to the Dekhan."

"You are requested to bring to the particular notice of His Highness the Nizam's Government the just and favorable sense entertained by the Governor-General, and by the officers under whose immediate command it has acted, of the gallantry, conduct, and efficiency of the Russell brigade, and communicate these sentiments to Captain Hare and the officers and men composing the Russell brigade."

During this year (1818) Captain Pedlar had the satisfaction of adding to the reputation of the reformed horse, by bringing to notice the individual gallantry of the native officers of his risalah in an affair at Nagpore. Each native officer was rewarded by being addressed on the part of Government by a title, one degree superior to that which he had hitherto held. The services on another occasion of Shaik Zúlfikar Alli were distinguished by the approbation of the Governor-General, and rewarded by his being promoted to the rank and pay of first Jamadar.

The conduct of Lieutenant John Sutherland was again conspicuous against a party of rebels. Upon which occasion the resident recorded his sense of Lieutenant Sutherland's intelligence, promptitude, and gallantry, and of the fidelity and courage of Jamadar Shahdí Khan and the brave men under his command. The resident at the same time brought to the notice of the supreme Government the merits of Captain Davis, to whom the first formation of the reformed horse had been entrusted, and to whose judgment, temper, and personal exertions the utility of their service was chiefly to be ascribed.

During this year Major Fraser and Major Elliot, by relinquishing the Nizam's service, made room for officers from the Company's service.

The employment of the troops in the field, although in a great measure retarding the advancement of reform, and preventing the improvements which had been in contemplation, was in its result highly beneficial to the soldier, as giving him a practical knowledge of the business of war, and the opportunity of performing real service in the face of an enemy: for the experience of actual warfare, undoubtedly the best school for officers and men, must ever be superior to the tame discipline of the cantonment. The officers gaining confidence in their troops were themselves confided in by their men, and although the service was new and the inexperience of the troops great, their zeal and willingness overcame all difficulties; and their good conduct, aided on all occasions by their successes, gave them that confidence in themselves belonging to older and more experienced soldiers. Untried soldiers they took the field. They returned improved in discipline, and raised in character and spirit, for they had earned the soldier's best reward, the approbation of Government.

After the termination of the Mahratta war in 1819, Mr. Russell continued to pursue the system of assimilating the several portions of the force with one another, and the organization of the Nizam's army began in consequence to assume a more regular and consistent form. The benefits of the pension establishment, which had for some time past been enjoyed by the Russell brigade, were in March 1818, extended to the regular infantry in Berar. The whole system up to this period appears to have been anomalous in the extreme, especially in regard to the pay of the European officers, which was fixed by no rule, but dependent apparently on the degree of interest which the individual possessed at Head Quarters,—though with reference to the class of officers in the service it was probably found necessary on the introduction of officers from the King's and Company's army to fix their pay with reference more to their qualifications than to the position and rank they individually held in the service.

The resident, in reply to Major Pitman's suggestions in regard to the pay of the European officers and an increase to the men belonging to the force, draws a curious distinction between the two classes. "The pay of a Lieutenant," says Mr. Russell, "ought not to be less than 350 rupees per mensem, and that of Ensign not less than 250 rupees per mensem; but the increase of pay both to the European and native commissioned officers ought to be conditional and not absolute, the addition

being granted to such an extent and in such instances only as the commanding officer may think proper to recommend. The increase of pay to the non-commissioned officers and sepoys is absolute, and is to be granted to them immediately."

Towards the end of the year Major Pitman was summoned to the residency to aid with his advice and experience in the completion of certain arrangements which the resident was desirous of making for the improvement of the contingent; for the whole system from various causes was found to be so defective as to render it necessary to remodel the whole.

In the Russell brigade, which was under the immediate supervision of the resident and regularly paid from his treasury, the system had been assimilated in a great measure with that in force among our regular troops. But in Berar the troops had to a certain extent been considered as a separate body under the control of Rajah Govind Bukhsh, the Governor of the province, with whom it rested to provide funds for their payment, and to whom all questions of a general nature, such as the pensioning of officers, accepting their resignation, and other matters connected with the general duties and concerns of the establishment, were referred. The conduct of Rajah Govind Bukhsh had for some time past been a constant source of complaint on the part of the minister; and in the changes now about to be made an opportunity was taken to lessen the Rajah's power by withdrawing the troops in a great measure from under his control, and dispossessing him of the districts which had been made over to his management for their payment.

On the 1st of January, 1819, the orders for the re-organization of the force were promulgated. The principal alterations in the existing system were as follows:—

The force was divided into two commands, north and south of the Godavery. Major Pitman was retained in command of the Nizam's troops north of the Godavery, which included the whole service, cavalry, artillery and infantry, with the exception of the Russell brigade.

To the command of the Russell brigade Major Doveton of the Madras army was appointed. It consisted of Captain Hare's brigade of infantry, a small regiment of regular cavalry maintained by an European officer on a contract (including the pay of native officers) of 50 rupees a month for man and horse, a company of artillery, and a small corps of engineers.

The increasing magnitude and importance of the Nizam's military establishments is supposed to have been the cause of the appointment of two field officers from the Company's army to the general command of the two principal branches of it; but

as in these two nominations two brigadiers were given to one brigade, Major Doveton's appointment was thought superfluous; and as it cost the Nizam's Government some sixty thousand rupees a year, might have been dispensed with. His nomination moreover was viewed as a direct supercession of Major Hare, who had long exercised the command, and who was perfectly competent to do so. But both Majors Doveton and Pitman were officers of a superior stamp, whose employment communicated a high professional tone calculated to elevate the character and the respectability of the service.

Major Doveton's appointment may therefore be considered a job, and although the first, was not the last. And as the creation of other superfluous offices began at length to be observed, "Poor Nizzy! Nizzy pays for all," became proverbial expressions. We are afraid that in the course of this article we shall often have occasion to exclaim "Poor Nizzy,"—though the exclamation is fortunately not so applicable to the present day.

A new system was at the same time established for the payment of the troops in Berar. The funds, instead of being provided by Rajah Govind Bukhsh, were to be thenceforward furnished by the minister under a special engagement entered into with parties at the capital. The Berar establishment therefore, like that of Hyderabad, though still employed in the same portion of the Nizam's territories as before, were in future to be dependent immediately upon the minister, instead of being subject as heretofore to the control and authority of Rajah Govind Bukhsh.

Major Pitman was directed to exercise his command on the same principles on which the general command of a collective body of troops would be exercised in the Company's service. Regular reports and returns were to be made to the resident, from whom the officers commanding the two divisions would, from time to time, receive their instructions. They were, likewise, to correspond with the resident on all points connected with the general duties and concerns of their respective commands. And to prevent the possibility of any inconvenience to the public service, the officer commanding in Berar was directed to comply with any requisitions he might receive from the political agent at Aurungabad, in cases which would not conveniently admit of the delay of a reference to Hyderabad.

All communications with the local Government were to be conducted, as before, through the political agent, who was also to be kept regularly acquainted with the distribution and movements of the troops.

Leave of absence to the native officers and men was to be

granted as before at the discretion of the officer commanding, but all applications for leave of absence to the European officers was required to be forwarded to the resident, who would refer the same to the consideration of the minister.

The regular troops were to be governed as heretofore by the code of laws then in force. With regard to the reformed horse Mr. Russell makes the following remark in conveying his instructions to Major Pitman:—"In cases relating to these men a different course must necessarily be pursued. Troops which are irregular in their constitution cannot be governed by the same rules of discipline to which regular troops are subjected. Towards this part of the establishment therefore the same course which has hitherto prevailed must be pursued in future. In ordinary cases the personal authority of the officer commanding the horse, or of the commandant of risalahs under him, will be sufficient for the reprehension of the offenders; on more serious occasions he may be discharged, and in the instance of any flagrant crime, the criminal must be delivered up to the officers of the Nizam's Government to be judged according to their own laws."

The two irregular battalions under Major Freeman, which were then considered as invalid corps for the rest of the establishment, although generally employed on miscellaneous duties under the local officers of the Nizam's Government, were now withdrawn from under their control, and transferred under the new arrangement to Major Pitman's authority.

The Ellichpúr brigade, forming the contingent of Salabut Khan, had hitherto been considered separate from the rest of the regular force, and little interference had in consequence been exercised in any of it's details.

On the death of Mr. Drew a local officer in the immediate service of Salabut Khan, Captain Lyne of the Madras army was, at that chief's particular request, nominated in 1815 to the command of the brigade; but on the decease of that officer the practice of consulting Salabut Khan seems to have been discontinued, as Major James Grant of the Madras army, a distinguished cavalry officer, was appointed direct by the Governor-General. He commenced a reform, but with rather a sparing hand. He had not the heart in time of peace to deprive old soldiers of their bread; but still the reform was in progress, when on the death of that lamented officer it was in a very short period of time carried into complete effect by Captain Seyer who succeeded him.

The troops were not destined to remain idle. In the beginning of this year (1819) a force under the personal command of

Major Pitman, but totally unconnected with the late war, was directed to assemble to the northward of Nandair with the design of taking possession of the late Peishwa's district of Umurkhair, to suppress the insurgent naiks in the neighbourhood, and generally to establish the authority of the Nizam's Government over the unsettled districts in that quarter.

The force consisted of two battalions of the Russell brigade, a field battery, and small battering train, the 3rd battalion of Berar regular infantry, and a party of the reformed horse.

Of the insurgents the most important was Nousají naik, whose principal hold was Nowah, a place of some strength about 20 miles from Nandair. Under the apprehension of an attack he had collected a large Arab force. From him therefore some resistance was anticipated, and preparations for a siege were made accordingly.

A short detail of the operations may not be uninstructive, as shewing what may be achieved by talent and perseverance.

Nowah, although small in size, was strong of works. In shape, an oblong square with a bastion at each angle, and one on each side of the gateway. The outworks were a faussebray, covered way, ditch and glacis. The principal gateway was protected by an outwork in which guns were mounted. It was altogether an excellent specimen of fortification, as strong perhaps as a square fort of its size could under any system be made; and the arrangement of the traverses, the glacis, and the clear esplanade around the fort, indicated that the skill of others than natives of India had been employed in its construction.

The only mode of reducing the fort was by regular approaches.

The force took up a position before Nowah on the 8th January. On the 10th, a mortar battery was commenced, about six hundred yards from the north face of the fort, when the enemy advanced and fired upon our working party. He was immediately driven back into the fort by Captain Hare, with two companies of the Russell brigade. This battery, and one for our eighteen-pounders, one hundred paces in advance of it, were completed during the night. Both began to play at sun-rise the following day, with considerable effect, silencing the enemy's guns, and knocking off the defences.

On the evening of the 11th, positions were established to the right and left of our batteries, and within three hundred yards of the place; and a six-pounder and a mortar-battery were constructed in front of the east face, distant three hundred and fifty yards.

On the night of the 13th the enemy made a sortie, and attempted to pass our post on the right. He was quickly driven

back by three companies of the Berar infantry, under Lieutenant George Hampton, a high spirited young officer, who had only joined the service two years before.

During the night of the 14th an eighteen-pounder battery was advanced to within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and lines of communication were formed between our several advanced positions.

On the 15th, the enemy being very troublesome, a few shells were thrown with considerable effect. From this time up to the 18th the besieged attempted no annoyance, seeming not to understand, or to care for our operations.

On the 19th the garrison kept blue-lights burning nearly the whole night, and occasionally threw stones from a mortar. About ten o'clock an attempt was made by the rebel chief Howají, with a party of horse, to surprise our camp from the rear, but the sentries being on the alert, the piquets soon turned out, and after a little firing, he retired; and was pursued some miles by Lieutenant Sutherland, and a party of reformed horse,—but owing to the darkness of the night, he effected a safe retreat.

On the 20th a party from the garrison made a sortie, driving in the working party and destroying a little of our work, but the guard of the trenches obliged them to retire. The fire from the garrison was exceedingly hot, and some loss was sustained.

On the 21st the enemy made a desperate sortie, and sword in hand attacked our working party at the head of the sap; but was very soon driven back to the fort.

On the 23d one of the three Europeans attached to the Engineer was mortally wounded.

On the 25th the sap had reached the crest of the glacis, where a six-pounder battery was established and two mortars were brought into it. On that night the Engineer commenced his mine, which was completed on the 29th. The day of the 30th was employed in battering, and in the evening the breaches assumed a very respectable appearance. Shells and grape were thrown into them during the night.

On the 31st, the breaches being reported practicable, orders were issued for the assault. At two o'clock in the afternoon the mine was sprung. Under cover of the smoke and dust Ensign Oliphant rushed forward and planted the ladders. The next instant Captain Hare with the Grenadiers, supported by Captain Currie and his light infantry, mounted the breach, fortunately before the garrison had recovered from their consternation,—for there were preparations on the top indicating determined resistance; while George Hampton in all the pride of youthful strength and courage, bounding so far ahead of his men, as to be

nearly cut off, carried with his flank companies the enemy's works to the right. In a few minutes the inner fort was carried, and in the course of an hour the whole of the enemy's works were in our possession, with a loss on our side of 4 killed and 71 wounded.

The Arabs continued to defend themselves for a considerable time between the two walls, with the exception of about two hundred, who fled from the gate of the fort. They were immediately attacked by Lieutenant Ivie Campbell, who commanded a party of infantry posted for the purpose of intercepting them; and nearly at the same time they were charged by Captains Davis, Smith, and Lieutenant Sutherland, with different parties of the reformed horse, so that not a man of the enemy escaped.

The garrison consisted of more than five hundred Arabs; of these one hundred were taken prisoners, more than eighty of whom were dreadfully wounded, and upwards of four hundred dead bodies were counted.

The severe example made of the garrison, although much to be deplored, was not only necessary but unavoidable; and was the means perhaps in the end of lessening the effusion of blood, as deterring the rebel garrisons of other places from offering similar resistance.

Our loss during the whole siege was 21 killed and 180 wounded, among the latter were six European officers.

"Major Pitman," so runs the brigade order of the day, "congratulates the detachments on the fall of the fort, and although he feels obliged to every officer and soldier for their exertions during the siege, his thanks are particularly due to Captain Hare of the Bombay establishment and the gallant men who stormed the breach."

"It having been an object of primary importance to prevent the escape of the garrison, the services of the reformed horse were of the greatest use for that purpose; and to their watchfulness and zeal during so many successive nights the commanding officer attributes the failure of the many attempts made by the enemy to leave the fort."

"Major Pitman therefore requests Captain Davis to make known these his sentiments to the officers and men under his command."

"Major Pitman cannot conclude without offering to Ensign Oliphant of the Madras Engineers the expression of his unqualified approbation for the skilful display of his professional abilities in the siege of Nowah. To his zealous and indefatigable exertions Major Pitman considers himself chiefly indebted for the opportunity which has been this day given to the gallant

troops under his command to make such an example of the enemy."

Nor was the approbation of the Government of India withheld.

"Your dispatch of the 5th February," says the Secretary to Government in addressing the resident, "relating to the capture of Nowah and other operations has been submitted to His Excellency the Governor General in Council. His Lordship in Council has noticed with the highest satisfaction the distinguished conduct of Major Pitman and the force under his command."

"His Lordship in Council especially applauds the patience and scientific managements of the siege of Nowah, which is exceedingly creditable to the judgment of Major Pitman; it has excited his Lordship's most marked commendation from its being an instance in which we have availed ourselves of superiority of skill to avoid unnecessary exposure of brave men."

"The merits of Captains Seyer, Davis, Hare, and Ensign Oliphant have also attracted the particular approbation of His Excellency in Council, and the conduct of the storming party and all the troops engaged in the operations reported in your dispatch, is considered to be highly honorable to themselves and the corps to which they belong."

The siege and capture of Nowah deserve some special reflections. Nowah was perhaps the only instance during the Mahratta war of a siege being artfully prosecuted, and when examined closely deserves to be held forth as a model of universal practice. It was a bold design on the part of the engineer; for, with only three Europeans and a small working party of seventy men, all more or less ignorant of siege operations, few, with such inadequate means, would have undertaken a regular siege. But the talents of the Engineer were of a nature that rose with his difficulties, and the result fully justified his daring mode of proceeding: for notwithstanding the obstacles opposed by the strength of the place, and the obstinacy of the garrison, the reduction of the fort was effected according to the rules of art and science without a single instance of failure or disaster. Ensign James Oliphant* of the Madras Engineers, a bold and daring young officer of great skill and enterprize who conducted the siege, possessed military knowledge extensive both from experience and study, having completed his education at Chatham, where Colonel Pasley had early discovered talents indicating future distinction.

* Now Major Oliphant, (Retired List) a director of the East India Company.

The siege of Nowah belongs especially to the history of the Nizam's contingent, and this must be our excuse for bringing it so prominently forward. Nor would we in the present day withhold from the youthful military aspirant an example so prolific of instruction; for although to create anything from nothing, is what has been, and always will be, impossible to man, yet to obtain great results with small means is what may be done with much talent, zeal and perseverance; and the siege of Nowah is an example of it.

The complete success at Nowah was attended ultimately with all the beneficial consequences which were anticipated, and the authority of the Nizam's Government was restored in a tract of country, which, against every effort of his Highness' irregular troops, had maintained a successful rebellion for twenty years previous. Tranquillity was restored, but there have been no rewards for those whose courage and exertions produced it. It is true that "Mehidpore" and "Nowah" are displayed upon the colours and appointments of the regiments which had the good fortune to be employed on those occasions; but there has been no decoration, commemorating these services, bestowed upon the officers and men of the Nizam's contingent.

In April of this year (1819) Mr. Russell, ever mindful of the interests of the troops, obtained for them in consideration of their "exemplary conduct in the field" further indulgence from the Nizam's Government. The soldier was to receive, when rice became dearer than ten seers for the rupee, compensation in money equal to the difference between that rate and the market price,—the calculation to be made on that rice called the third sort in the bazar of the cantonment, and at the rate of one seer a day for each fighting man.

The attention of the resident was directed at this period to the state of affairs at Ellichpúr, where the proceedings of Futteh Jung Khan, before referred to as a connection of Salabut Khan, were of so extraordinary a nature as clearly to prove a systematic design on his part to subvert the authority of Salabut Khan, and usurp the whole rights and possessions of the family. As the troops were the servants of Salabut Khan, and as he had always been encouraged to look to us for support, it became necessary that we should give him and his family our active and efficient protection, and not allow the troops, in a case where they could not remain neutral, to become an instrument in the hands of Futteh Jung Khan for the perpetration of his nefarious designs. The force of Fútteh Jung's authority alone enabled him to carry his measures to the extent he had done, and as that authority rested principally upon the belief

that he could command our support, it was peculiarly incumbent upon us to remove that impression and vindicate the rights which we were bound to protect. The first thing to be done therefore was to extricate Salabut Khan from the degrading state of thraldom into which he had been betrayed, and to secure him and his family against the imminent danger with which they were threatened.

The execution of the necessary measures was confided to Captain Seyer, through whose admirable address unaided by military force, though troops were placed at his disposal, Salabut Khan's affairs, together with the general political arrangements of Ellichpúr, were brought to a satisfactory conclusion; Futteh Jung Khan being removed from Ellichpúr, and Salabut Khan restored ultimately to his legitimate authority.

An opportunity was now taken of extending our interference to Salabut Khan's contingent, and placing the troops of which it was composed under our more immediate control.

In January 1820 the Ellichpúr brigade was accordingly constituted a portion of the Berar division under Major Pitman, to whom Captain Seyer was directed to address his reports and returns on all points connected with his brigade. But on subjects not military he was to correspond as heretofore direct with the resident.

The whole of Salabut Khan's troops, according to Captain Seyer's representation, were in such an inefficient state as to render it necessary to remodel the whole establishment. European officers were accordingly appointed, and parties of volunteers from the six infantry corps were transferred to the brigade for promotion in the newly organized battalions. A small party was at the same time sent from the reformed horse to serve as a basis for the formation of the new risalah.

The Infantry were formed into two battalions of 650 rank and file each. The pay of the private soldier was increased, and fixed at from seven to eight rupees per mensem when first entertained, and nine rupees after four years' service. Clothing and knapsacks were to be furnished by Salabut Khan. The benefit of rice money and of the invalid and pension establishments were in like manner extended to the brigade, in order to place them on the same footing as the regular troops.

In regard to the cavalry of the Ellichpúr contingent an arrangement was made by which Salabut Khan was to maintain a new risalah of 600 men at 10 Hyderabad rupees for each man and horse per mensem,—in consideration of which, a tacit acknowledgment would appear to have been conveyed, that in resigning to us the brigade as newly constituted, all interference

on our part was to cease over the remainder of his quota, which was to be left solely under his own personal control, without so much as inquiry being made as to the mode in which it was maintained.

Among the European officers transferred to the Ellichpúr brigade was Lieutenant Tomkyns, who was appointed to the command of the 2nd battalion, a young officer of the Bengal establishment, since tried in many important situations and found equal to all.*

A reduction of useless establishments in the Nizam's own army was effected during this year to the annual extent it was stated of between twenty-two and twenty-three lakhs of rupees. Among these reductions were included 305 horse and 500 foot on Rajah Chundú Lall's own personal establishment, and 237 horse and 250 foot on that of his brother Rajah Govind Bukhsh. All recruiting was suspended, except in the regular and reformed troops, which were to be kept up at their full strength. The annual charge of the contingent was at that time computed at thirty-six lakhs, not including the establishment of Salabut Khan, which was maintained by a Jaghír estimated at fourteen lakhs of rupees.

This year was productive of numerous benefits to the officers of the service. A table allowance of 500 Hyderabad rupees a month was authorized to each of the commandants of the Hyderabad and Berar divisions, and an additional monthly allowance of two hundred rupees to each of the following officers:—The commandant of the Russell cavalry, the commandant of each battalion of the Russell brigade, the commandant of artillery, the brigade major of the Russell brigade, and the surgeon of the Russell brigade. Commandants of battalions and risalahs throughout the service having under their orders two or more complete corps, were authorized to draw superior batta at the rate of 200 Hyderabad rupees a month, and officers exercising the temporary command of divisions were to draw an additional allowance of 500 rupees a month.

A new and superior rank of native commissioned officer was established for the Russell brigade, denominated Subadar Major. The number in the division was limited to four, one to the regular cavalry, one to the artillery, and one to each battalion of infantry, with a brevet pay of twenty-five Hyderabad rupees a month in addition to the ordinary allowances of the Subadar of a company.

* On the death of Major Cameron in 1838, and until the arrival of a successor, Brigadier Tomkyns was appointed by Lord Auckland to the charge of the Hyderabad Presidency.

In October Lieutenant Twemlow of the Bengal artillery was appointed to the command of the artillery with the Berar division, an officer of deserved reputation, who had early distinguished himself in the Nepal campaign, and from his military acquirements has since succeeded to the command of the Aurungabad brigade.

Towards the latter end of the year a new organization of the irregular brigade at Aurungabad took place. The two battalions composing it, were brought on the strength of the Berar division, in order that they might be improved in their condition and rendered fit for to the performance of useful duty as veteran corps. Such of the native officers and men as were found capable of doing duty were formed into a garrison battalion and employed in the protection of the districts on the nor-west frontier against the Bhíls. The other an invalid battalion, was to consist of men who having been invalided from the regular corps were still capable of light and easy duty. Their services were to be limited to the furnishing of guards in the Aurungabad city, and the neighbouring villages. Such men also as by age or infirmity were incapable of doing any duty whatever were to be transferred to this battalion as pensioners.

On the 1st December Mr. Russell, on relinquishing the duties of the residency, took leave of the troops in the following letter to the address of Colonel Doveton:—

"On the occasion of my taking leave of the Hyderabad division of the Nizam's troops, with which I have been so long and so intimately connected by the sentiments of private friendship as well as by the duties of my public station, I request you will yourself accept my cordial thanks, and that you will express to the officers and men under your command the deep sense I entertain of their zeal, exertions, and spirited discharge of their duty on all occasions. The distance at which I am about to be placed from you will in no degree lessen my interest in your welfare, and you will always retain individually and collectively my warmest solicitude for your honor and prosperity."

Nor were the officers of the Nizam's service backward in the expression of their sentiments, for Mr. Russell had brought many of them into the service, and conferred benefits on all. They felt grateful, and expressed their gratitude.

They presented him with a service of silver plate, a handsome vase, and requested him to sit to Chantrey for his bust. The bust is now at Hyderabad, and the old native officers of the service never enter the room, without making their obei-

sance to it, a strong testimony of the feelings with which he is still regarded by the natives, and forcibly reminding us of the days when the Madras sepoy paid a similar mark of respect to the portrait of their favorite and distinguished leader, Sir Eyre Coote.

We now take leave of Mr. Russell, and introduce the reader to another statesman, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, it is well known, succeeded Mr. Russell as resident of Hyderabad.

One of the first measures of Sir Charles Metcalfe was an act of justice to the Nizam's local officers. We have referred as yet but incidently to this question; we will now revert to it, and endeavour to give the reader some idea of the anomalous system as it then existed, and the difficulties which the resident had to contend with in adjusting the relative rank of the European officers of the Nizam's service.

In the improvement so evidently necessary, the first step was to place all classes of European officers upon an equal footing in respect to promotion. Hitherto rank in the British army had been the principle which regulated promotion in the Nizam's army. The Nizam's local commission was not recognized. No rank was acknowledged unless supported by a commission from the King or Company. This distinction operated most disadvantageously on the local officers, and the benefits which it was now proposed to extend to this latter class, was an act of justice which had long been called for. Necessity alone could have induced officers to remain in a service where supersession was the rule, and where preferment was impossible. The service it was true had gradually improved under the system, but the improvement had been effected at a considerable sacrifice of private feeling and happiness very much to be lamented. At the same time no liberal minded man could murmur at the reasonable extension of favour to officers of experience and talent of the British army, whose presence gave a tone and spirit to the Nizam's service which in those days it much required.

It must ever be a principle in all services to give rank in proportion to the importance and extent of the command: for a certain command as much indicates a certain rank, as a certain rank does a certain command. This would appear to have been lost sight of in all previous arrangements. Officers commanding brigades, because Lieutenants only in their own service, were superseded by every Captain who entered the Nizam's service. This, to say the least of it, was a source of considerable embarrassment. It was moreover considered a grievance, that rank in the British service should give a preference to individuals entering that of a foreign Prince, at their own option, and for the promotion of their own private views, over officers

who might be considered to have established claims of a strong nature for services rendered to the Native Government. Again, the officer commanding the Russell brigade was liable to be commanded by a Captain of the same brigade who held no command. It was not that the rank of one was too high, but that the rank of the other was too low. And on one occasion it became a question whether an officer in command of a Company was not entitled to assume the command of a brigade with which he was serving.

This anomalous state of things arose in a great measure from the peculiar composition of the service. In those days there were to be found in it, officers of the British army, navy, French army, Company's army, and even the militia, besides a large proportion who held no commission except from the Nizam's Government.

One party claimed the full benefit of his navy rank. Another the benefit of his service in the royal army of France. A third required that his rank should be regulated by his militia service; in short, each party advanced his own claims according to his own particular views, and the difficulty, as may be supposed, was in adjusting so many discordant interests so as to render equal justice to all.

Up to the period we are now treating of, servitude in the Nizam's army alone was considered as nothing. A commission in the King's or Company's army supposed every thing, was a substitute for every thing; was in short the measure of an individual's merit. The want of a commission in the British Army supposed a disqualification which no amount of professional talent could remove. The continuance of such a system would have doomed the Nizam's Captains to the perpetual superiority of King's or Company's Lieutenants and Ensigns of time present or to come.

To remove at once this defect in promotion, the resident publicly announced—"that in the Nizam's army all situations 'are open to officers of merit, and that when the requisite 'qualifications exist, the want of a commission from the King 'or Company will not be a ground of exclusion."

Concurrently with this announcement the following regulations for the better adjustment of the rank of the European officers were published in General Orders:—

"The European officers in the Nizam's regular army, including the reformed horse, will rank in the following order:

1st Class.—Commanders of divisions.

2d Class.—Commanders of brigade, and general or division staff, being field officers in the King's or Company's service.

3d Class.—Commanders of corps, and general division, or brigade staff, being Captains in the King's or Company's service.

4th Class.—Captains and officers of any higher rank in the King's or Company's service, not included in the preceding classes.

5th Class.—Captains in the Nizam's service.

6th Class.—Lieutenants in the King's or Company's service.

7th Class.—Lieutenants in the Nizam's service.

8th Class.—Ensigns in the King's or Company's service.

9th Class.—Ensigns in the Nizam's service.

The resident, sensibly alive to the imperfections of this arrangement, was not so visionary as to expect that every one would be pleased with the place assigned to him; wherefore, in anticipation of the feeling which subsequently manifested itself, he made an appeal to the officers of the service in the following terms:—

"It is feared and deeply lamented that this arrangement must in some measure wound the feelings of several officers, by placing above them others who have been hitherto below them in rank; but it has been found impossible to reconcile the claims of all, or to devise any scheme wholly free from objections of a similar nature. The plan now promulgated has been adopted in a belief of its general justice and expediency. It is hoped that even to those on whom it may have in some respects a disadvantageous effect, it will also be found otherwise to operate with eventual benefit, and that those who in the first instance suffer by it, will see that the general good has been the object in view, and repressing the feelings of dissatisfaction to which any unfavorable change may naturally give rise, will accept the assurance which is hereby freely and cordially tendered, that their present unavoidable disappointment will not be forgotten in future arrangements, and will be acknowledged to constitute an additional claim to consideration on all proper occasions."

The arrangement, as was anticipated, did not give general satisfaction, nor was it perhaps to be expected that the conflicting claims of one hundred individuals could be adjusted in a manner to satisfy all parties. No one could have considered the subject with more anxious attention than did Sir Charles Metcalfe; and if it were any satisfaction to be abused by all parties concerned in it, he was not without that enjoyment.

The same generous feeling which had been so visible throughout the arrangement was extended still further, and whenever it could be done, measures were devised for relieving parties from all unpleasant feelings on account of relative rank. For some

new appointments were created. Others were transferred to civil employ. For all there was a soothing word; and whenever private feelings were thought to be injured, an anxious desire was manifested to find relief for them. But even these generous concessions did not satisfy all parties, for in one instance where an arrangement had been proposed for the benefit of a particular individual, "it was not deemed by him," to use an observation of that day, "worthy of acceptance, deliberation, acknowledgment or notice."

These regulations remained in force until 1823, when they were partially modified. They again underwent various changes and modifications at a subsequent period, and to them we shall take occasion to refer, as we proceed.

We have referred in late arrangements to the employment of officers in the civil department. It may not be amiss therefore to take a hasty glance at the system pursued on the occasion, and at the success, or otherwise, which attended our first direct interference in the internal affairs of the Nizam's country.

Upon Sir Charles Metcalfe's arrival he found the affairs of the Nizam's Government in the same disorganized state by which they have ever been characterized. It is unnecessary to cite instances of the evils of the system which then prevailed. Sufficient to say that the country is described as being at that time in the possession of organized bands of plunderers, and life and property every where insecure.

The objects to which the attention of his predecessor had been directed were "a salutary control over the internal administration of the country, accurate accounts of all establishments, receipts, and expenditure, the correction of abuses, a proper distribution of justice, the reduction of expense, the amelioration of the revenue system, including the customs and duties levied on commerce, the improvement of the resources, the extinction of the debt, the efficiency of troops retained, and the discharge of such as were useless." Acting upon the principle of these instructions, and as a remedy for the existing disorders, the resident proceeded to make a village settlement throughout the country, by appointing British officers belonging to the contingent to superintend the Native authorities both in the assessment of the revenue, and, what was very much blended with it, the administration of justice, "from a conviction that the requisite zeal and integrity could not be found in Native agents."

"The Nizam's Government," reports Sir Charles Metcalfe, "has entered into the scheme with the greatest readiness and seeming conviction of its expediency. There is a facility of assent, on

the part of the minister, to whatever is proposed, and a practical counteraction of whatever is right, arising out of the inveteracy of bad habits, which both together form a singular character."

The general instructions to the several superintendents were "to save the people from oppression, maintain good order, promote prosperity, and at the same time uphold the Nizam's Government;" for although the British officers were vested with the general supervision of the revenue assessments and police, the executive authority was still left with the subordinate officers of the Native Government.

Into the subordinate arrangements of the scheme we need not enter. It is only necessary to say that the measure, after an eight years' experiment, was not attended with all the beneficial effects which were expected from it. Our interference in the revenue of the country was unwise. It was moreover unpalatable to the prince, to his minister, and to the native authorities. Those who played the game were satisfied. By one party the system was extravagantly praised, by another equally condemned. We will adopt a medium course: for while we believe much good to have resulted through our healing influence, the process caused considerable irritation to the Nizam, and dislike throughout the higher classes of his subjects. To the minister who liked neither the matter nor the manner of our interference, the exercise of it, with all its concomitant arrangements, was felt to be so humiliating and galling as to force him to the extreme measure of appealing direct to the Governor-General, when Lord Hastings recorded that, "a zeal prompted by the purest humanity has led Mr. Metcalfe considerably beyond the line which I had proposed for our relations with the Hyderabad State;" and in another dispatch, the resident "is required to hold a vigilant eye over those very young and unexperienced individuals, to whom that important superintendence is delegated. You must be sensible," adds Lord Hastings, "that the possession of a power, large in proportion as it is undefined, may readily lead to a flippant parade of it, than which nothing could be more revolting to natives of consequence: you must, therefore, check austerely any unnecessary exhibition of superiority."

Nor did the cultivating classes in every instance benefit by our protection. The power of the superintendents being limited, they could give no orders, neither could they redress grievances. So it often happened that the aggrieved party, instead of obtaining redress, suffered punishment from the local authority against whom he complained. The plan wanted unity.

At one time a struggle arose between the resident and the minister; latterly between the resident and the superintendents, thereby establishing a divided authority, than which nothing can be more injurious to a people. A change was introduced in 1829. For on the present Nizam's succeeding to the musnud, the right of being sovereign of his own country was conceded to him, and British interference, in the civil affairs of his Government, ceased.

We now return to the subject of the contingent. In 1821 the corps of Russell cavalry was disbanded. The Ellichpúr brigade was again made a distinct command, Captain Sir John Gordon appointed to the command of the Ellichpúr horse, and his prior office of Quarter-master abolished. The Quarter-master of brigade of the Hyderabad Division was also abolished. A judge advocate was appointed to the Nizam's army in the person of Captain Godley, and as several circumstances pointed out the indispensable necessity of an increase of officers to the cavalry, a second officer, for there had been only one before, was nominated to each of the cavalry corps.

In the following year the pioneers serving with the several divisions were formed into a corps of Engineers, and placed under the command of Captain Oliphant. It consisted of two jemadars, four havildars, six naiks, and seventy-five privates. Their uniform was green with black facings, subsequently changed to scarlet. This corps has proved itself eminently useful on many occasions, particularly in improving the irrigation of the country, and in the construction of public works, of which the bridge over the Mússí river need only be named. An European Adjutant was subsequently appointed to the corps. In 1837 its designation being changed, it was placed under an officer of the infantry branch, and formed into a pioneer corps, for employment on the roads, construction of traveller's bungalows, and for other useful purposes. In 1846 the corps was disbanded.

About this time the following notification from the Supreme Government was published for general imformation :—

" His Lordship in Council observes, that the employment of a regimental Major in any subordinate situation or command with the troops of a foreign Prince, is contrary to the principle of the regulations in force for the better discipline and efficiency of the Bengal army, and consequently incompatible with the interests of the public service."

This rule still obtains, and every officer on promotion to a regimental majority is obliged to relinquish the service, unless in command of a brigade, which he may continue to hold until

he arrive at the benefit of the off reckoning fund in his own service.

In 1823, the Court of Directors objected to the employment in the Nizam's service of officers belonging to His Majesty's army. The difficulty of obtaining officers from our regular regiments had induced the residents to look to King's officers belonging to corps ordered home, many of whom from long service in the country had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language, and of the habits of the people. This was thought a wise measure, as securing from a good school well qualified individuals to officer the disciplined troops of our native ally: but a different view was taken of it in a higher quarter, and they were ordered to be withdrawn, which order was subsequently modified to the extent of allowing those in the service, to the number of ten or twelve, to remain, but prohibiting the employment thenceforward of King's officers in the Nizam's service.

In June of this year an ordnance driver company was established for the Hyderabad division, and a new organization made in the cattle establishment and in the detail of gun and store lascars.

In July, the office of medical store-keeper was abolished, and the duties transferred to the residency surgeon; the salary of the office reverting to the State.

In 1824 several officers were temporarily withdrawn, consequent on the Burmese war. At the end of this year the station of Hingolí was separated from the Aurungabad division and formed into a distinct and independent command, to which Captain Hare was appointed with the rank of Major. In the following year the office of the superintending surgeon was established; and the benefit of furlough to Hindústan conceded to the native soldier in the proportion of ten to every hundred men.

The several corps which hitherto had remained stationary were now ordered to be relieved by one another, and a new designation was given to them. The cavalry corps were numbered from one to five respectively. The companies of artillery from one to four respectively, and the infantry regiments, instead of being designated as before, according to the division or brigade with which they were serving, were numbered respectively from one to eight.

In arranging numerically the order of the infantry regiments, the resident considered it due as a just tribute of his respect for the "brilliant services" of the Russell brigade to assign to the two regiments composing it priority of numbers,

they were accordingly designated the 1st and 2d regiment Nizam's infantry, or 1st and 2d *Russell's* respectively, while the other regiments took their numbers with reference to the periods at which they had been respectively raised.

In August of this year Sir Charles Metcalfe took leave of the service in the following terms, and was succeeded by Mr. Martin:—

"The resident cannot take leave of the Nizam's army, without offering the expression of his most cordial wishes for its future welfare and prosperity. He is confident that it will ever maintain the high reputation which it has established by its billiant services in the field, and it's excellent conduct in all situations. He relinquishes the connection which he has had the honor of holding with the Nizam's army with great regret, and shall ever look back to it with pride and pleasure."

By the gradual course of improvement which we have detailed, the service had undergone a visible change. Ten years of reform had effected a great deal, but there were still imperfections in the system, and to correct these Mr. Martin gave his early attention.

A code of "regulations for the guidance of the Nizam's army" was published under his authority. Among the rules were the following relative to the rank and appointment of European officers:—

"The existing rules and regulations regarding rank in the Nizam's army appearing to be injurious to the just rights of certain individuals; and it being obviously expedient that when officers are employed in the military establishment of a native Government, the nature of their respective appointments and consequently their several pretensions to command should be at the pleasure of that Government, without reference to the date of commissions held by such individuals in a foreign service;—the resident has thought fit to introduce the operation of this principle into the Nizam's army, and he will accordingly on the part of the Government confer rank in His Highness the Nizam's service, which will be of full effect in the interior discipline and management of the corps on all occasions of employment separate from the troops; but when acting with the forces of the British Government the respective rank and command of officers holding King's or Company's commissions must necessarily be regulated by the date and tenor of those commissions in the British service."

"It has been before remarked and is now repeated, that in the Nizam's army all situations are open to officers of merit; and that where the requisite qualifications exist, the want of a

commission from the King or Company will not be a ground of exclusion; but the resident will reserve to himself the power of selection for all vacancies, &c. that may occur, as well as transfers from one branch of the service to the other.

"The gradation list will remain as it now stands, as it would be unjust to deprive individuals of the rank they actually hold; but no futher supersessions will take place, otherwise than what may be warranted by the following rules and regulations, which are now promulgated for general information with prospective effect from this date:"—

"There will be four classes in the Nizam's army.

"1*st Class*.—Commanders of divisions or brigades, being field officers in the King's, Company's, or Nizam's army.

2*nd Class*.—Commandants of corps, being Captains in the King's, Company's, or Nizam's army.

3*rd Class*.—Captains in the King's, Company's, or Nizam's army.

4*th Class*.—Lieutenants in the King's, Company's, or Nizam's army."

"All officers on joining the Nizam's army will go in as junior of their rank in the class they may respectively belong to."

"All Lieutenants in the King's or Company's army who may obtain the rank of Captain in their own service, will be entitled in consequence to promotion to the 3rd class, in which they will go in as junior."

"All Lieutenants in the King's, Company's, or Nizam's army, whose period of service exceeds twelve years will also be entitled to promotion to the 3rd class."

"Assistant surgeons after ten years' service will be entitled to the rank of surgeon."

Since these rules have obtained there has been little or no cause for complaint on the head of unfair promotion.

Another improvement was the publication throughout the contingent of "General Orders by the resident on the part of the Nizam's Government," instead of as heretofore carrying on public duty by means of official memoranda which had but limited publication.

In 1826 the designation of "military assistant," to the resident was changed to "military secretary."—The office of "Commissary of Stores" was created and given to Captain Sotheby, together with the charge of the "General Depôt" which had recently been formed.

In February of the same year the resident's approbation was conveyed to the Engineer corps in the following terms:—

"Captain Oliphant having reported the completion of the

canal which has been excavated for the purpose of opening a communication between the river Músí and the tank at Hússain Sauger, and having brought to the resident's notice the meritorious conduct of the officers and men of the corps under his command; the resident deems it incumbent on him to express in the most public and formal manner, the sense which he entertains of the benefit which has been derived to the public service both from the professional skill, ability and unremitting exertion which have been manifested by Captain Oliphant in the progress and completion of this important work, and also from the spirit of zeal and alacrity with which the officers and men of the corps under his command have been animated, and which have uniformly characterized their exertions during the period of sixteen months in which they have been employed in the prosecution of it."

"As a mark of his distinguished approbation of their services on this occasion, the resident is pleased to authorize a donation of 300 rupees to be presented to the corps, and as a further testimony of his satisfaction the Súbadar is promoted to the rank of Súbadar Major."

In the following year the medical depôt was again removed from the residency to Bolarum, and the office of store-keeper re-established. The designation of the several commands which had heretofore been "Brigades" was changed to "Divisions," and commanders promoted from the rank of Major to that of Lieutenant Colonel, which it was determined was thence-forward to be the rank of officers in that position.

In February of this year a third officer, under the designation of Adjutant, was appointed to the several cavalry corps, and a few months afterwards, regulations, having for their object the change of costume from the native to European, were established for the officers and men of the cavalry brigade.

Numerous other innovations, opposed and unsuited to the habits and customs of the men, proceeding from a spirit of intemperate zeal for the improvement of the brigade, together with an over-anxious desire to transform the native horseman into a regular disciplined soldier, had taken place in the cavalry during the two preceding years, producing serious discontent, which, operating with other exciting causes, burst into open mutiny, and led to an event of a painful and outrageous character.

The real motives to mutiny are not always discoverable. In this instance they were to be traced to a series of acts, some of them tyrannical, others imprudent, all of them opposed to the spirit of the engagement under which the men entered into the service.

One of the most prominent was the mode and severity of punishment, another the harsh and harassing system of drill and discipline : These, combined with other causes of dissatisfaction, proceeding from disproportionate stoppages from their pay on account of various articles of equipment provided at their expense, and which had frequently undergone capricious alterations, together with innovations in dress, disfasteful both on account of the expense as well as from the nature of some of the materials, produced a feeling of irritation which was inflamed into open mutiny by the violent and indefensible conduct of an European officer in ordering two men to be forcibly shaved, and publicly declaring that all who did not voluntarily remove their beards should suffer the same treatment.

On the following morning a party of one regiment were found drawn up in a state of mutiny, demanding with arms in their hands their immediate discharge from a service in which they had been exposed to such indignities. Colonel Davies rode to the spot. The mutineers signalled him off, advising him not to approach them in their then exasperated state. With that fearless confidence which characterized him on every occasion of danger, he heeded not their advice, but rode up to the party alone and unattended ; when, while, in the act of endeavouring to reclaim his deluded men to a sense of their duty, the gallant Davies was shot through the body by the ring-leader, when the rest followed up the outrage by cutting him almost to pieces. The mutineers were instantly charged by a party of their own comrades who had been drawn up near the spot, and most of them put to instant death. For the mutinous spirit was confined to the few only who were immediately concerned in the perpetration of the outrage.

Such was the amiable private character of Colonel Davies, and so much was he beloved by his men generally, that his death (had it happened under ordinary circumstances) would have been a cause of general sorrow. As it was, it was met with a general burst of horror, as honourable to the unhappy victim, as it was indicative of the feelings of the men, for not only had his gallant bearing won for him their admiration, but his conciliatory disposition, his justice, and his attention to their wants on all occasions, had ensured him also their affection.

Events like these should never be forgotten. They impart a serious lesson not only to the Government in regard to the selection of persons for responsible and important offices, but also to the European officer in respect to the principle that should regulate his conduct towards the native soldier. But do we benefit by these lessons of experience ?

It has been stated on the best authority, and on a subject like this authority is useful, " that some of the officers had not been selected with sufficient care, and that they had risen too rapidly to command in a service where none but men of temper and discretion should be entrusted with authority."

The first requisite in a service like the Nizam's cavalry is smart and active European officers qualified by temperament, and acquirements, who understand the character of respectable natives, will treat them with justice and consideration, and who will consider it an essential part of their duty to make themselves acquainted with the language, the habits, and the prejudices of those among them they ought to establish an influence. As few are required it is the more essential to attend to the quality than the quantity of officers. We are not so unreasonable as to expect perfection, which the writer of " hints" would seem to require ; but we do think there would be advantage were fitness for their several duties made the sole criterion, instead of the efficiency of the service being impaired by the appointment through interest of unqualified persons. The service from it's peculiar nature requires delicate handling, a spring is easily loosened, and the whole machine put out of order.

The unhappy and fatal termination of Colonel Davies' command is a melancholy instance of this, yet on the late Colonel (then Major) John Sutherland's succeeding to the command of the brigade, (and it would have been impossible to have made a better selection,) he found no difficulty in restoring confidence and order. For some few years after, the Nizam's cavalry was famed for the superior qualification of its European officers, for in those days the resident being held responsible for the condition and efficiency of the service in all its branches, the selection of officers was very wisely left exclusively to him.

We have witnessed many changes and alterations, some of which we think might have been dispensed with. We are by no means unfriendly to the introduction of necessary change, nor would we reject any rational measure having improvement for its object, but as any material change tends to unsettle the minds of the natives, and if it have no worse consequence, results too often in making them unhappy, we think that none should ever be permitted " except for a certain and evident good."

On this subject we will quote another authority, one who knew the native character well :—" There is nothing so distasteful to the majority of natives as change of any sort, above all any change affecting their purse or their prejudices. I have known more harm done by silly alterations and changes regard-

ing dress or accoutrements, or in the petty details of the interior economy of a troop, introduced with the best intention by some injudicious European officer, than those not conversant with the peculiar temper of native horsemen would conceive possible to arise from such causes."

It only remains to be added that the resident was not held "entirely blameless." It was considered by the Government, every allowance being made for Mr. Martin as a civil servant, that proceedings which had led to such serious results, ought not to have been taken place under his official authority for a considerable length of time without his interference, and that he was both entitled and bound to exercise a surveillance over all the acts of British officers in the Nizam's service.

Immediately after this the whole system of the cavalry was reorganized, all objectionable regulations were rescinded, and the several corps remodelled, when the brigade, under the able and judicious management of Major Sutherland, soon regained its former credit and reputation.

To turn from punishment to reward is always a pleasing task. At the end of the year a gold medal bearing a suitable device and inscription was presented to subidar major Chyte Sing and subidar major Chota Singh of the 1st regiment infantry in consideration of their long services and uniform meritorious conduct; the latter having gained his promotion for planting the colors of his regiment on the bastion of Nowah.

In 1828 the Court of Directors prohibited the employment of any more local officers in the Nizam's service. In the same year the establishment of privates of corps of infantry was fixed at 700, and no man under five feet five inches was allowed to be entertained. In the following year the establishment was again reduced to 640 privates.

Up to this period the contingent had been virtually a sort of play-thing for the resident and a source of patronage to his friends. Things were now to take another direction and a few simple regulations laid the axe to the root of every sort of abuse.

In 1829 several privileges heretofore exercised by the resident in connection with the service were withdrawn by the Governor-General, who directed that no original appointment to the service, or promotion in it, was thenceforward to take place except under the authority of the supreme Government. A new scale of pay and allowances was at the same time established for the European officers, on the principle of assimilating their rate of emoluments with that of corresponding situations in the Company's army, and in order that there might be no mistake the pay tables common to the three

presidencies were directed to be taken as the guide, and in cases of difference the rates in use in the Hyderabad subsidiary force were to be adopted.

Since then the European officers have received from the Nizam's Government the pay and allowances of their rank according to the rates of pay and allowances assigned to the same rank in the Company's service, together with the staff or command allowance as in corresponding situations in the Company's service —— and no more!

For instance, an officer commanding a division receives the regimental pay and allowances of his rank in the Nizam's service, and the staff allowance of 1,070 or 800 sonat rupees according as it may be a first or second class division.

Officers commanding regiments of irregular horse receive a consolidated allowance of 1,000 sonat rupees in lieu of pay and allowances, such being the rule with respect to those who hold similar situations in the Company's service.

To the command of a regiment of regular infantry the command allowance of 400 sonat rupees is attached in addition to the regimental pay and allowances of the officer's rank in the Nizam's army.

The commanders of artillery attached to each division, who in addition to their artillery duties have those of the ordnance and engineer department are placed on the same footing as officers commanding regiments of infantry.

Regimental officers and regimental staff have the same pay and allowances as in corresponding ranks and offices in the Company's service.

Other staff officers, military and medical, brigade majors, pay masters, &c., have the same allowances as are drawn in corresponding offices in the Company's service. These several allowances are converted into the local currency at the rate of 121 Hyderabad rupees for 100 Company's rupees. This latter arrangement should be borne in mind in order that those who look only at figures may not be misled by the apparent larger *figure* exhibited by the inferior currency.

After this, who will hold up the Nizam's service as being extravagantly paid? Who will regard the allowances of the European officers as excessive which are in no respect greater than those assigned to similar situations in the Company's army? We hope to hear no more of the "extravagantly paid" Nizam's service.

The only other pecuniary advantage remaining, and that of but partial operation, is that all Company's officers who entered the Nizam's service prior to 1840, received also from their own

Government the pay proper of their regimental rank. But this which was once the rule has now become the exception, since those who have joined the service subsequent to that year, are debarred the privilege except in name, for though considerations render it necessary that the stipend should be actually drawn from the Company, its equivalent is subsequently deducted from the Nizam's pay of the individual, and repaid to the Company's Government.

Retrenchment did not stop with the reduction of pay and allowances. Its operation was extended throughout the service, and in January 1830, the appointments of superintending surgeon, medical storekeeper and surgeon to the durbar, principal commissary of ordnance, and judge advocate general were abolished, and the offices of brigade major and pay master of the Ellichpúr and Hingolí divisions united. Officers whose appointments were abolished were allowed to resume the situations which they previously held, their successors in those situations making way for them and returning in like manner to the situations which they before occupied, and so on downwards.

By the abolition of these appointments and by the reduction of the allowances of others in the civil as well as military department, an annual saving of nearly three lacs of rupees was effected in the two following years.

In August of this year Mr. Martin resigned his office and was succeeded by Colonel Stewart. The following is Mr. Martin's farewell address:—

"The resident cannot relinquish the performance of the duties, which he has so long exercised in relation to the Nizam's army without recording his testimony to the value of its services, and expressing the cordial interest which he feels in its prosperity and honor."

"The endeavour to promote those objects, has been unremitting and sincere, and he entertains a confident persuasion, that he leaves it, considerably improved in discipline, and in all the qualities which are necessary to its success.

"To each of the officer's commanding divisions, the resident's acknowledgements are due, for their support of his authority, and for the temper, zeal, and judgment, with which the duties of their several commands have been administered; but he should be insensible to the claims of superior merit, if he failed to acknowledge his particular obligations to Lieutenant Colonel Seyer, for the benefit which he has derived from that officer's professional experience and knowledge, and for the cordiality and promptitude, with which their points have been

applied to the purpose of aiding the resident's judgment, in the plan and execution of such arrangements as has been deemed conducive to the efficiency of the public service.

" To Major Sutherland commanding the cavalry division, and to Major Crossley commanding the Hyderabad division of the army, the resident's thanks are likewise due for their active and able conduct, in the exercise of their respective commands.

" The circumstances of peculiar difficulty under which Major Sutherland assumed his command, the address with which that difficulty has been surmounted, and the conciliatory, and judicious measures, which he has successfully pursued for the purpose of reviving the confidence, and of restoring the discipline of the troops composing his division, are claims on public approbation, which the resident cordially acknowledges, and for which he is entitled to this assurance of the resident's warmest thanks.

" That the Nizam's army may continue to serve the State with the same credit and success, which has hitherto distinguished its exertions, is a wish which the resident cordially entertains, and which is dictated equally by his anxious interest in its welfare, and by his conviction of the importance of its services to the stability and prosperity of the Nizam's Government."

It has already been shewn that prior to Colonel Stewart's arrival, a general review of the state of the contingent had taken place by the supreme Government, and that, measures of economy having been prescribed for the guidance of his predecessor, reductions of expenditure had been carried into effect in consequence. The necessity of continuing this spirit of reform and retrenchment was still further pressed upon Colonel Stewart, who, at a very early period, signified his determination of immediately effecting a saving wherever it could be made, and of incurring no additional expense without the sanction of the supreme Government. As this was the principle by which the resident was guided from 1831 to 1838, and as this was the most prominent feature of his rule, we shall have very little to notice relating to changes in the constitution of the service during that period.

In 1832 in consequence of the repeated failure of Nuwab Namdar Khan to pay the troops of the Ellichpúr division, for which he held a Jaghire, having been confirmed on the death of his father in 1824 in all the family privileges, the Jaghire for the payment of the troops was resumed by the Nizam's Government, and the payment of the Ellichpúr division transferred to the minister's own authority ; thus placing the Ellichpúr force, which had by degrees become assimilated in other res-

pects precisely on the same footing as the rest of the Nizam's regular cavalry,

In 1833 the office of bazar master in the several brigades was discontinued.

In the same year the Nizam's service lost one of its oldest and best officers. The late Lieutenant Colonel Seyer was an irreparable loss to the Nizam's army. His acquaintance with the history of the Indian army, and the character of the soldiers of whom it is composed; his extensive military research and acquaintance with the armies of other countries, rendered him a fit person to be consulted in the management of the Nizam's, and an officer to whose sound judgment and discretion its direction might safely be left.

In 1834 a warrant officer under the designation of quarter master was authorized for each field battery, a measure highly expedient and useful and which has tended much to the benefit of the artillery branch of the service. This class of warrant officers should be allowed to draw horse allowance. They cannot do their duty either on parade or on the march without being mounted. As it is, their duty is always performed on horseback, but as no allowance is granted for the purpose, they virtually keep a horse at their own expense for the performance of their public duty. This we conceive only requires to be brought to notice to be rectified. There being moreover only four of this class, we cannot suppose that so small an addition to the public expenditure would be any obstacle to the adoption of so just a measure.

During this year the minister was very importunate to get rid of the expense of the garrison and invalid corps. Among other schemes, he proposed to commute the money payment to the invalids by a grant of land in perpetuity to each man, but it was found impracticable, for, on proposing the arrangement to the men themselves, they with one accord declined the offer, so the proposal fell to the ground.

In the same year the Nizam's service lost another of its oldest officers. Captain Commandant Currie commanded a corps at the battle of Mehidpore, was wounded at the storm of Nowah, and was again wounded in the campaign of Ava while serving with the H. M. 89th Regiment. He was a most zealous and enterprising officer, and his death was a severe loss to the Nizam's service.

In consequence of the abolition of the appointment of Judge Advocate General in 1830, the resident had frequently had occasion to solicit the opinion of the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the subsidiary force on points connected with the

proceedings of Courts Martial, as well as on other matters connected with the character and discipline of the Nizam's army. Under a conviction of the importance of his legal advice, and from the same considerations which have given rise to this appointment in other armies, and to enable the resident to call officially for advice in cases of difficulty, the Judge Advocate General of the subsidiary force was under the sanction of the supreme Government appointed in 1835, legal adviser to the resident on such questions as he might find it necessary to refer to him. This arrangement has continued ever since, and in its effect has fully realized the expectations which were anticipated.

In 1836, the much desired boon of furlough to Europe was conceded to the local officers with permission to return to their several appointments. When it is considered that this class of officers are deprived of the benefit both of a pension and retiring fund, of Lord Clive's fund, of the military funds, together with other advantages possessed by the Company's officer, and that they have only the Nizam's service to depend upon for their support and maintenance, the extension of this indulgence to them cannot be viewed as unreasonable.

In September of this year the following notification was published by the Government of India :—

"The Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to direct that British officers serving on military establishments of native powers, shall, as regards such native service, and when doing duty with one another, take rank and command according to the priority of their respective appointments, in the rank which they hold in that service; but when acting with the forces of the British Government, the relative rank and command of such British officers shall be regulated by the date and tenor of their actual or effective commissions in the British service respectively."

At the end of this year Scindiah's Government being then about to form an infantry contingent upon principles similar to the Nizam's, the resident at that court applied for volunteers from the Nizam's army to form the nucleus of the new force. The volunteers were transferred with their period of service and assured that they would take precedence of all others of the same rank in the new contingent, and receive from the Gwalior Government an equivalent for the pay, pension and other emoluments which they then received, or might hereafter become entitled to, from the Nizam's Government.

In 1837 a question was referred to the supreme Government in respect to the promotion by brevet of a commandant in the service, when it was decided that the brevet rank of major con-

ferred upon an officer " does not warrant his supercession of the commandants who are senior to him in the Nizam's service, except when acting with the forces of the British Government."

In November of this year it was notified to the Nizam's army that henceforth Company's officers would only be entitled to promotion to the rank of Captain in the Nizam's army, (unless previously promoted in their own service,) in twelve years from the date of their being admitted on the strength of the establishment to which they may belong, and not as heretofore in twelve years from the date of their nomination by the Court of Directors or first commission, as Cornet or Ensign.

In September 1838, Colonel (now Major General) Fraser succeeded to the residency. From that moment a new life was infused into the Nizam's service, at that period very susceptible of improvement from the spirit of economy which had been so long prevailing. Its efficiency immediately engaged his warmest attention. He applied his vigorous mind to correct negligences and to remove imperfections. The senior officers of the service, it is but justice to them to say, seconded his zeal, and the gratifying result of their exertions is to be found in the present efficient state of the contingent, which gives promise of the most satisfactory results whenever the several arms composing the force may have the good fortune to be called into active service.

General Fraser's first care was to make himself acquainted with the character and qualifications of the several European officers, and in all matters great and small to examine and judge for himself. In this way the merits of individuals became better known ; for his own penetration soon enabled him to form a just estimate of each officer in the service. Greater advantages were given to the native officer and soldier, as he was anxious to raise the men in their own estimation, and to make the hope of reward rather than the dread of punishment the incentive to good conduct. A better description of clothing was ordered to be furnished. Incapables were removed on suitable pensions. A better class of European subordinates has since been admitted into the service. The few necessary establishments have been placed on an efficient footing. In short, every thing has been, and is being done, as we shall proceed to shew, that an energetic officer at the head of an army, interested in its character and welfare, can do to add to the efficiency of the service, and to the comfort of the soldier.

Acting upon the above principles an increased rate of pay was, in January 1839, authorized to the native commissioned

officers in consideration of the exemplary conduct which for a series of years had marked the career of that respectable class in the Nizam's service.

An indulgence was about this time conceded to the private soldier, in extending the annual leave of absence to men to visit Hindustan from six to eight months.—No trifling boon, when the distance is taken into consideration, as well as the unhealthy season of the year at which the men were before obliged to return.

In July the warrant and non-commissioned officers of the service were stimulated to greater exertions by the increased promotion held out to them in the following General Order :—

"In order to hold out still greater encouragement to the warrant and non-commissioned officers of his highness the Nizam's army to display that zeal in the performance of their duties which must ever lead to promotion, and to the approbation of their superiors, General Fraser has been pleased to direct that there be a Deputy Assistant Commissary at each of the undermentioned stations of the army, viz. Hyderabad and Ellichpúr, independently of Aurungabad.

"Though General Fraser is happy on this occasion to find that no objection exists to the nomination of the two senior conductors to the rank of Deputy Assistant Commissary, he desires that it may be distinctly understood that in no case will he consider seniority alone to constitute a sufficient claim for promotion, unless it be, when the claim of merit may be equal between the candidates."

At the end of this year the office of superintending surgeon was revived and a senior surgeon authorized at each division of the army in the person of the senior medical officer of the division.

The history of the Nizam's contingent would be incomplete without the mention of one who filled the high and important office of military secretary to the resident for fourteen years. Major Moore* possessed merits of no common order, and so useful and gracious did he at all times render his office, to which may be added his personal kindness and liberality to the service generally, as to cause his resignation to be felt and regretted throughout the Nizam's army. His public services were duly appreciated, and recorded in General Orders.

"On the departure of Major Moore for Bombay preparatory to his resignation of the office of military secretary and return to England, Major General Fraser considers it but an act of

* Now, we believe, a candidate for the East India direction.

justice to this officer to express in General Orders his entire and unqualified approbation of the manner in which he has executed the arduous and important duties of the several situations he has filled during a period of nearly 22 years.

"Every former resident without exception has left upon record the most marked encomium on the eminent ability of Major Moore, and Major General Fraser at once cordially assents to the justness of these honorable memorials, and requests Major Moore, to accept his special thanks for the assistance he has individually received from him during the time he has officiated as resident at Hyderabad.

"Major General Fraser has had an opportunity of personally observing the zeal and impartiality with which Major Moore has, during this period, considered every duty connected with the Nizam's service, and the correct judgment he has displayed in bringing to a successful termination, certain delicate and important transactions, which required not only an acquaintance with the peculiar duties of the military department, but also the combined exercise of a political knowledge of the country, and of the views and habits of the durbar.

"But an opinion in regard to the merits of Major Moore has emanated from a higher authority than that of the officiating resident, and in publishing the subjoined extract of a letter recently received from the Secretary to the Government of India expressive of the sentiments of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, on the occasion of the proposed retirement of Major Moore, Major General Fraser feels assured that the officers of the Nizam's army will be gratified to learn that their friend and brother officer has been deemed worthy of receiving the highest and most honorable testimony that could have been offered in his favor."

Extract.—"His Lordship cannot allow the retirement of so excellent an officer as Major Moore to pass unnoticed, and while he regrets the loss thereby inflicted on the service, he has satisfaction in being able to bear testimony to the worth, zeal, and intelligence of so old and so distinguished a servant of Government."

In 1839 a medical school was established at Bolarum for the education of pupils intended for the subordinate medical grades of the Nizam's army. The object of the school was to give a high tone and more scientific character to the professional education of the medical subordinates than had previously obtained. This institution continued for seven years, when as its advantages did not correspond with the expectations under which it was originally established, it was in 1846 superseded by a similar institution at the residency, but totally unconnected with the Nizam's service.

The object of the present institution is the diffusion of sound medical knowledge among the respectable natives of the country generally, but more particularly of those residing in and about the city. The benevolent views of the resident were seconded by the Nizam's Government, who cheerfully placed the means of accomplishing them at his disposal. Under the zealous and able instruction of Dr. Maclean, the residency surgeon, this excellent and useful institution is improving every day, and there is every reason to believe that in its result it will be most beneficial to the people as rendering them independent of European aid, and in time removing their prejudices against European practice. The cost of maintaining such an institution must be small, compared with the large amount of good which from its locality, it is calculated to produce among the native population.

In June 1840 the garrison and invalid battalions were disbanded.

The battalions had, for a long time previous, ceased to answer the ends for which they were originally formed, while the expense of keeping them up had been a constant source of complaint with the minister. The abolition of them was therefore of advantage in every point of view. The European officers and such of the native officers and others as were entitled to pension by the regulations of the service were transferred to the pension establishment; and such men as were considered fit for duty were transferred to a new Company designated the hill rangers, then authorized to be formed, and to be located in the hill districts between the Nizam's and the Company's territories for the preservation of the peace, and for reducing to order those amongst the bhíls and other inhabitants of the hill country who were found to be constantly plundering their more peaceful neighbours. By these arrangements a considerable saving was effected.

Towards the end of 1841 it was notified that all European commissioned, warrant, and non-commissioned officers, serving with the Nizam's army shall be ruled and governed by the mutiny act and articles of war in force for the East India Company's European troops subject to certain modification and alterations.

At the close of this year, the appointment of superintending surgeon was continued in the person of Dr. Turnbull, an old and deserving medical officer. We have always considered this to be one of the most important and useful situations in the service, it is calculated to improve the efficiency of the medical department, by establishing an uniformity of system in the management of the several hospitals, and by stimulating the officers in charge of them and their subordinates to a greater activity in

the execution of their duties. It moreover prepares the hospital establishment for the time of need; for experience can teach us that in the field even professional skill is of secondary consideration to medical arrangement. Dr. Turnbull's long service, great experience, and strict impartiality, conspire to render him not only acceptable to the several ranks of the service, but also a suitable instrument for carrying out the views of the resident.

In the beginning of 1842 the Bolarum force was ordered into the neighbouring cantonment of Secunderabad in consequence of the insubordinate proceedings of a portion of the native troops composing the subsidiary force. A detail of these proceedings is unnecessary in this place, nor is it our wish to dwell upon events of so discreditable a character. It is a much more gratifying duty to record praise than censure. And the exemplary conduct of the Madras artillery, European and native, and of the 1st Madras European Regiment, on that occasion was most conspicuous, and drew forth from the Government the expression of the highest praise. The admirable conduct and soldier-like behaviour of the native artillery cannot be too highly extolled, nor too often recorded, for not only did the F. troop horse artillery, and B. company golundauze "stand forward in the most prompt and praiseworthy manner to maintain subordination," but their comrades at the Head Quarters of the regiment on hearing that a disturbance was likely to occur, wrote up to them to maintain the honor of the corps by obeying their officers and submitting to the orders of Government. The Madras Government marked its sense of their good conduct by permitting the whole of the men composing those two detachments to reckon three years additional service. Both officers and men may well be proud of each other, proud also of belonging to so distinguished a corps.

Order and discipline were at length restored without any actual outbreak, when the Nizam's troops, returned to their own cantonment, but it is undoubted that the result might have been different, if one less firm or less able had been employed, for the crisis demanded promptness and energy, and he who assumed the command on and for the occasion fortunately possessed those qualities, and knew besides how to create them in others.

In the early part of this year a reference was made to the supreme Government on the subject of a portion of their staff pay being granted to officers of the Company's service

serving in the Nizam's army who were temporarily withdrawn for the service of their own Government, when it was decided that—

"His Lordship in Council does not propose to cancel any orders which may have been issued in favor of officers who have recently been withdrawn from the Nizam's military force, but he would for the future invariably enforce the rule that, when recalled to the service of their own Government, such officers will cease to derive any emolument from his highness's Government, and that the established pay and allowances of the situations which they filled in the Nizam's army shall be drawn by the officers by whom the duties are actually discharged."

In April of this year consequent on the formation of the new cantonment of Singsúgúr a revision of the establishments of the artillery and ordnance department took place The field batteries were reduced from six to four guns each, and the golundauze from a hundred to eighty men a company. The field batteries were ordered to be maintained in a state of the most perfect efficiency, ready to move at the shortest notice.

In 1843 some modifications were made in the cavalry branch of the service. The 5th regiment which had been maintained on the principle of regular cavalry, was formed into an irregular corps transferred to the cavalry division, and rendered subject in every respect to the same rules and usages as the other four regiments.

During this year some modifications were made in the ordnance department. A new set of rules and regulations were established for its guidance and the whole department placed under the control and authority of the commissary of ordnance at Bolarum. The effect of this arrangement has been to introduce a principle of economy, regularity and order into this part of the public expenditure, which, instead of as heretofore being committed to the discretion of several individuals, has now been brought under the immediate revision and control of one authority. The result has been a great saving to Government without any increase of salary to any individual.

In the beginning of 1846 the men of the infantry regiments were ordered to be instructed in the gun drill. We are at a loss to discover how this system can have found such favour with high authorities both in England and in India. An artillery-man is not made in a day. His professional duties are of too complicated a nature to be readily or lightly acquired, and consist in something more than the ordinary spunge exercise of a field

gun. In the just sentiments of the *Quarterly Reviewer* we have stated our full concurrence in a previous article.*

In April of this year the comfort of the native soldier was further attended to by the abolition of the knapsack and by the substitution in its place of a larger haversack. This was a great boon, as removing a cumbersome appendage which had always been a source of annoyance to the soldier. Lightly and simply equipped as he now is with the haversack, the soldier is enabled to march with comfort to himself besides having with him, on his arriving at his ground, all that he requires for duty, rest, or food. This was undoubtedly a move in the right direction, for as the Government furnished the knapsacks, this article alone had cost the State in the five preceding years 20,000 rupees.

In 1847 a new cantonment was established at Warungul.

Towards the close of this year the numerical strength of the privates of the several infantry corps were reduced from 640 to 600.

In the beginning of 1848 an alteration was made in the dress of the European and native officers of the cavalry. The ulkhaluq and mundíl turban were substituted for the European dress of the European officers. We have no doubt that there were good and sufficient reasons for this change; but as it involved young officers in debt, by rendering useless to them, their previous dress and appointments, which some of them had only recently, and at great expense, furnished themselves with, it would certainly have been more to their interests had the change not taken place. Let us never forget that changes and even advantages may be purchased at too high a price.

We have now arrived at the end of 1848, having traced the contingent step by step from its origin to the present time. It now consists of five regiments of cavalry, eight regiments of infantry, four companies of artillery, with field batteries attached, and a corps of hill rangers, together with an efficient medical department, and arsenals at the principal military stations equipped with siege ordnance, ammunition, and stores of every description. In numbers the force may be thus detailed:—

Cavalry	2,750 Fighting-men.
Artillery	725 Ditto.
Infantry	5,752 Ditto.
Hill Rangers	170 Ditto.
Total of all Native Ranks...	9,397

* No. XX. Act, 3.

The European officers, of whom there are eighty-four, are distributed as follows :—

	Lieutenant-Colonels.	*Majors.*	*Captain-Comdts.*	*Captains.*	*Lieutenants.*	*Surgeons.*	*Assistant-Surgeon.*	*Total.*
Military Secretary	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Officers, Commanding Divisions.	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	5
Superintending Surgeon	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Brigade Majors	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
Pay Masters (in course of absorption)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Cavalry	0	0	1	8	6	4	1	20
Artillery	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	5
Infantry	0	0	8	22	7	8	0	45
Total	2	4	10	41	13	13	1	84

There are besides thirty-seven European warrant and non-commissioned officers, and a medical staff of fifty-five subordinates.

The Nizam's cavalry are too well known to require any description in this place. Their superiority over all other irregular cavalry is we believe admitted; for their pay being handsome, a higher degree of efficiency, both in horses and accoutrements, is required,—which makes the service, better and more efficient than the irregular cavalry of the presidencies. The native horsemen themselves are every where much the same, and when they are well treated, devoted to their officers. The great difference observable in the conduct and behaviour of these men will generally be found to arise from the character of their commander, and from his mode of treatment. The Nizam's regiments are at all times in a condition fit for immediate service, complete in horses, arms, appointments, bazars, &c., ready to take the field at the shortest notice, without requiring aid from the Government, or any further assistance than that furnished from their own bazars.

It is to be regretted we think that greater encouragement is not given to the men of the Dekhan to enter this branch of the service. We have always understood that the Nizam's cavalry were originally formed with a view to give employment to a large number of men, generally of good birth and respectability, but of reduced circumstances, who were roaming about the country

in idleness, ready for any sort of mischief, and who might be thus converted, from being a source of trouble and annoyance to the Government, into cheerful and useful subjects. If therefore only as an outlet for the discontented, we would venture to suggest that every inducement should be held out to the men of the Dekhan, of character and respectability, to enter the Nizam's cavalry, in preference to the present system of recruiting indiscriminately. The cost of this branch of the service is nearly one-half of the entire contingent. But, that its real utility to the State compensates the Nizam's Government for the immense outlay, we may perhaps be allowed to doubt.

We are constrained therefore, while admitting their efficiency and even their superiority, to express our opinion that so large a body of cavalry are nearly thrown away in the Dekhan. For all useful purposes one-half of the present force would be amply sufficient. It is out of all proportion to the other arms. For the last thirty years the regiments have never taken the field together, and we have it on the best authority that they cannot participate where they might be made very useful, in the stirring scenes on the distant frontier, in consequence of their superiority of pay over the Bengal irregular cavalry. A distinction however warranted by the state of the two countries. In the Dekhan almost all articles of consumption are dearer than in Hindustan, and a proportionate difference in the pay of the military has consequently always existed. At the time when the Mahratta armies traversed India from the Tumbuddra to the Indus, it was at all times usual to reduce the pay of the military on the day on which they crossed the Narbudda, proceeding to the northward; and in the same manner, the pay was always increased on the armies crossing the same river to the southward. We have then a large, efficient force of cavalry, part of which might well be spared from the Dekhan, but which cannot from circumstances be employed elsewhere, at a cost to the Nizam's Government of nearly eighteen lacs of rupees per annum. To this we have but one answer as to other questions of similar import. The Nizam cannot afford it. This is the language of necessity which cannot be spoken too often. Two regiments might certainly be spared from the contingent, but as these are not times for disbanding troops, they might be transferred under some suitable arrangement to the Bengal presidency.

The field artillery is considered as efficient as it can be under the present system of draught. The equipments are complete and in high order. The golundauze are well trained and instructed. We have witnessed them with a battery of six guns; fire, dismount the guns, sit down, mount the guns and fire

again, in less than *one minute and five seconds*, and we doubt if this can be surpassed. We are not partial to such displays, inasmuch as it fatigues the men unnecessarily, and too often injures them, though when a thing is to be done we like to see it well done. There is little to object to in the Nizam's artillery except in the draught cattle, but field artillery drawn by bullocks, however excellent in other respects, *must* become under difficulties an incumbrance instead of an assistance to an army.

We are not at this time of day going to insult the understanding of the reader by detailing with tiresome repetition all that has been written on this question. Enough, that the superiority of horse draught is acknowledged, and is now being practically manifested in the Madras army as it has long been in that of Bengal. We would rather see two horse than four bullock batteries, on the principle that whatever portion of artillery is kept up, should be made efficient in every respect. The quality rather than the quantity should be attended to. The guns drawn by horses to *clear* the way, instead of being drawn by bullocks to *stop* the way.

The infantry corps are considered in every respect equal to the regiments of either of the presidencies, with this exception that they have not the same number of European officers. The men are chiefly from Hindustan. The Nizam's army has always been a favorite service with the Hindustanís, for although removed to a greater distance from their houses, they have a corresponding advantage in respect to furlough. From their frugal habits they often save money enough to enable them to return to their families after eight or ten years' service,—thus giving the State the benefit of the best years of their life. This we conceive cannot be too much encouraged, for the expense of drilling and training a recruit for the ranks, is incomparably less than that which is inflicted on the State by an extension of the pension list. The comfort of the soldier is besides consulted, and no man is made unhappy by being forced to remain in a situation against his inclination. The men are admirably drilled and disciplined. The arms and accoutrements are supplied from the Government arsenals, the clothing which is of a superior description, from the presidency, and two companies of each regiment have percussion muskets. In their internal arrangements they are regulated by the same principles which prevail in the Company's army.

This although a good deal is not saying every thing. There is nothing of the *real* business of the soldier in all this. It is not the appearance at parade, nor being expert in certain exercises, that can make a man a soldier. It is but a very small proportion of the force that can boast of the experience of

field service. Their real utility remains therefore to be tested, though we have no doubt that when the day of fighting shall arrive, every branch of the force will perform the same valuable service as did the Russell brigade in its early days.

We have always been of opinion that, in a staff service like this, the principle of selection and not of seniority should influence the nomination to the higher commands. The importance of having for these responsible posts, only men of temper and understanding must be so obvious that no considerations of seniority or length of service should lead to the advancement of those who are wanting in these essentials. In these remarks we claim to be understood as having no desire to exalt one class at the expence of another. We are not unmindful that there are some individuals among the old officers of the service, whose zeal and worth it would be difficult to over-estimate. Than the first and 2nd "Russell's" under their old and zealous commandants there are not perhaps two finer native regiments in the Indian army. But it is of systems that we are treating, not of individual cases. At present there is no safeguard of sufficient efficacy to prevent the higher ranks being officered by persons who shall be wanting in the qualifications for command. We have known more than one officer in command of a regiment and on staff employ, not only deficient, but illiterate. These allusions can no longer wound the feelings of the living. They were promoted not for their qualifications but because they were senior. To have passed them over would have been an invidious task.

The first and only consideration for the higher commands, we conceive, should be fitness. The qualifications to be sought for should consist in something more than the mechanical operations of the parade. Men qualified in every respect should be selected of decided mental ability, of at least respectable general acquirements, and of a temperament capable of producing and preserving harmony *with* discipline, for every one knows how freaks of power, always the growth of a little mind, tend to irritate, and to destroy unanimity. Such are the men we would see advanced to the higher ranks of the Nizam's army. The service should be one of selection. Qualifications should be sought for, and *wherever* found, cherished; and instead of conferring appointments merely on account of seniority, *merit* should have its true place; for constituted as that army is, we conceive it to be neither safe nor consistent with a just regard to the interests of the public service to regulate the nomination to the higher ranks by any other principle.

Much has been written in regard to the staff of the contingent. We are not of those who think it too large. Concentrate

the force and one Brigadier might suffice as in the neighbouring cantonment of Secunderabad; but, dispersed as the troops now are, supervision is not only necessary, but indispensable. These commands, moreover, involve peculiar important political duties unknown to officers in similar positions in the Company's army. The Nizam's army is at present cantoned as follows:—Ellichpúr, Aurungabad, Moninabad, Gúlburgah, Hingolí, Bolarum, Wurungul, Muctul, and Lingsúgúr, with the hill rangers at Búldanah to protect that part of the hill country. A glance at the map will shew that from one or other of these positions, each portion of the Nizam's dominions is within a few days' march of the control of the regular troops, and it may be observed that the contingent, although prepared to act against external enemies, is chiefly required to check the various tributaries and powerful zemindars who are subject to the Nizam; and who, in the absence of regular troops, would not only in many instances, resist the orders of Government, but would constantly be resorting to arms to decide quarrels among themselves, to the great injury of the Nizam's subjects and to the detriment of the revenue.

Much has also been written from time to time of the expense of the Nizam's contingent. The cost may appear large, but so satisfied are we of the expense being well directed, that we should view with concern any attempt to reduce unnecessarily the only efficient force belonging to the Nizam in his own dominions,—fully assured that any sums thereby saved would only be wasted in some objectionable expenditure. But if the expense have been great it has not been without its advantages. Besides rendering important service to our own Government, the contingent has aided in saving the Dekhan State, amidst the wreck of all others around it. The best guarantee we can have for the permanence of this force is its continued utility to the state, but we conceive it will be an additional guarantee if we can shew that it is maintained on the most economical principles. If the cost then of the cavalry be deducted, it will be seen that the remaining portion is on a more economical scale than any force of similar strength and condition in India. But even with this large and expensive establishment of cavalry, the cost of the Nizam's contingent will bear comparison with that of the Hyderabad subsidiary force. We have not the means of giving in regular detail the difference on every point of the several items of expenditure of the two forces; but, from the several calculations before us, we are satisfied that it would be found, on a fair investigation, that the subsidiary force—including the expense of its military stores, establishments of every description, and every other item of expenditure, although con-

sisting of 2,000 fighting men *less*—costs as much as the Nizam's contingent.

The staff of the contingent will in like manner sustain a comparison with that of the subsidiary force, and in making this comparison let it be remembered that one force is divided between Secunderabad and Jaulnah, while the contingent, as before observed, is distributed throughout the Nizam's dominions into ten separate and distinct cantonments.

The military staff of the contingent consists of five brigadiers, five brigade majors and two pay masters; the latter incourse of absorption and therefore supernumerary to the establishment.

The military staff of the subsidiary force, consists of two brigadiers, one assistant adjutant general, one engineer, one pay master, one deputy judge advocate general, one assistant quarter master general, one commissary of ordnance, three commissariat officers, and one cantonment adjutant, to which may be added the charges arising out of the numerous establishments attached to these several offices.

In the contingent there is no commissariat. There are no contracts. There are no large establishments. There are no indirect advantages.* That there is no wasteful or improvident expenditure, he who controls this department is a sufficient guarantee. These and other considerations make us hesitate a good deal about the expediency of any measure that may deprive us of so efficient a force, that has been provided at a great expense both of money and of time, and which might on any occasion take its place in the field either with or without the Company's troops. It is besides an accession to our own strength without any cost to ourselves, and these are not times to diminish our military resources. The Nizam too is so sensible of the real utility of the force, that instead of complaining of its cost, we believe him to be strongly opposed to any diminution of it. The fidelity of the men to our cause, may of course from the nature of the organization of the service, be as implicitly depended upon as that of the Company's own troops. They may be said to belong to the Nizam in name only. They consider themselves as Company's troops; and for all practical purposes might be made as useful, for were the subsidiary force entirely withdrawn, they would be amply sufficient to ensure the tranquillity of the Nizam's country, unless indeed we can suppose, which we will not, his highness entering the lists against us and able to command a national movement.

* The following anecdote will amuse the reader. A friend of ours was seriously told by a person in England that the officers of the Nizam's service never kept horses, that when they wanted any, they borrowed them from the Nizam.

But if it were thought desirable on account of the Government finances, *apart from every other consideration*, to reduce expenditure, perhaps the cavalry brigadiership and one infantry brigadiership might be dispensed with,—due regard being of course given to present incumbents. On the first organization of the Nizam's cavalry, at a crisis of great political importance, an officer to reform and command the whole was indispensable, in order to render the then useless and undisciplined horse capable of acting as auxiliaries with our own army. This arrangement which originated from necessity, has become sanctioned by dint of time, without reference to the altered state of affairs. With the eighteen corps of irregular cavalry in Bengal a brigadier is not deemed necessary. Dispersed as the Nizam's cavalry regiments are, we conceive, that the supervision of them might very well be entrusted to the divisional authorities without of course making any change in the system of discipline, for it must be obvious that an officer of long standing in the Nizam's service, who has risen to the command of a Brigade, must have a better acquaintance with the native officers and men, their habits and customs, than one newly brought into the service.

The only other division which it is thought by some might possibly bear reduction, and this we think very doubtful, is that of Hingolí, a second class division with a staff salary of 800 Company's rupees a month. The station of Hingoli was originally established from a conviction of the necessity of keeping in check the inhabitants of the western districts of the Nizam's dominions, a part of the country abounding in jungles and strong positions. The frequent employment of the Hingoli force sufficiently evidences its utility, the only point for consideration is, whether the advantage is so great as to counterbalance the expense. We think it is. For, as a proof of the injury to which the Government and the country may be subjected by the absence of regular troops, it may be mentioned that in the course of an investigation some years ago, it was ascertained that the mutual depredations and plunderings of two zemindars in one part of the country had amounted in a short space of time to upwards of three and a half lakhs of rupees. Now as these two zemindars were by no means men of great importance, this example will suffice to shew the advantages of so locating the Nizam's regular troops, that portions of them may be speedily made available in any given quarter. But without an officer to command them, their efficiency must be impaired, and their utility be in a great measure destroyed. We therefore think that the Hingolí division may be continued with advantage.

The infantry corps now consist of 600 privates each. Out of the several cantonments, there are but two with more than one regiment. Ten per cent. or sixty men of each corps are during eight months of the year, on furlough. Add to this the number necessary to leave behind to take care of a station, together with the sick and other absentees, and it will be seen how small a proportion can be made available for service in any one cantonment. As it is the men from being so scattered, are sufficiently employed upon local and escort duties, and to decrease their number would be only harassing the remainder, to an extent perhaps which might be very destructive to their present high state of discipline. We therefore think the reduction of infantry corps to be a measure of very doubtful expediency.

We are aware that it is thought by some that the number of European officers might be reduced. If European officers are required only for drill and parade purposes, then perhaps the Nizam's army may be considered to have too many, but if, as we believe, European officers are given for duties of field service, then instead of having too many, the regiments may be considered deficient in this respect.

To say nothing of the local officers would appear as if we were unmindful of their interests. Rumours have not been wanting in regard to the whole of this class being pensioned. A melancholy picture might be drawn of the results of a measure involving such serious consequences to the prospects of so many deserving individuals. This step we may be assured will not be taken without extreme caution, nor exercised without due consideration as well to the interests as to the feelings of those concerned.

It is but of late years that the local officers have enjoyed the sweets of the service. Many have served faithfully and well. Some have done, as their fathers did before them, good service to the native state. Few it is to be feared have lived for the day of adversity, having always looked upon the Nizam's service as possessing the same permanency as the Company's army. All these considerations it is devoutly to be hoped may plead in their behalf; and their withdrawal, should it ever be determined upon, accompanied by an arrangement consistent with the views of a benevolent Government. As the Nizam's contingent has always been under the authority and control of the British Government, it is but just and reasonable that the interests of those belonging to it should, in the day of need, be protected by that Government. Besides, whatever the local officers may be in theory, they have always been made in practice to belong as much to the Company as if they were Company's officers holding like their more fortunate, though perhaps not more deserving brother officers, Company's commissions.

There are some few of an advanced age, and long standing in the service, who naturally look for retirement to their native country, and where such is the desire of parties, we think they might be pensioned with benefit to the State, particularly in those instances where an actual saving will be effected.

This brings us to the consideration of the Native pension establishment. It has already been shewn that this establishment was originally instituted in 1816, and two years afterwards extended to the whole of the contingent. We know that every endeavour has been made particularly of late years, to check the growth of this establishment, and so to diminish the expense of it; and that the most stringent rules have been laid down for the guidance of committees. Notwithstanding which, the annual cost of it, cannot now be less than one and half lacs of rupees. This is a heavy burden upon the Government, and in the present state of the Nizam's finances, every *straw* that can by possibility, be taken off this load, should forthwith be taken off. We would not from motives of humanity, and from other considerations, wish to see this indulgence entirely withdrawn, but we think that every individual of the native ranks that receives a pension, should receive it in the Dekhan, where he may be occasionally seen, or in lieu of it, a money compensation with permission to return to Hindustan; for the present system of allowing men to draw their stipend at so great a distance is not only inconvenient, but for obvious reasons, must be highly objectionable.

The next best plan perhaps would be to enlist a greater proportion of Dekhan men, and to grant them on being pensioned portions of land in perpetuity, with greater advantages for bringing waste land into cultivation. This we conceive might be made acceptable to men of this part of the country, although the arrangement when proposed on a former occasion, failed with Hindustan men. It would at any rate be an improvement on the existing state of things, for at the present time there must be some hundreds of pensioners in different parts of Hindustan, drawing in the aggregate half a lakh of rupees in the year, without any authority responsible to the Nizam's Governmet either for the actual existence of the men, or for a just and proper disbursement of its funds.

In nothing has improvement been more visible of late years than in the non-commissioned ranks of the service. The Nizam's army can now boast of some among the warrant and non-commissioned class, who from their education and respectability of character, would do credit to any situation. The rank of deputy assistant commissary of ordnance, or quarter master of artillery, is the highest that can be attained. We are not aware

of any sufficient reason why the commissioned ranks should be entirely closed against them, and we should be truly glad to see the Indian Government look in this direction when requiring adjutants or other officers for the numerous local corps in Bengal.

Before taking leave of the subject we must devote a small space in order to make more generally known the comparative advantages afforded by employment in the Nizam's service.

We have already shewn that the rate of pay and allowances of the European officers was in 1830 assimilated with that of corresponding ranks and situations in the Company's army. It must not be supposed therefore that the advantages of the service consist in the salaries being higher, or the emoluments of office greater. The benefit to individuals arises from the circumstance of persons being enabled to hold situations in the Nizam's service, to which from their rank they are not eligible in their own.

The advantages are that a Captain or Field officer in the Company's army may have the command of a brigade in the Nizam's army.

A Captain or even a Lieutenant in the Company's army, may command a regiment in the Nizam's army.

A Lieutenant if he pass the required examination, is almost sure to have an adjutancy besides the charge of two or even three companies.

An Ensign if appointed would have the rank and pay of Lieutenant, and every officer after twelve years' service in India, no matter what his grade may be in his own service, becomes entitled to the rank and pay of Captain in the Nizam's service.

An assistant Surgeon would have medical charge of a regiment, and after ten years' service in India would become entitled to the rank and emoluments of a surgeon.

A nomination to the artillery is desirable, as a stepping to the command of a battery, though the immediate pecuniary advantages are very limited.

The nomination of a young officer to the Nizam's cavalry is considered very advantageous, but not so to the infantry. It may indeed be a question whether it is not injuring a young man's prospects, to remove him from his own regiment to the infantry branch of the Nizam's contingent. In some respects it may be considered disadvantageous, and in a pecuniary point of view the benefits are small, and prospects no better. As in the present day every officer enters at the bottom of the list, and as all the commandants of infantry, and most of the cavalry corps are local officers, and therefore not as in the case of Company's officers removable on promotion,—no officer now entering the service, can ever expect to rise to the command of a regiment.

ART. VII.—1. *Legends of the Affghan countries. in verse ;—with various pieces, original and translated by Charles Masson, author of travels in Beluchistan, Affghanistan, and the Punjab, &c. London :* 1848.

2. *Caubul ; a poem, which obtained the Vice-Chancellor's medal at the Cambridge commencement,* 1845 *; by Edward Henry Bickersteth. Cambridge :* 1845.

3. *The Child of the Islands; a poem; by the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London :* 1844.

4. *Death and the Magdalene ; the Memory of Sale ; and other poems ; by A. B. Richards. London :* 1846.

5. *Advance of the Sikh Army upon India ; and other poems ; by Ignatius John. London :* 1847.

6. *The Field of Ferozshah ; in two cantos ; with other poems ; by a young soldier, who fought in that glorious campaign. London :* 1848.

7. *The Victories of the Sutlej ; a prize poem to which the Vice-Chancellor's First Prize was awarded at Trinity College, Dublin ; by H. F. Brooks, T. C. D. Dublin :* 1848.

IT is of no use to endeavour to deceive ourselves. We have been guilty of a grave omission and we had better confess it at once. We shall be the happier for the confession. The offence has long lain heavily on our conscience. It is rank and smells to that heaven where dwell Apollo and the Muses. We would fain lighten the burden by acknowledgment, and as far as in us lies by reparation. We have treated the poets very scurvily in the pages of this Review. The decade of volumes, which we have just completed, teems with articles in some wise relating to the Affghan and Sikh campaigns. There is scarcely a work, great or small, illustrative of these operations, or the country traversed in the course of them, which we have not amply reviewed. The historian, the statist, the topographer has no ground of complaint against us. To each and all have we done ample justice. Their labors have not been neglected—their claims have not been unrecognised. But to the poets of the Affghan and Sikh campaigns—the Homers of the Indus and the Sutlej—we have not merely done imperfect justice, for we have done them no justice at all. We have done nothing for them. We have not even noticed their existence. There is a crowd of them pressing forward ; waking or sleeping

they haunt us with their reproachful eyes. There they are—that bright inspired band,—

White brows lit up with glory—poets all !

We can no longer deny them.

There is nothing more poetical than war. War is the grand staple of poetry in its highest form of development. It has been so from remotest ages. At the head of all poetry stands the heroic. The battles of antiquity have been amply celebrated. Homer and Virgil and Lucan and Statins, and other magnates of the old world of song, have rendered the heroes of tradition as familiar to us as the general officers of the present century. Nay, our school-boys know more about Hector, Achilles and Eneas, than about Buonaparte, Wellington, and Soult. They have clearer notions of the plains of Troy than of the plains of Waterloo. They can tell you who were the Seven before Thebes, but they cannot tell you who commanded the divisions of Napoleon's grand army at Austerlitz. They have got their history from the poets. The warriors of old are great in song ; our chiefs are only great in story. They have but prosaic reputations. They live in no Homeric ballads. Even Waterloo remains unsung. Many tried their hands at it,—from Walter Scott down to Wedderburne Webster—but all tried utterly in vain. Even this great, glorious crowning victory could not inspire our modern bards. There was scarcely a decent stanza to be got out of it, let alone an epic in twelve books. Our warriors must trust to Napier and Allison to keep their reputations green in the hearts of our children's children.

Science has deprived war of much of its old poetical aspect. The bow, the spear and the sling are all poetical—so are "the arrows of the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle." But some how or other musquets are not poetical—nor are mortars and howitzers. If there had been siege trains and corps of sappers and miners when Priam was king of Troy, we should never have had an Iliad. Modern European warfare has put on too scientific a front. It has been more an affair of skill than of strength and gallantry ; the clear head has done more than the stout arm and the brave heart. We no longer choose our kings and leaders for the height of their stature or the muscular power of their frames. Judged by such standards the greatest heroes of the age are not the greatest—οι μεγιστοι —but almost the least of men. Napoleon and Wellington were but undersized mortals when they met at Waterloo ; and the latter is perhaps the least poetic of living men. There were

romantic incidents in the career of Napoleon—the return from Elba is itself a poem—but one can hardly imagine a *Wellingtoniad* conceived in a high poetic spirit, sparkling with romantic episodes, and glowing throughout with warm humanity. The poetry of life has never faded. It is now what it was before the flood, for human hearts are still the same. But the *arma-virumque-cano* exordium has almost ceased to be suggestive of stirring poetic thoughts—it smacks too much of Torrens, the model-room, pipe-clay, the order-book, and the gazette.

But whilst it has somewhat decayed in the West, the poetry of war seems to have kept its freshness in the East. There is a halo of barbaric romance ever surrounding our oriental wars, which sends back the imagination to those remote ages when the Macedonian conqueror appeared on the scene of our recent triumphs. Under circumstances the most commonplace in themselves, the environments of an Affghan or Punjabí war are necessarily romantic and picturesque. The nature of the country, the character of the people, their mode of warfare, their dress—are all surrounded with poetical associations. The bright skies, the great rivers, the wide plains, the lofty mountains, the deep defiles, the rugged splendour of the eastern cities, the picturesque costumes, even the very wickedness and vindictiveness of the people, their unscrupulous ferocity, their wild lawless deeds, their eternal unrest, are all so many poetical adjuncts. But beyond these, though in a great measure induced by them, the incidents of our Central-Asian career are, in themselves, of a romantic and poetical character—stirring the imagination and touching the heart in recital—full of all the elements of pity, surprise, and terror—sublime in the magnitude of human suffering and human crime, which they so darkly pourtray. The career of the British in Affghanistan is a great epic, complete in all its parts. The beginning, the middle, and the end are there, as though by cunning artistical contrivance. Never did poetical justice reign more paramount over a series of historical incidents; never did the sublimity of the moral lesson accord more truly with the grandeur of the outward events. It is a great epic, we say—but beyond the reach of modern poetasters. What they have made of it—and what they have made of the great war on the Sutlej, we purpose in this article to show. A considerable flood of verse has been poured forth; but for the most part it is dark and muddy. There are but few drops of pure Hippocrene in it, sparkling up amidst the dreary waste of dull thick water. The volumes on our table are many—they have been gathering there for some years. We approach them now not without misgivings—not without an especial appeal

to the forbearance of our readers. There is a proverb about making "a silk purse" which we would plead on our behalf, if this paper should prove to be a dull one.

Mr. Masson stands first on our list. He is there by reason of chronological precedent. His muse dallies with the antecedents of Affghan history rather than with the exploits of the British in Affghanistan. It is his to treat of the mystic and the legendary, far back in an age of heroism and romance, whence fables come more fitly than facts, and miracles issue as matters of mere ordinary occurrence. There was every reason to expect that in these antiquarian fields Mr. Masson would be pre-eminently great. Though we were not aware of his possession of the metrical faculty, we knew him to be the most poetical of prose-writers—the most fabulous of historians. But it remained for the present volume to demonstrate that he is the most prosaic of poets—the most matter of fact fabulist in the world. His lays and legends of old Affghanistan are as hard and literal as so many newspaper paragraphs put into rhyme as a school-boy's holiday task. They have at least the merit of being any thing but what the reader expects. Well knowing the amount of poetical license which Mr. Masson has always allowed himself when dealing with matters of fact, the student of these legends will be startled to find the chastened fancy of the writer so conspicuous in every page. The legendary Pegasus is bridled in with a strong hand. All is stiff and straitened. There is no *abandon*—no fine mystic enthusiasm. Even the giants and giantesses are very commonplace mortals —not half as genuine ogres as Mr. Masson's friends, the Sindh politicals. If we want a picture of an out-and-out monster of the fee-faw-fum school, we must go to one of Mr. Masson's "narratives." It is in those romantic effusions that we find the true and lively portraitures of delicate fiends, keeping fierce hell-hounds to hunt down human game; and indulging in other similar demoniac pleasantries. The legendary ogres are rather merry monsters than otherwise; and even his satanic majesty, who is the hero of one of the principal pieces in the present volume, appears in rather a waggish aspect. There is an old proverb to the effect that "God finds food; and the devil finds cooks." Mr. Masson shows us how the latter potentate found food for the people of Lughman;—

> To follow up his worthy deeds,
> The fiend brought various kinds of seeds;
> And while their several names he told,
> Their divers virtues he extolled;
> And shewed how, planted in the soil,
> Their produce would reward their toil.

Turnip and carrot, parsnip too,
With onion seeds minute to view ;
And seeds of earth's prolific fruits,
Whose value centres in the roots,
He placed before their wondering eyes,
And taught how from there germs would rise,
A stately mass of verdure bright,
To captivate in time their sight,
And yield them such delightful food
The angels tasted not so good.

A splendid crop comes up; and the devil having made a compact with the people that he is to have half of the produce asks his friends which half they will take—that above the surface or that beneath it. As may be expected they choose the former; and get only the green upper leaves of all the carrots, turnips, and parsnips, for their share. Next year he appears again among the disappointed and chagrined husbandmen;—

Of seeds he had a large supply
Wheat, barley, beans and oats and rye,
And of such pulse, legumes, and grain,
Whose stalks the useful parts contain.

From these a good harvest springs in due course and the simple men of the valley determined not to be outwitted again, take the roots this time for their share;—

The swains took counsel and agreed,
To err again there was no need ;
From past experience they had found
The portion worthless on the ground ;
For though its verdure charmed their eyes,
Beneath was hid the genuine prize ;
Therefore at once without disputes
Or arguments, they claimed the roots.

There is seldom a good story current in any language that has not an eastern stock, if we only please to find it out. Your orientalist is the prince of story-tellers.* This joke has

* Many of our European readers will doubtless be surprised to learn (we take one example of many which might be adduced) that Boccacio's exquisite story of the Hidalgo and his Falcon which more than one of our modern poets has turned to such good account, is of a true Central Asian origin. In Captain James Abbott's amusing narrative of his journey to Khiva we find the original story as told by his old Mirza during a halt in the land of the Kuzzauks. We may quote at least the opening portion of the Mirza's tale;—

"Hautim was an Arab chief in the days of Nowshirwaun. He possessed a horse
' marvellous for its beauty and speed, the wonder and pride of Arabia. The king,
' who had heard of this horse, sent a nobleman of his court to purchase it. This
' emissary arrived at Hautim's tents, when every item of household stores, his camels,
' sheep, goats, and even horses had been consumed in hospitality. The beautiful
' Arab horse, alone, remained. Hautim's heart bled, for his steed, as without hesita-
' tion, he slew him to feed his guest. The next day, the emissary opened his mission
' by stating, that he was sent by the king to purchase at any price Hautim's famous
' steed. 'I deeply regret,' answered Hautim, 'that you did not at once intimate your

been adapted in many countries—the best-known version being that of the simple Spanish boy, who having received from his more astute companion the outside-half of an almond insisted upon not being treated so scurvily again when they had an *olive* to share between them—and received as his portion the *inner*-half of that second prize from his compliant associate.

The most characteristic specimens of Mr. Masson's style are to be found in the piece entitled—"The origin of the Rúnjahs; a legend of Lus in Beluchistan." It opens with an account of a kafila wending its course "along the fertile vale of Sindh:"—

> In it, there are of all degrees,
> Of rich and poor and high and low,
> Of those who journey at their ease
> And those who trudge in pain and woe.
>
> Some on the mettled charger ride
> With gaudy tassels hanging down;
> Some o'er the saddled camel stride
> *That carries two or carries one.*

This last line our readers will agree with us in considering eminently poetical. A fastidious critic might, it is true, suggest as an amendment, that the line should run

> That sets down two and carries one;—

such being at the same time more arithmetical and more suggestive of the occasional habits of the camel—but we are well contented with the line as it stands.

> There are the jugi and faquir
> With begging pot and noisy brawl,
> Who e'er in varied guise appears,
> Grotesquely clad *or not at all.*

A touch of nature this which all who have travelled in the east will duly appreciate.

A woman journeying with the kafila falls in the rear, gives birth to a male child, and dies. The infant would have perished but for the tender care of a leopard which gives him suck:

'purpose; you ate the flesh of my horse last night. It was the last animal left me, 'and my guest had a right to it.'" The conclusion of the story, in its oriental original is as characteristic, as in its European transcript. Anger and revenge were born of this great deed in the one case as were tenderness and love in the other. The gentle southern lady loved the Hidalgo for the sacrifice, as the eastern monarch hated the chief for it. Such are the national applications of the same stock narrative—the horse being to the Arab, too, what the falcon was to the European noble. There are few of the old tales, on which the master-pieces of European dramatic and poetical literature have been founded, which have not an oriental origin.

and thus the Beluch Romulus is saved to become the father of a line of kings. Mr. Masson's reflections upon this incident are as striking as his descriptions are graphic :—

'Twas odd, mysteriously odd,
A leopard with so strange a trust ;
But who can tell the ways of God,
So vast, so merciful, so just ?

In these legends there is a pleasing mixture of the amorous and the heroic. In the description of the rise and progress of the tender passion, Mr. Masson is eminently successful. It is not all imagination either. The poet informs us that he was fairly captivated by a Beluch maiden named Zeybi, whose charms he has immortalised in some verses written in Mustúng. Having graduated, therefore, in the divinity of love he is entitled to lecture on the subject. He traces the gradual workings of affection in the young heart with wondrous delicacy and discrimination. In the following passage we see how love wrought upon the fair Dilkúsha :—

So much was her mind with its wonder imprest
Of the youth's matchless skill and his fine manly mien,
Stranger feelings unprompted arose in her breast,
And her gaze grew more ardent than else it had been.

Her maiden reserve then attempted to check
The desire of her eyes the young shepherd to seek,
Yet the effort but crimsoned her fair milk-white neck,
And brought blushes like rose-buds to bloom on her cheeks.

We confess that we do not much like this last line. Roses are admissible—but the *buds* please us not. The image is altogether too suggestive of grog-blossoms.

The loves of "Kurna and Rúdra" are traced with a still more delicate hand. When was passion's progress ever rendered with more subtle truthfulness than in the following passage from this "legendary tale of the Punjaub," which Mr. Masson tells us "is entitled, a legendary tale, because it is not strictly a legend"—*lucus ā non lucendo ?*

It was strange, very strange, they so often should meet,
All of course without concert or settled design,
That the damsel grew venturous, before so discreet,
The cause those, who like her have felt, must divine.

For some time they neither found words to express,
Their sensations which yet they but badly conceal,
But at length they conversed as their shyness grew less,
First a little, then more, and at last a good deal.

The wholesome precept set forth in "As you like it" to speak first, and "when you are gravelled for lack of matter to take

occasion to kiss" seems to have been duly regarded by these youthful lovers. But they came to kissing anon, with more affection than grammar :—

Then Kurna the fair bashful maiden embraced
And the lips which the tender confession avowed,
Nor did innocent Rúdra withdraw them in haste,
While listening the love he so fervently vowed.

They parted—their rings to each other conveyed
The appropriate symbols of union and truth ;
The regards of the youth lingered after the maid—
Those of Rúdra no less lingered after the youth.

The course of their true love does not run much more smoothly than Mr. Masson's rhymes ; but it is satisfactory to find, at the end of thirty pages of this sort of verse, that the young people are fairly married and "live happy ever afterwards."

The poems, which illustrate the poet's personal career are no less interesting than those which relate to the legendary age of Affghanistan and Sindh. The following for example is conceived in a noble spirit of optimism :—"In April 1831, 'the writer left Muscat in an Arab vessel for Karachí, a sea-'port of Sindh, intending on his arrival there, to proceed along 'the banks of the Indus to Peshawur and thence to Caubul. 'On reaching Karachí, the vessel was fired upon by the 'garrison stationed in the fort Munneroh and the writer was 'not suffered to land. So inhospitable a reception was 'wholly unexpected and completely disconcerted all previously 'formed arrangements. After some communion with himself 'and others, the writer decided to return in the Arab vessel 'to Ormarah, a port on the coast of Mekraun, and thence to 'attempt a passage into the upper countries." Having formed this resolution, the poet seated himself, and in a fine fervour of inspiration threw off the following stanzas :—

ON BEING REFUSED PERMISSION TO LAND IN SINDH.

Although events seem adverse,
Chase sorrow from thy breast,
If not exactly as 'twas wished,
Perchance 'tis for the best.

Against the will of Heaven
Forbear unjust reproach ;
If not allowed to land in Sindh,
Why do so in Beloche.

If the peril should be greater,
The glory will be more ;
And e'en should fortune fail thee,
'Twere folly to deplore.

So frail is human nature,
  So feeble human sight,
Our measures oft are thwarted
  But to put our motions right.

Then with pious resignation
  Submit to Heaven's will ;
The power that erst has saved thee,
  Implored, will save thee still :

No matter what the danger,
  Or whither ye may stray ;
If the grace of God attend thee,
  And cheer thee on thy way !

Steer, steer then for Ormarah,
  And re-assure thy breast ;
And be assured what Heaven ordains
  Is ever for the best.

Karachí Harbour, 1831.

And this philosophy was not barren—Mr. Masson has told us how wise he was in thinking that some good fruits would grow out of his disappointment :—

" The author may also be excused to notice, that this repulse at Karachí was the occasion of his visiting Kalat of Beluchistan, where, and in the vicinity, he resided seven months, which otherwise would not have happened. Ten years afterwards, when the course of events brought him again to Kalat, and he had the misfortune to become a prisoner of the revolted Brahúis of the country, the friends he had made during his first visit, were principally instrumental, under the favour of Heaven, in saving him from destruction."

There is true wisdom in thus making the best of matters. Mr. Masson's philosophy reminds us of the abundant self-content expressed, with such a delightful swing, in the song given in Miss Bremer's last novel, as translated by Mary Howitt :—

It's all one to me ; it's all one to me,
Whether I'm a beggar, whether I'm a king !
If I am a king, I can spend the money,
If I am a begger, I can leave the money ;
So it's all one to me, all one to me,
Whether I am a beggar, whether I'm a king !

It's all one to me ; it's all one to me,
Whether I'm a gentleman, whether I'm his man ;—
If I am a gentleman, I sit in the carriage,
If I am his man, I stand behind the carriage.
So it's all one to me, it's all one to me,
Whether I'm a gentleman, whether I'm his man.

It's all one to me, it's all one to me,
Whether I am old or whether I am young !
If I am young, why, I can go a dancing,
If I am old, why, I can leave off dancing !
So all one to me, all one to me,
Whether I am old, whether I am young !

We like the swing of these lines amazingly—trolled out with a toss of the head first to one side, then to the other, to give a jovial earnestness to the uttered words, this song must be wondrously effective.

"Civilly received at Ormarah," narrates the poet, "the writer 'resided there for some time, having assigned to him, as his 'place of abode, one of the towers of the ruinous mud fort. 'The shúmall wind raged incessantly, and sometimes with 'so much violence, as to menace the safety of the tower in 'which the writer dwelt. It required some patience and 'effort to wile away the hours at this desolate place; and the 'writer's chief resources were to sip coffee and to exercise 'his pen, as accident or reflection suggested a theme." So that the world, no less than Mr. Masson himself, is the gainer by the poet's ungracious reception at Karachí. The only misfortune is that at Ormarah the bard was unable to procure any more generous beverage than coffee. He is very eloquent on the absence of wine and curses the Moslem right heartily.

Unlucky I!—who fain would rhyme,
But lack the inspiration fit;
Unhallowed wish! 'tis adverse time,—
The year has seasons, so has wit.
* * * * *

How luckless I, who cannot join
With foaming cup the jovial train,
Condemned in Moslem lands to pine,
Where generous wine is sought in vain.
* * * * *

Ah! me! without the exciting bowl,
Sad, uninspired, I pensive sit,
No ray of light illumes my soul,
No spark of genius kindles wit.

When Mr. Masson can write such poetry as this upon coffee, we quite tremble to think of the flights his muse would have taken in Ormarah if he had had a case of champagne.

Had love been there it might, in one of Mr. Masson's sensitive temperament, have supplied the place of the bowl. "All for love and a little for the bottle" seems to be the poet's motto. In the course of a journey, in 1832, from Kandahar to Kabul, he fell in love with a Ghilzye maiden, whose charms he has celebrated in a poem of a fine amorous flavour. Dreams of Elysian happiness and Arcadian simplicity began to haunt him, and it seemed to him that under such inspiring influence buttermilk would taste like wine;—

A damsel so fair, who would not be content,
While kids and while lambkins around him should play
To fold in his arms, and in front of his tent
To bask in the sun all the hours of the day?
* * * * *

For her I'd renounce all that cities afford,
Secure of her favour her khail should be mine ;
The cake she prepares I'd accept for my board,
And *with buttermilk fancy the relish of wine !*

It was probably under this buttermilk inspiration that Mr. Masson wrote :—

Ye Gods, I feel a cheering glow
Refine each sense and flush each vein !
Whilst from the glass such transports flow,
Can it be wrong to fill again ?
Ah ! no, from bliss within our power
'Twere surely folly to refrain ;
Come, boys, indulge the genial hour
And, fill, and fill and fill again.

"If you make believe very much" said Dickens's Marchioness to Mr. Richard Swiveller, with reference to the beverage of orange-peel and water, which her imagination endowed with a fine relish of punch, "if you make believe very much, it is not so bad." We can readily believe after this that Mr. Masson's buttermilk might have a fine relish of wine—especially with the aid of a Ghilzye maiden to help on the amiable deceit.

We must here take our leave of Mr. Masson and emerge at once out of the legendary mist of remote antiquity into the clearer air of cotemporary history. These legends give us a foretaste of the country and the people over which our invading armies marched and with whom they were brought into perilous contact. And they introduce us, too, to Mr. Masson, who was in a small way one of the first actors in the great Central-Asian drama;—something, perhaps, in the lamp-trimming way, a thrower of light upon the proscenium and the stage—one of those functionaries who bustle about before the curtain is drawn up and win a little derisive applause from hands eager to begin the noisy labors of the night.

But we suppose the curtain now to have been drawn up ; and the play to have actually commenced. It opened, as great historical dramas often do, with a spectacle—the foremost figures being the representatives of England and Sikhland now heroically shaking hands and vowing eternal friendship, A dozen property banners with "Tripartite Treaty" upon them in huge tinsel letters will be readily conjured up by the imagination of the reader as a part of the show. The business is settled and the "brave army" is drawn up in battle array. Great opportunity is there for the disportings of the muse but the muse disported itself not. It is true that one writer came forward at this juncture, foreseeing the poetical turn that the campaign was likely to take, and recommending the

appointment of a poetical staff (which, probably, would have been as serviceable as some other staffs that we could name) for the express purpose of glorifying the army of the Indus and recording its achievements in strains no less martial and more spirit-stirring than government gazettes. Then was struck forth the following in glorification of the coming triumphs of Sir Henry Fane, who would have been the great hero of the first Affghan war, if his military dignity had not shrunk back aghast at the mutilation of the army, which, however, was large enough and successful enough to earn for his substitute a peerage, a pension, and a niche in history, which now is denied to the Commander-in-Chief of that momentous epoch. Let him therefore, at least, have the credit of the great deeds that he would have done, as foreshadowed in 1838, by a local rhymester :—

THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

I.

There have, as ancient poets tell, been mighty men ere now,
With lance in rest, and plate on breast, and iron helm on brow ;
And many battles have been fought—great wars by land and sea—
In Greece and Rome and Portugal and France and Italy ;
But the " Army of the Indus," in the bright land of the Sun,
Will outshine all their lustre and eclipse them every one.

II.

Old Homer tells of warlike men in that great siege of Troy,
Of Ajax and Achilles, and of Priam's darling boy ;
Ulysses, Agamemnon, Menelaus and the rest,
Who fought in that great battle of all ancient fights the best ;
I doubt not they were valiant men ; but valiant men are we,
And of all the men that ever fought, Sir Harry Fane for me.

III.

Old Rome was famed for deeds of arms and wondrous skill in war,
And seldom from her Eagle was sweet Victory afar—
With their Cæsars and their Fabii, and other men of might,
Rome's name was quite enough to fill a nation with affright :
But whatever were their heroes, and whatever they have done,
The " Army of the Indus " shall eclipse them every one.

IV.

And in King Arthur's reign there was of Knights a fine array,
Sir Gawaine and Sir Percival—Sir Ector and Sir Kaye—
Sir Tristram and Sir Launcelot and many more beside
Whose deeds of gallantry were sung by Poets far and wide :
I doubt not they were gallant souls—great Knights of high degree,
But of all the Knights that e'er drew sword Sir Harry Fane for me.

V.

And Richard of the Lion-heart was erst his country's pride,
When he went forth to battle there was death on every side ;
And many noble red-cross Knights, who went forth in his train,
Fought bravely in the Holy Land and ne'er went home again ;
Let honour be to them for all the great deeds they have done,
Though the " Army of the Indus " shall eclipse them every one.

VI.

And mighty men have lived since then in times of later date,
There's Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and there's Peter called the Great,
There's Marlboro' and Prince Eugene, two gallant sons of war,
There's Washington and Wellington and Soult and Bolivar ;
All men of might in battle, but I care not what they be,
For Sir Harry Fane of the Indus is the man of might for me.

In spite of the exhortation with which this was accompanied, the exploits of the Army of the Indus were left almost undisputedly to the prose-chroniclers. Lord Keane, though elevated to the peerage, did not achieve distinction as the subject of an heroic poem. The poets seem to have slept over our successes. It required a great disaster to awaken them. The strange horror of the massacre in the passes was enough to arouse into poetry the most prosaic of men. There is nothing more sublime in fiction or in fact—it wants only the halo of antiquity to render it the darling theme of the historical muse. It is classical enough already to have become the subject of a Cambridge Prize Poem; and we have now before us the "Kabul" of Edward Henry Bickersteth, "which obtained the Chancellor's medal at the Cambridge commencement, 1845." The muses are in a more plumy state in the English than on the Irish side of the channel; and Trinity College, Cambridge, beats Trinity College, Dublin, hollow, in the matter of Prize Poetics. The Cambridge "Kabul" is really a respectable effusion ; the Dublin "Victories of the Sutlej" has the distinction of being not merely the worst poem that ever gained a prize, but the worst that was ever written for one—or for anything else.

Mr. Bickersteth's "Kabul" is a little vague and foggy. The mist of ages is about it even before its time. It commences with some dim allusions to the legendary epoch, in which Mr. Masson is so great—traces the conquests of Alexander—then comes at once upon British connexion with Affghanistan—passing over, with scarcely a word, our first successes, to alight upon the eve of the departure from Kabul, in that fatal January of 1842 :—

Chill sweeps the night-blast o'er the Affghan hills :
No eye that sleeps in Kabul's walls to-night !
None talk'd of home : a strange foreboding fills
The hearts of all, and many an anxious sight
Looks forth upon the darkness, where the bright
Far-flickering watch-fires blazed : some trembling lay
All night within around the camp-fire's light,
Some on the rampart wait in dark dismay
The morrow's blood-stained march—the awful break of day.

The mother look'd upon her babe, and sobb'd ;
The husband clasp'd his wife, his breast was torn
With anguish, and with grief past utterance throbb'd,—
He knew what horrors *she* must pass at morn ;
Youth wept there, with her sister Beauty, born
Like her for sunshine, now like her in gloom,
And innocent childhood, as in playful scorn,
Smiled on them both, but all its rosy bloom
Chased not from heavy hearts the morrow and the tomb !

Morning comes ; and the doomed army commences its dreadful march :—

Slowly morn flush'd the mountains. Hurriedly
The mingled host of women, children, men,
Those ramparts left, and left them but to die—
Oh ! bear the gentle gently. Hark ! again
The war-cry of the treach'rous foe—and then
Death in its countless forms beset their road,
Till corses throng'd each deep and rocky glen ;
And where the wilds of snow with slaughter glow'd,
All crimson'd on its path the icy torrent flow'd.

And through these gorges, that in darkness frown'd
When o'er them stretch'd the deep-blue summer-sky,
Mid snows and wintry storms their pathway wound,
The dying and the dead—and none pass'd by
To fold their mantle or to close their eye.
Foes lurk'd by every secret cleft and cave,
And to their fire the sharp rocks made reply—
One short stern death-knell o'er the fallen brave
There in that awful pass, their battle-field and grave !

There is something rather hazy in this stanza. We do not clearly see how the dead wound their pathway through the gorges and amid the snows—unless we suppose the poet, by that bold figure which Keat employs when he writes,

So the two brothers and their murdered man
Rode on towards fair Florence,

intends to put "the dead" for those marked for death. The winding was on the part of the snow, not the corpses ;—"The snow shall be their winding sheet"—but let us pass on :—

And deeds were done of pure and high devotion,
Deeds of heroic fame—but where are they
To tell their story ?—like the gloomy ocean
Strewn with the wrecks of nations, far away
On stranger hills their mouldering corses lay ;
One only struggled through, exhausted, pale,
The sole survivor of that proud array,
And death and fear, at his most ghastly tale,
Cast slowly over all their shadowy silent veil.

Then come we to the captivity :—

Chains for the brave, and solitude and sorrow !
Aye, prison-hours for gentler beings too !
Oh ! they were faint for freedom, and the morrow
Never seem'd dawning on their night of woe :

Young hearts were there, and tears would sometimes flow,
When fairy home-scenes crowded on their view,
Clad in unearthly beauty, for the glow
Of love still seem'd to light up all anew,
And faith that leant on God in suffering proved most true.

And now, the Army of Retribution is in motion. It is Pollock to the rescue, over the scene of our late disgrace:—

On, brothers, to the rescue ! See, they come
With floating pennons and undaunted pride
And victor-shouts and roll of martial drum !
Alas ! within those defiles scatter'd wide
Their brethren's whitening bones are now their guide :
Woe for the sod beneath their charger's feet !
For Spring with trembling hand hath drawn aside
(Wont to disclose a thousand flowerets sweet)
The fearful veil of death ! a shroud ! a winding-sheet !

Their camp-fires, in the dark of night's repose,
Far glimmering in the pass below did gleam
Like the stars burning o'er them, till to those
Lone watchers on the mountains war might seem
But the dim splendours of a phantom dream.
On, brothers, on ! nor pause, nor rest, nor sleep
By cavern, pine, or rock, or torrent-stream,
Nor linger o'er your comrades' bones and weep,
Till victors yet once more through Kabul's gates ye sweep !

And what of those who pined in gloom the while ?
No victor armies their deliverers were ;
But God, who heard from their far native isle
The mourner's sobbings, and the sabbath prayer
Flow for the captive and the prisoner,
Threw open wide their prison-gates ; and she
Who, angel-like, stood weeping by them there,
Immortal Love, sprang o'er the billowy sea,
And stole into our homes, and whisper'd, " They are free."

We take exception to the assertion put forth in the second line of this stanza. It was, under providence, the advance of the armies, that wrought the delivery of the captives. Had Akbar Khan's star remained on the ascendant, the prison-gates would not have been opened.

The Cambrige Prize Poet here begins to indulge in visions of the future, and in those dangerous delusive clouds we had better leave him. Our's be it to keep clear of prophecy. It is quite enough to do with the past. Even that is highly deceptive. We are ignorant where we think we know most ; and when we think we are standing fast, the ground shifts beneath our feet. We are safest perhaps in the regions of romance. And here is a bit of romance by that capital romancer, Leitch Ritchie, which ought to have been introduced between the stanzas first quoted from the Cambridge poem—

but we did not like, even for a few minutes, to turn our back upon the university man :—

THE LAST TOAST AT KABUL.

BY LEITCH RITCHIE.

" Drink to the hearts that beat for us !"

Long Engagements, a Tale of the Affghan Rebellion.

I.

" Drink to the hearts that beat for us !" 'Twas thus the soldier cried.
And struggling lights and shades the while passed o'er his brow of pride ;
" Drink to those lone and lovely eyes that watch for us to-night—
When morning comes we'll on, brave boys, beneath their cheering light :
Through pathless snows, and piercing winds, and blades more keen than they,
That cynosure of holy love will guide our desperate way !"

II.

Stern fell the night on Khurd Kabul, and well those warriors slept,
Wrapp'd in their sheet of bloody snow ! But one his vigils kept—
One of that gallant, glorious host—one—one—oh, only one !
And as he looked around, and saw that he was all alone,
The only living thing except the gorged wolf by his side,—
" Alas, the hearts that beat for us !" the dying soldier sighed.

III.

But as he neared the mystic world, a new and wondrous sense
Informed his flitting soul, and far its vision darted thence :
Bright was the hall, and music made the perfumed air more sweet,
And quivering plumes and flashing gems were there, and glancing feet,
And she the lady of his love—the fairest of them all—
The idol of the throng, and queen of that gay festival !

IV.

Flushed was her cheek, and bright her smile, and flashed her eye with pride,
As ever and anon she bent her beauteous head aside,
To drink the honey'd tale from lips as graceful as her own :—
But in the midst she paused—her thoughts far, far away are flown—
'Till sudden with a shuddering start, she turned anew to hear
With beauty's mean and soulless pride the whisper in her ear.

V.

The soldier raised him on his arm, and looked around once more :
A deadlier stillness had come down where all was still before ;
The carrion birds had to their homes with heavy pinion hied,
And the gorged wolf, as mute as death, was sleeping by his side.
" Thank God, I am alone, and here !" he said with fainting breath,
And the stern smile that lit his brow was frozen there in death.

But never has the great horror of the vast snow-slaughter been sung in such touching accents, as by the graceful lady-poet, in whom the beauty and the genius of the Sheridans shine forth with so much lustre. In Mrs. Norton's *Child of the Islands*, the poetry of which is that of the warm heart, the gentle, tolerant, womanly spirit, the earnest many-sided humanity which stoops to the lowliest, the most degraded—we find some stanzas, which sad as is the strain, it is a privilege and a

pleasure to quote. The passage arises not unnaturally out of a description of the snow-coverings of a country church-yard:—

The frozen tombs are shrected with one pall—
One shroud for every church-yard crisp and bright—
One foldless mantle, softly covering all
With its unwrinkled width of spotless white,
There through the grey dim day and starlit night,
It rests on rich and poor, and young and old,—
Veiling dear eyes—whose warm home-cheering light
Our pining hearts can never more behold—
With an unlifting veil that falleth blank and cold :—

And after a most eloquent calendar of the inmates of those snow-covered graves—"the tender mother, in whose heart so many claimed an interest and a share"—"the young fair blossom, neither wife nor bride"—"the old grey-headed sire"—"the son of many vows—the stately heir, the treasure of his home"—"the young betrothed bride"—"the cherished babe"—to all of whom some stanzas of deep and truthful pathos are devoted—we come upon the passage, which gives the poem a claim to notice in these pages :—

28.

Oh ! nothing cheerless dwelleth by the tomb,
And nothing cheerless in the wintry sky ;
They are asleep whose bed is in that gloom ;
They are at rest who in that prison lie,
And have no craving for their liberty !
They hear no storm ; the clear frost chills them not,
When the still solemn stars shine out on high ;
The dreamless slumber of the grave shall blot
All record of dull pain and suffering from their lot !

29.

Theirs was the dreadful snow,—who, hand to hand,
Bravely, but vainly, massacre withstood,
In the dark passes of the Indian land,
Where thoughts of unforgotten horror brood ;
Whose cry for mercy, in despairing mood,
Rose in a language foreign to their foes,
Groaning and choaking in a sea of blood,
No prayer—no hymn to soothe their last repose,
No calmest friendly hands their stiffening eyes to close !

30.

Theirs was the dreadful snow,—who trembling bore
Their shuddering limbs along ; and pace by pace
Saw in that white sheet plushed with human gore
The dread familiar look of some brave face,—
Distorted—ghastly—with a lingering trace
Of life and sorrow in its pleading glance,—
A dying dream of parted love's embrace,—
A hope of succour, brought by desperate chance—
Or wild unconscious stare of Death's delirious trance.

31.

Theirs was the dreadful snow,—who left behind,
Brothers and husbands, foully, fiercely slain ;
Who, led by traitors, wandered on, half blind
With bitter tears of sorrow, shed in vain,
Crossing the steep ascent, or dreary plain ;
Mothers of helpless children,—delicate wives,
Who brought forth wailing infants born in pain,
Amid a crowded wreck of human lives,
And scenes that chill the soul, though vital strength survives.

32.

Theirs was the dreadful snow,—who never laid
Their dead to rest with service and with psalm ;
Their bones left bleaching in the alien shade
Of mountains crested with the Indian palm.
Oh ! English village graves, how sweet and calm
Shines on your native earth the setting sun !
Yet Glory gave their wounds a healing balm—
Glory,—like that thy youthful trophies won
In thy first " prime of life "—Victorious Wellington !

33.

" In thy life's prime,"—ere yet the fading grey
Had blanched the tresses of thy gallant head ;
Or from thy step Time's gradual faint decay
Stole the proud bearing of a Soldier's tread !
Gone are the troops thy voice to battle led,
Thy conquering hand shall wield the sword no more,—
The foes and comrades of thy youth are dead,—
By Elba's rock and lone St. Helen's shore,
No prisoned Emperor hears the boundless ocean roar.

34.

But, though its battle strength be out of date,
The eager gesture of that warrior land.—
Raised in the warmth of brief and blunt debate
In the hushed senate of thy native land,—
Hath something in it of the old command ;
The voice retains a certain power to thrill
Which cheered to victory many a gallant band :
In thy keen sense, and proud unconquered will,
Though thy life's prime be past, men own their leader still !

To the last line in the 32nd stanza, Mrs. Norton has appended this note—" At a dinner given by the East India Directors ' on Sir Henry Hardinge's departure from England, the Duke ' of Wellington, in returning thanks observed, ' But we have ' not met here to-day to talk of by-gone transactions, though ' I am very grateful for the mention of services I had the ' honor of rendering to the East India Company, when I was ' in India, IN THE PRIME OF MY LIFE.' The casual expression of the veteran here struck those who saw and heard him, ' and was responded to by a burst of cheering. It is a curious ' fact that a letter is said to be extant, containing an application ' from Mr. Arthur Wellesley (then a very young officer) for

'a small place at the disposal of Government, as he 'wished to 'leave the army and to marry.' The future hero was fortu- 'nately unsuccessful on that one occasion, and lived to be ''Duke of victory.'" This story we can easily believe. The Duke is not the first nor the last distinguished man, whose lot has been determined by some such accident—by the failure of an effort to strike into a new path or by a miscarriage of some kind or other, regarded at the time as a calamity. An accident made a soldier of Clive—an accident kept Harris, who was on the point of emigrating, in the army—an accident sent Jones to the East Indies—and, in our own days, an accident prevented Pollock from resigning, at an earlier stage of his career, the service which he has since lived to adorn. Such is the "divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may"—the refusal of a very moderate request, the meeting with an old friend in the streets, or the failure of an agency-house, has determined the tenor of the soldier's career and made him illustrious in spite of himself. It is generally the miscarriage of some scheme devised by his own brain—some disappointment, some supposed misfortune, that lays the foundation of his career of glory. We have referred only to examples, within the range of Anglo-Indian biography. Others might be deduced from the same source. And the wider field of European life-history is absolutely stocked with them.

To stanza 34, we have this note appended—"The great Field- 'Marshal's style, when speaking in debate is curt, dry, frank, 'and somewhat imperious. On a celebrated occasion he con- 'cluded the observations he had made with a grave but familiar 'warning, "Well, my lords, I have told you; *so, take care!*" 'His friends and admirers feel whilst listening to him, that he 'is speaking, that *which he knows to be the truth;* his foes and 'opponents admit that he is speaking that which *he believes to* 'be the truth. The least eloquent of all the principal debaters 'in the house of lords, his speeches are nevertheless listened 'to with the profoundest attention and carry a weight with 'them not always the result of the most masterly efforts of 'rhetoric." And very true is this, in all that relates to the effect of the few words which drop from those honored lips. But the Duke though 'he may always believe that he is right,' does not always know that he is right. The fact is that he is very often wrong. No one, acquainted with the details of recent Indian history, can have failed to observe that, on questions arising out of these political and military events, the great Duke has more frequently taken the wrong side than the right. Curtly, drily, frankly and somewhat imperiously he may have

spoken, but there have been many cases in which he could not have known that he was right and some, at least, in which he was egregiously wrong. His judgments with reference to the removal of Lord Ellenborough from the Government of India, to the case of Sir John Littler and the 62nd foot, to the propriety of appointing Sir Charles Napier to the command of the Indian army, &c. &c., were very obviously erroneous. And there is on record a very *slap-dash* minute written, on receipt of intelligence of the Kabul outbreak (bearing date "*January* 29, 1842.—*At night*") distinguished by as little knowledge of the subject and by infinitely more arrogance and injustice, than one would look for in the decisions of those traditionary depositories of little knowledge and less wisdom, the "country-gentlemen" of England.

It is right that the opinions of such a man should be regarded —that his counsels should be received with respect. Thirty years of peaceful residence at home have not disentitled him to be heard, whenever he lifts up his voice on the subject of foreign warfare. But no past achievements, no present renown can make truth other than truth—or error other than error. We may listen reverently—but dissent decidedly. The Duke of Wellington refers to his acquaintance with the hill countries of the Spanish Peninsula, as though such knowledge enabled him to speak authoritatively of the rocky eminences and deep snow-bound defiles of Affghanistan, and the mode of contending with an enemy in a country so fortified. With all his experience of the capabilities of British troops in the most difficult tracts of country throughout the Spanish Peninsula, it seems more than probable he was not much more competent than Sir William MacNaghten—or Mr. MacNaghten as the Duke persisted in calling him to the last—to estimate the ability of our European and Hindustani regiments to overcome the difficulties of the Affghan country and to brave the inclemency of the Affghan climate. But we must return to our crop of poetry.

The next piece, which in due chronological sequence it becomes us to quote, has, we confess, puzzled us a little. It is taken from a volume of poems, entitled "Death and the Magdalen; the memory of Sale; the Idle Scholar's Lament, and other poems: by the author of Crœsus, king of Lydia;" and it is headed *The Khyber Pass.* The author is not a "country-gentleman"—though he is the son of one—but, we believe, a barrister-at-law. Mr. Richards has published several volumes of poetry, the merits of which are not sufficiently progressive to warrant any great hopes of the writer's attainment of poetical

renown. He has reached a certain point of success and there he has come to the halt. Still there is something about him that we like; but what he is doing in the Khyber Pass it is not easy to conjecture. Perhaps, the reader can unravel the mystery more readily than we can. At all events, we will suffer him to try :—

THE KHYBER PASS.

1.

'Twas of the Khyber Pass,
Where many an English soldier gasping fell,
As in a magic glass
A vision o'er me came with breathed spell.
* * * *

2.

Pale limbs a fearful crop
Sown by angry war and death last year,
As they would never stop,
Pil'd and heap'd, and cross'd and strewn appear ;
White, horrid faces stare
From beneath, above, on jagged cliff,
Or deep in hollow lair ;
As in picture motionless and stiff;
Jacket red, with purple stain and cloven cap and wound,
Gaping fresh, as when convuls'd the breast that bore it swooned.

3.

Each, from his shroud of white,
Glares around with icy, blood shot eye
And cracked lips open'd quite,
As in death's last sobbing wintry's sigh :
Sad resurrectionists,
Creeping winds unfasten from strange grave
Friends, or antagonists,
Horse or woman, child or soldier brave :
Every instant, as the snow weeps heavy without sound,
Grows in sight a ghastlier thing from the red bristling ground.

4.

Sturk, in arrest of fear,
See a circled throng with clasp'd hands sit,
As they were waiting there
Death that vulture-like around doth flit :
Seeds of life are in them yet;
Beat the hollow drum and blow the fife !
Shout ! to their feet they'll get.
Seize their pil'd arms and prepare for strife ;
Cry for England and sweet home, unfurl their colours damp :
They rise ! they form ! they march ! with quick and soldier tramp.

5.

Around is turmoil heard,
Child and woman hurry, war-horse neighs,
Each from his rest hath stirr'd—
Forward ! 'midst their rattling, words of praise
Or sharp rebuke resound—
All the warrior-pageant glitters on
Whilst time-beat rings the ground
And twice ten thousand eyes are lit as one

From under plumed shako high, bright helm and cap :
Shrill and joyous carols fife, with the drum's herald tap.

6.

Around, in gorgeous life,
Panoramic winds the pass along,
Caparison'd for strife,
Horse and man, loud cracks the driver's thong ;
And smart artillery,
O'er the rugged path mad-bounding leap,
A glorious sight to see,
Tramp, tramp, each soldier presses up the steep ;
Banners wave and bayonets glance sharply to the sky,
With colours old, whose names of pride are proudly carried by.

7.

When came a hollow scream,
As if all earth, dismay'd gave up her dead ;
At once, with lurid gleam,
The idle, rattling arms to earth are shed :
Then no sound comes near,
Save the flapping of the vulture high in air,
Sailing up the gorge in fear,
Lest any living thing might still be there :
And half wrapt in the careless snows, that ghastly, wild parade
Sunk all again, by stern command of death, in slumber laid.

There is, it must be acknowledged, something sublimely obscure in all this. There is vast confusion—but that may be in artistic harmony with the subject ; and singular inappropriateness of terms, which is in harmony with nothing. The great undiscoverable point is the especial matter of history to which it refers. There are no such associations of carnage—no visions of ghastly heaps of skeletons—connected with our memories of the Khyber Pass. What Mr. Richards was dreaming of was in all probability the *Kúrd-Kabul* Pass. This is, perhaps, a small matter, for a poet, a dreamer and an English gentleman. But the piece is good enough in itself to induce us to express a hope that Mr. Richards will revise his history and treat us to another poem about the Khyber Pass—but it must be a Song of Triumph !

And here we have, indeed, a song of triumph, but we must shift the scene before we give ear to its inspiring notes. We are now upon the banks of the Sutlej. The war of retribution—the deeds of Pollock and Nott—even the stupendous Ellenborough festival at Ferozpore, which ought to have employed a score of poets at the least—still remain unsung. The heroes of the Sutlej have been more fortunate. We have before us a batch of heroic poems in celebration of their exploits. We take up first a little volume, in proper scarlet livery, entitled the "Conquerors of Lahore." It is truly a very inspiring poem. "The subject of the ode," says the poet in a brief explanatory

passage, " required time, numerous verse, and 'a brave stringer of rich words' given to 'feed on thoughts that voluntarily move harmonious numbers.' Measures were to be invented, words composed, written, and sent off, between the last two days of April and the first of May:" what wonder "if madness ruled the hour, and swept with hurried hand the strings."—Whence this compulsory haste this writer does not explain. He merely adds "the written words remain, as they flowed from a heart rejoicing in the safety of a son; and as such let them find a welcome!"—Let them find it! It would be churlish indeed to deny a cordial greeting to one who seems so thoroughly in earnest. We like his fervour. He dashes *in medias res*, and brings down the enemy at once upon us, "like a torrent." Let them come. There are others mightier than they:—

Behold another band
From the redd'ning East led on
By the ruler of the land!
Champion of right! to be a shield
Round Lúdianah evermore!
A name to guard Ferozpore
Renowned on many a battle field!

They are soon in the thick of it. First Mudki, then Ferozshah:—

But again the cannon boom,
And the glaves of thunder glare!
And the whirlwind-edge of doom
Is in hands that will not spare!
Intrenched, not idle lay the foe—
Their brazen engines—one long roar—
Mow down whole ranks, to rise no more,
As scythes the summer herbage mow.
Back by the volleying fire in torment hurl'd,
Still, still is rushing on those ravenous jaws,
That infantry, the wonder of the world!
Night spreadeth o'er the plain—a solemn pause—
Then on the field of blood too dearly won—
Brave Hardinge cheered the brave—*and thou, wert there, my son!*

In a tone of thoughtful calm
He dwelt on other days,
On the wounded dropping balm
Of comfort and of praise.
It was a night of woe and pain—
A long, long, dreary night forlorn—
O for the coming of the morn!
It ripples o'er the purple plain!
Up! charge the battery! mount the breach and storm
The camp, the Sikhs into your hand are given!
Down with the peacock plume! in vain they form—
Quell the blue turban! They are headlong driven
Forozshah! thy tents of Kashmir yield
Thy cannon; and the fame of an immortal field.

There is then brief notice of Aliwal and Sobraon;—and the ode is thus concluded with a string of salutations:—

Conqueror of China, lord of famed Lahore,
Ye brave, devoted to your country, hail!
Hail! thou, who near to Bhundi's sounding shore
Did'st foil the wise and cause the bold to quail!
And thou to me most dear
Of that heroic band,
Whose deeds have made old England leap for joy,
Learn in a foreign land,
The more to love and to revere
The region of thy birth, my lion-hearted boy!

The poet, whose writings stand next on our list, calleth himself IGNATIUS JOHN. He is an Irishman—not a doubt of it. His poem is in the heroic metre and entitled "Advance of the Sikh army upon India." It is almost sublime enough for a Dublin Prize Poem—and was probably intended for one.

After invoking the shade of Kysander, the poet briefly touches upon the past history of India, and dwells for a few couplets, upon the closing scenes of the Affghan campaign—describing thus vividly the

Marksmen unerring, who on that sad day,
When from Kabul the freezing sepoys filed,
Encumbered with their baggage, with cool aim
Shot down the soldiers, as they slowly came;
Pride soon to perish 'mid triumphant shout
And flashing bayonet, 'mid the utter rout
Of all their boasted marksmen. POLLOCK came
With swift avenging horsemen, and the flame
Roared 'mid the bazar of Kabul—that day
Affghanistan for all her faults did pay.

If that last sentence be not over-good poetry, as Ben Jonson said to Sylvester "It is true." Truthfulness, indeed, is the general characteristic of the muse of Ignatius John. His poem is almost as literal as the gazette. We must proceed with our samples of it. The reader will not thank us for blocking up the way with any introductory remarks of our own. Here we are then at once in the midst of the strife of Mudki:—

Their cannon, numbering near
Two hundred pieces, shook the frightened air,
Making swift Sutleg, swollen by the rains,
Wash with extended wave the trembling plains.
The first day's fight began at early eve,
Giving to British soldiers short reprieve,
As bivouacing on the open plain
They cooked their suppers, preparation vain—
Along the lines field-officers swift go,
And cry with rapid voice, "The foe! the foe!"
And soon was heard the heavy booming gun
And rolling musketry. The setting sun,

With rays oblique, showed dark barbarian force,
With heavy foot and wild careering horse,
Long lines of bayonets in barbarian hands,
And heavy guns slow moving o'er the sands :
And soon these cannon levelled by quick eyes,
Belch'd forth their lurid thunders to the skies.

There are some prodigiously fine things in this passage. The "lurid thunders," is as grand as the κτυπον δεδορκα of Eschylus. The Irish, like the old Greek, poet endows the noise with the attributes of a visible object. The cooking of the suppers is introduced with sublime Homeric effect. There is nothing more poetical, judged by the highest standard of heroic poetry, in the entire history of the war, than this incident of the Mudki suppers and the sudden interruption of the meal. It would seem to have occurred almost for the especial use of a Homer or an Ignatius John.

The death of Sale is thus strikingly described. The nationality of the last couplet is very spirit-stirring :—

Night only brought the combat to a close
To be renewed again at early morn,
With shattered ranks indeed, and standards torn,
But with determination none the less.
One man was wanting 'mid that gallant press,
Who gather'd on the morning of that night
Preceding, so terrific in its fight,
Determined to pursue and fight the foe :
Shot down, while leading a determined force
Of heavy infantry, from off his horse,
The gallant Sale fell bleeding to the ground ;
He who amid that dreadful winter bound,
Pent in Jellalabad, saw Affghan horse
Fill the wide plains around him with their force,
Fresh reeking from the slaughter of his friends,
Triumphant in that hour, to death serenely bends,
Falling, like warrior should, in gallant fight.
And they who met on Mudki's jungly plain,
Undaunted, this sulphureous iron rain,
Numbered full many of that Emerald Isle,
Whose sons engaged in civil strife erewhile.

We have then a long digression about these Emerald Islanders —not of the most loyal character as witness the peroration :—

There is a people rising in the west
Who burn to nurture freedom, yea, detest
Thrones and their occupiers ; these would cheer
Ireland in arms. A people yet more near,
A few miles distant, Gallia's fiery sons,
Would not look coldly on Hibernia's cause,
Landing her legions on our teeming shore—
Delightful change from Afric's burning clime !
But I am growing prolix in my rhyme,
Wandering from India to Hibernia's shore :
Forgive my fault and coffee-roomish lore.

The "lore" is not exactly "coffee-roomish." It is rather Old Baileyish. It is of the Duffy and Cuffy school—a little treasonable or so. But that is a small matter in an heroic poem.

Ignatius John is a military critic no less than an Irish patriot. The latter, indeed, is not proof against the earnestness of the former, or we should never have had such strictures as these upon the generalship of an Irish Commander-in-Chief.

> Small honour to the general who planned
> This bull-dog mode of fighting, pressing where
> The foe were strongest, when their utmost rear
> Lay unprotected by one warlike work :
> But thus it was. My muse disdains to quirk
> Or quibble, on sublimest wing prepared
> To range as others in their day have dared.

It will be seen that the poet, when he feels himself treading on dangerous ground pulls up short with an apologetic couplet or two—though, indeed, the concluding lines of the poem leave us in some sort of doubt, whether IGNATIUS JOHN does not think it would have been as well if the Sikhs had conquered India:—

> On came the Sikhs, and with loud cries began,
> On right and left, to pour a deadly fire
> Of shot and shell ; but slowly back retire,
> Before the fierce advance of British war.
> And thus again affrighted India saw
> Her chains more firmly riveted, though now
> Indeed, 'twere better so ; for on her brow
> Glitters indeed a diadem, but shorn
> Of power and splendour, yea, upheld with scorn—
> What mattered it if hostile sabres gleamed
> Amid the streets of Delhi, as they streamed
> When Persia's conqueror made India weep ?
> What mattered it when hostile legions sweep
> Already all the dwellings of her sires ?
> What matters it, but that the Sikh aspires
> To stain her altars with his hateful fires ?

At Mudki fell Sir Robert Sale. We would pause therefore here to transfer to our pages a poem, dedicated to his memory by the writer of the verses on the "Khyber Pass" which we have quoted above. They lack distinctness, but they are written at least in a reverent spirit and there is nothing degrading, nothing suggestive of light thoughts in the mode of treatment. Truly is the death of Sale fit subject for a martial elegy, if fit subject there ever were; all in all, the soldier, his was the soldier's life; and his was the soldier's death. He was emphatically a working soldier—one always in the thick of it, when work was to be done. As before the stockades of

Burmah, so in the breach of Ghuzni, so in the midst of that fierce Mudki conflict, wherever shots were flying, swords and bayonets glancing, there was Sale. Let us see what the poet makes of such a life and such a death:—

THE MEMORY OF SALE.

A song of tears and fire !
To weep and praise the brave,
Who for England's glory fell,
Her name of pride to save :
Let each proud swelling note,
Struck in music from the lyre,
Upon the full winds float,
And to the rapt world tell
That the child of British earth
Hath a twin-heroic birth ;
And though crown'd upon the wave,
Where he rides with dauntless band
He is monarch of the land
That his foes insulting gave
To his sword !

A song of tears and fire !
To mourn and bless thee, Sale !
Though thy couch be dimly spread,
And thy star of life is pale ;
Since on field red-trampled o'er
Thou didst glorious expire,
And our battle-host no more
Thou may'st in triumph head ;
Still thy name we will adore,
Till e'en glory's self be dead,
And the sun of England fled,
And her throne to darkness hurl'd,
And her flag for ever furl'd,
In its stormy ocean bed
Laid to rest !

A pyramid of song !
To honour still the brave,
Who fell, unknown to fame,
In the blood-surge of the wave
Rolling crested through the fight ;
When England's shout rose strong
Above that sulphurous night,
With its fierce eyes of flame
Flashing death-lit through the gloom,
As the cannon's dreadful boom
Toll'd its thousands to the grave :
Let us weep their gallant doom ;
In our bosoms be their tomb !
Since for us their lives they gave,
Far from hence !

Far from their island home !
They must welter there, away,
By the jungle's burning side,
In mute and sad array :

The "mountain girdle" near
Hath no sound of dashing foam,
Or rippling cadence clear,
As around the chalkey pride
Of the "Island-girdle" dear,
Where, with spreading canvas, ride
Our fleets upon the tide:
No! their English hearts cold lie
'Neath a strange and cruel sky,
Far away!

Far away! far away!
And a thousand homes are left
Of the beautiful and brave,
That with beating bosoms left,
High in hope, warm in blood;
When the mother whispered "stay"
And the father doubtful stood,
As he thought of his own grave,
But not of their young death;
And the maiden held her breath,
Till her heart nigh burst with pain,
For she felt she might no more
Those lov'd features wander o'er
With her eyes, whose tears, like rain,
Blinding fell!

Yet once more raise the song!
In deathless, stirring note,
The western shores along
Let it reverberate,
Where in the boastful gale
The "stripes and stars" wild float;
Palsy the Frenchman's hate;
Bend Joinville's pirate mast,
And tell with trumpet blast
England hath plenty of like breed;
Ay! many like thee, Sale!
That shall conquer at her need,
And with thee, victorious, bleed;
Or, amid the storm-shots hail,
Smile in death!

This is *de omnibus*—a general rather than an individual funeral-chant; but, perhaps, on that account better fitted to do honor to the memory of Sale. For Sale was, as it were, the representative—the embodiment of British chivalry in the East. He lived, he worked, he died amongst us. He is the type of the class which the poet delights to honor; and it is fit that with his name should be associated a dirge over all those, who have perished, for their country, "far away," on the plains of Hindustan.

But we must hurry away fast as pen can carry us from Mudkhi to the "Field of Ferozshah," where "a young soldier who fought in that glorious campaign" invites us to accompany him. The young soldier is seemingly a good soldier,

for already is he a sergeant in the First European Bengal Fusiliers. He is none the worse, we will undertake to say, for flirting with the muses, when off parade. There is very little danger in intoxication of this kind. It is better to drink of the Pierian spring than the contents of the Canteen and the Toddy-shop— and after all the critic's lash is more merciful than the drummer's. We hate a lawyer in the ranks; and we do not much like a doctor—but our own experience is rather in favor of scholars and poets. We have not the least fear that Sergeant Bingham will pen a stanza when he should make out a guard report. It is true that one of our batch of poets turned out no very good soldier; but then he never came to be a sergeant, and there are exceptions to all rules.

Sergeant Bingham's poem is dedicated to "his Excellency Lord Gough, K. C. B. (a step backwards in Bath heraldry) Commander-in-Chief, &c." "With the battle of Ferozshah" writes the poet "your name will be honorably and immemorially associated, under the most trying circumstances that could beset a Commander"—rather a left-handed compliment this, strictly interpreted. Lord Gough's name will be honorably associated with the battle of Ferozshah, under very trying circumstances! Very trying, indeed—no doubt! So, at least, thinks Ignatius John; and so have thought others. But we have nothing to do with the enquiry.

Sergeant Bingham's poem is rather in the Pindaric than the Homeric strain. It has somewhat less of the gazette than Ignatius John's epic, but is not without its literalities. It begins with an invitation to the lyre to awake; and then rushes into an "all hail" to the East India Company.

> All hail! Ye Merchant-Princes of the East!
> Ye rule a realm, where Cæsar never trod.
> Fill high the bowl! prepare the sparkling feast!
> But first the due libations pour to God!

This poem is continued through some twenty lines further; and then the author at once pays homage to the historical muse. A brief visit is paid to Mudkhi and the death of Sale*

> * Mudki! long may a halo of glory,
> Spread o'er the field where Britons won fame,
> And Sale met his death, all mangled and gory,
> The vet'ran fell; but left us a name;—
> A name, which Britons yet to be
> Will look upon with noble pride;
> And nations say that such as he
> Ought never to have died,
> The brightest star in glory's pale
> Distinguishes the name of Sale.
> *Bingham.*

is again celebrated in funeral notes. Then come we to Ferozshah :—

> Two days to rest were given ; but on the third
> Our gallant chief advanced to meet the foe,
> Along the ranks he rode, and gave the word,
> '"Britons, remember Mudki !—*fire low !*"

This is equal to the celebrated exhortation—"Put your trust in Providence—and keep your powder dry!" The solemn and the practical are combined with equal effect.

The battle rages—the Sikh mine explodes ;—

> 'Twas as though ten thousand shells
> Were bursting all around :
> Or demons with sulphurous hells
> Had there advantage found ;
> Our line recoil'd, as well they might,
> Struck for the moment with affright ;
> And truly 'twas a horrid sight,
> For human eye to view.
> Our comrades thick around us bled
> While legs and arms about were spread,
> 'Mid mangled corses of the dead ;
> And they were not a few.

The deficiencies of the hospital establishment at this momentous season are well known. Sergeant Bingham sets forth the complaint in verse. It is well, by the way, that the sergeant's effusions should not meet the eye of his grace of Wellington; for the acknowledgment that the British line was "struck with affright" is likely to elicit the indignant ire of the greatest military authority of the age. If it be an offence in a Major-General, commanding a division to utter such unpleasant truths, what must it be in a sergeant of Fusileers? But to the matter of the hospital establishment :—

> Our wounded lay upon the ground,
> But little help was nigh ;
> No lint or bandage for the wound !
> They laid them down to die.
> Their wounds unstaunch'd, with cold and thirst
> Our heroes suffered then the worst
> Upon that fatal plain.
> Many a man whose wounds were slight
> Thro' the fell horrors of that night
> Will never fight again.

There was nothing, the sergeant declares, half so bad as the thirst that the army endured, throughout that great conflict. Water was obtained at last—and what a luxury even dirty water may be to parched lips we have shown already in prose,

and now with Sergeant Bingham's aid, we may demonstrate again in poetry :—

For two full hours were all things still,
Not e'en a shot was heard ;
We each of water drank our fill
While food was being prepared ;
And oh ! it was a luxury,
Though neither pure nor cold ;
'Twas drunk with savage ecstasy
'Twas worth its weight in gold.
Hunger and cold may be endured,
Sickness and wounds in time be cured ;
Death takes all consciousness away
From this our crumbling house of clay ;
But of all pangs, the last and worst
Is that terrific pang of thirst,
Not for proud Delhi's domes of gold
All glittering in the mid-day sun—
Scarce for the Punjab's wealth twice told
Would I the thirst endure again,
We suffered on that fatal plain,
Ere the proud battle-field was won.

We can well believe it. But we must bring our extracts from this battle-piece to a close, with a charge of horse ; Tej Singh appears; the battle is renewed; and Colonel White brings his troopers to the charge.

At length our gallant cavalry
Scarce fifteen hundred men,
The flower of Britain's chivalry
Prepare to charge again.
That gallant chieftain Colonel White,
These heroes bravely led ;
They sought the hottest of the fight,
Their path was strewn with dead.
'Twas plainly marked for all to see
Where charged our British cavalry.

This was enough and more than enough for the Khalsa—and very probably we think, that it is more than enough for our readers. Sergeant Bingham has favored us with another poem on the same subject, in a different metre—but we cannot say that it is an improvement on the first design. In neither have we the best poetry in the world ; but, as the sergeant says, they are " the production of the leisure hours of a poor soldier, to divert the ennui and lassitude of a military life in barracks," and as such we regard the effort with kindness. He might have been much worse employed than in penning these stanzas. The occupation of rhyme-spinning is at least a harmless one ; and as to the matter of publication, that rests between him and his publisher. As he has found one bearing

his own patronymic we trust that part of the business has been settled in a friendly way. At all events the public would have no right to complain if every soldier in the European regiment were to publish a poem on the "field of Ferozshah." For our own parts, though the publishing might well be dispensed with, we wish that all the rank and file in the regiment would follow Sergeant Bingham's example. The discipline of the corps, we may be sure, would be all the better for it.

We have now reached the last volume on our list. It is very comely to look upon—unexceptionably printed and very handsomely bound. Mr. Brooks of Trinity College, Dublin, as a Prize Poet was bound to appear before us in becoming array. He has scrupulously fulfilled this obligation and we can object to nothing in his book but its contents. Poetry, whatever it may be in the Repeal Camp, must be at a very low ebb in the university of Dublin, if a vice-chancellor's prize can extract nothing better than this. With what supreme contempt must Mr. Gavin Duffy look upon these collegiate poetics! Apollo, used to hard treatment as he is in these classic localities, was never more grievously outraged within the walls of an university. We can imagine the deity exclaiming, pained and indignant "Errare malo cum Platone quam cum aliis recte sentire"—which being interpreted is "I had rather go to prison with Gavin Duffy than take wine with Mr. Brooks in his Trinity rooms."

"The victories of the Sutlej, a prize poem, to which the vice-chancellor's first prize was awarded at Trinity College, Dublin," partakes rather of the romantic than of the classic school. It is written in all sorts of measures and no-measures. Fiction is blended with history; the amorous with the heroic; and as in the other poem of Irish origin—that of IGNATIUS JOHN—the sympathies of the bard seem to be less on the side of the British than of the Sikhs.

There is a gentle Leila for the heroine of the piece; and for the hero, the said Leila's husband, who rejoices in the very characteristic Sikh appellative of *Abdul Khan!* The appearance of this gentleman on the scene is thus strikingly announced. Leila had been looking out for him and cursing the British arms for keeping him so long from her's. At length his "mighty tread" is heard; and he steps upon the stage:—

> With flashing eyes that gleamed with sullen ire,
> With lips compressed revealing inward fire,
> With darkly shaded and portentous brow,
> With dignity that made inferiors bow,

With lion heart, unused to bend or fawn,
A chief, a warrior, a hero born,
An Indian, a Sikh, in short—a man!
In stepped—his Leila's glory—Abdul Khan.

This "Indian"—this "Sikh, in short"—has just come from the wars. He is not very communicative at first, being in all probability rather ashamed of himself and his countrymen; but Leila "sets herself with all her art" to beguile the secret out of him; at last she succeeds; and the "mourning chief" begins canto the second with the mournful recital:—

I saw, the sun so brightly shining
O'er the *blue Indus' wave*,
But ere 'twas on that wave reclining,
How many found a grave!
I saw on Mudki's plains advancing
The *stern, invading foe;*
By twilight dim their swords were glancing
In grim imposing show.

It is hard to say whether this "Indian"—this "Sikh, in short"—Abdul Khan is better up in his geography, or his politics. But men, it is true, do not always tell the whole truth to their wives, and Abdul may have wished Leila to believe that he and his companions were injured innocents—very hardly dealt with by the "stern, *invading* foe." Be this as it may, he very soon acknowledges that it is all over with the Khalsa. He thinks Mudki decisive; and he deserves some credit for his prescience:—

Alas, this last, this bitter trial,
I fear will be *suppressed;*
Lahore's brave sons, without denial,
Must crouch with all the rest.

We don't quite understand the force of the word printed in italics—but we cannot stop to be critical on the very verge of such a description of the Mudki conflict as we are now approaching:—

But to return. We met the British force,
Their infantry, artillery, and horse;—

Then come some animating details of the conflict, and the battle is thus concluded:—

From *mount to mount* retreating backward still,
From tree to tree, and then from *hill to hill*,
They bore us in confusion till the night
In darkness ended this disastrous fight,
And though two chiefs lay prostrate *in the vale*
Sir John M'Caskill and *Sir Robert Sale*,
Unceasing slaughter thinned our fated bands
And seventeen cannon fell into their hands.

This is good history at all events—good as a gazette; presuming one to be issued by the Sikhs. It comes out with a good prosaic twang. The line, too, which is given up entirely to the two English generals who fell at Mudki bristles up in the midst of the description with very startling effect. Homer, Virgil, and Milton—the first especially—all delighted in sounding lines of this description made up wholly of proper names. So did the author of the "Groves of Blarney;" and, we believe—speaking from tradition—the great poet Fitzgerald. Virgil is especially great as a recorder of casualties. The twelfth book of the Œneid is a long casualty gazette. It must be remarked too that the picturesque adjuncts are introduced in the above passage with remarkable effect. It is no ordinary poet, who from the dead flat of Mudki conjures up mountains and hills and valleys, with the hand of an artist and the wand of a conjuror. Patches of jungle grow into woods, and mountains are made of mole-hills, when the real poet—or maker—is there to create. But we must pass on to the stirring scenes, which lie before us. The reader will not thank us for detaining him.

The tremendous night of Ferozshah is briefly, but of course graphically described, and Abdul Khan being in a generous mood pays a tribute to Lord Hardinge:—

> But let me give these foes their due
> They are both brave and generous too:
> I saw their chief without an arm
> His son upon a litter borne,
> Regardless of the loss of limb
> Patrol the camp by moonlight dim,
> With kindness sooth the wounded men,
> Re-animate the rest again;
> And as I watched, I wished that he
> Were but a Sikh commanding me.

O, si Sikh omnes!—This "Indian—a Sikh in short," has a tremendous range of vision. He is altogether a terrible fellow —δεινος ανηρ, as Homer says of Achilles; and if he had not perished, as we grieve to say he did at Sobraon, would have been an invaluable addition to the intelligence department of our Army of the Punjaub." He seems to have seen a prodigious number of things, which must have been out of sight; but with some inconsistency of vision could not see Lord Hardinge's arm. We willingly forgive, however, the slight error in the description of "the chief without an arm," in consideration of the generous spirit in which the "Sikh in short," speaks of the British leader. Mr. Brooks's countrymen are not always quite so generous. The most distinguished Irishman of the

present century described, we believe, Sir Henry Hardinge as "a one-armed miscreant"—an atrocity of which Mr. Brooks cannot suffer his "Indian" to be guilty. Abdul Khan had too much of the hero and the gentleman about him to do anything of the kind; and we are certain that the gentle Leila would have rebuked him, if he had so far forgotten himself as to revile his noble-spirited foe.

Abdul soon finishes his story. The battle of Ferozshah has been fought, and the Sikhs have crossed the river to gather up their strength for a new conflict:—

> Resolved to die or else to drive them back—

the Sikh chieftain must tear himself away from his bride's embraces. Worthy of such a husband Leila says she will not detain him:—

> "Go, since glory bids thee go—
> Be victorious o'er the foe."

Brief, expressive, to the point;—and he goes accordingly. We have then a spirit-stirring account of the battle of Aliwal:—

> There are the British lancers charging on
> Exhibiting how battle-fields are won.
> The Sikhs dispersed, some flying all around
> And some expiring on the bloody ground.
> Here hand to hand the fight is fiercely raging,
> The Aieen troops and 50th Foot engaging.
> Charge upon charge and sally after sally,
> Destroy the Sikhs as they attempt to rally.
> Guns, howitzers, belch forth their horrid flame,
> And groans attest their well-directed aim.
> Numbers who sought in flight their life to save,
> In the dark flowing river found a grave,
> Six thousand Sikhs in death's embraces bound,
> Lay mangled corpses on that fatal ground;
> And they who 'scaped unscathed the fearful fray
> Took nought *except their beards and lives away.*

This is too fine to require any comment. Besides our readers, like ourselves, must be anxious to get to Sobraon. We are soon there—in the very next line of the poem:—

> Sobraon now presents itself to view;—

And the sight is so spirit-stirring that the poet, in the plenitude of his martial excitement, soon begins to stagger in his rhymes; and then looses them altogether. The Sikh entrenchments are thus graphically described:—

> On th' other hand, the Sikh defences lie,
> Impenetrable to th' unpractised eye;

With double batteries ranged semi-circular,
With triple lines of ramparts perpendicular,
Redoubts, fascines, epaulements inaccessible,
And all that science could account invincible.

But all this is of no avail. The fight commences—and the Sikhs are thoroughly beaten:—

The thunder of the ordnance
Resounded in the mighty combat,
Reverberated through the Sutlej vale.
There were seen Sikh chiefs
Standing on the very cannon,
Shouting—cheering;
And see the British flag uprises
On the summit of the ramparts.

Here the Prize Poet, finding that he has fallen into prose, makes a desperate attempt to recover himself, and flings about his rhymes famously, regardless of every thing else:—

"There is dashing—
Crashing—
Clashing."

After this paroxysm he becomes a little steadier and continues:—

"And here the Gúrkhas with their sabre knives
Are rushing onward, reckless of their lives;
At every blow
There falls a foe,
Hurried to the shades below.
Thus at last the Sikh entrenchments gained,
A close and terrible attack remained."

This brings us, we are happy to say, very nearly to the end of the poem. There is a great slaughter, and amongst other men of note Abdul Khan has the misfortune to be slain. The deaths of the several chiefs are recorded in a very striking manner:—

There Hera Singh yields up his parting breath,
The brave Sham Singh devotes himself to death,
And here again Molboriach Ally
Advanced, to be discomfited and die.
Yonder, whilst leading on his rallied force,
Is Kishun Singh seen falling from his horse;
And then whence comes that purple-flowing strain?
Alas! the valiant Abdul Khan was slain.
As falls the stately fir tree, so
Our hero bowed him to the blow.
Too brave to save his life in flight
He sought the thickest of the fight,
There amid a heap of dead,
Pierced with wounds he laid his head,
Soon his noble soul was gone,
And Leila was left alone.

Never surely was the death of a hero sung in so heroic a strain. Homer did not kill off Hector, nor Virgil Turnus, in so gallant a manner. The list of the slain chiefs is quite in the manner of those poets—and here we are at the final dispersion:—

> An awful rout and slaughter then began,
> As to the river the defeated ran;
> For whilst they strove its torrents to repass
> Volleys were poured into the quivering mass.
> To add fresh horror to the fearful scene,
> Their tents in fierce, high mounting flames were seen.
> Thus British arms and power won the cause,
> And all the Punjab bows to British laws.

This is setting the matter much more decisively than Lord Hardinge was able to settle it. The art of bowing to British laws has yet to be learnt, in prose, though poetry disposes of the difficulty in a couplet.

We have now done with the poets. We have discharged a duty; we have repaired an omission; we have unburdened our conscience—and little more remains to be said. We could have wished for our own and our readers' sakes that the verse-books on our table had been of a more noticeable character. But we cannot gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. There has been but a sorry crop for our reaping—but we have labored hard to make the most of it. It is not our fault that the out-turn is so little attractive. One thing however we have done—and the reader, we think will give us credit for the exploit. We have shown him some poetry as bad as ever was written, on any subject or in any language. It would be difficult to match it. To find a lower deep in this lowest deep would be utterly impossible. There can be nothing deeper than the profound depths of these Dublin poetics.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

An Analytical Digest of the reported cases decided in the Supreme Courts of Judicature in India, in the Courts of the Hon'ble East India Company, and an appeal from India by H. M. in Council, together with an Introduction, Notes illustrative and explanatory, and an Appendix. By William H. Morley, of the Middle Temple, Esquire, Barrister at Law, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Asiatic Society of Paris. 2 *Vols.*

The publication of Mr. Morley's Digest commenced in the year 1846, with a specimen part, which obtained for it, the necessary support of that portion of the public which is interested in the subject: and the work has proceeded since to ten parts intended for two volumes: five of the parts are composed of a Digest and are destined for the first volume; and five, of Notes of decided cases not before published, and other appendices, for the second volume.

Mr. Morley, in his specimen part, explains the nature and utility of his undertaking.

"The difficulty of attaining a knowledge of the law as administered in our Indian territories is well known to all who have attempted the task, and it is a matter of surprise that so few works exist which tend in any way to facilitate its study. It is submitted that a collection of decisions, arranged alphabetically, cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance to the student, the attorney, the barrister, and even the judge, both in India and in this country, *no work of the kind existing at present*, and the reported decisions being spread over a multitude of volumes, of which many are not readily to be met with, even in India.

I have collected and arranged upwards of 4000 decided points; and these comprise *all the cases* contained in the printed reports, besides many others, which have till now remained in MS., and which have been kindly communicated to me by learned judges."

The decisions collected come from two main and different sources, the Queen's or Supreme Courts—which are, the Local Courts of the Presidency towns, having a jurisdiction generally over British subjects elsewhere;—and the Company's Local and Sudder or Chief Courts throughout the rest of India.

Mr. Morley's description of the law which obtains in the Supreme Courts, though familiar, may interest many of our readers.

"The law which now obtains in the Supreme Courts at the three Presidencies may be classed under seven distinct heads.

1. The Common Law as it prevailed in England in 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by Statutes especially extending to India, or by the Acts of Government.

2. The Statute Law which prevailed in England in 1726, and which has not

subsequently been altered by Statutes especially extending to India, or by the Acts of Government.

3. The Statute Law expressly extending to India, which has been enacted since 1726, and has not been since repealed, and the Statutes which have been extended to India by the Acts of Government.

4. The Civil Law as it obtains in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts in England.

5. Regulations made by the Governor-General in Council, under the 13th Geo. III. c. 63. s. 36. and 37. ; 39th and 40th Geo. III. c. 79. s. 18. ; 53d Geo. III. c. 155. s. 98. and 99. ; and the Acts of Government made under the 3d and 4th Will. IV. c. 85.

6. The Hindú Law, in all civil actions in which a Hindú is a defendant.

7. The Muhammadan Law, in all civil actions in which a Muhammadan is a defendant.

To administer justice under these various codes of law, the Supreme Courts are, by their Charters, vested with five distinct jurisdictions, Criminal, Civil, Equity, Ecclesiastical, and Admiralty ; and they are enjoined to accommodate their process, rules, and orders to the religion and manners of the natives, so far as the same can be done without interfering with the due execution of the laws and the attainment of justice.*

An appeal lies from the Supreme Courts in India to Her Majesty in Council where the amount in dispute shall be upwards of Rs. 10,000."

The law of the Company's Courts is scarcely less miscellaneous. It consists of the regulations formerly passed by the different Presidency Governments and Governor General in Council and the Acts of the Legislative Council: of the Hindú and Muhammadan Law in all Civil cases, where Hindús and Muhammadans respectively are defendants : of the Muhammadan Criminal Law in all criminal cases ; and of the *Lex Loci* when the Company's Courts exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects, and in some other cases.

Mr. Morley referring to the Hindú and Muhammadan Laws, deems it necessary, he says, "to give some account of the various doctrines entertained by the native lawyers, in which districts and amongst what sects they prevail, and of the native works on which such doctrines are founded:" the disquisition which follows this introduction will be found to afford much useful information to the student of these different systems.

Neither of the volumes being at present completed, we will quote here Mr. Morley's statement of the proposed contents of them:—

"Vol. I.

Preface, containing a detailed account of the Establishment and Constitution of the several Courts of Judicature in India, of the diffierent species of Law administered therein, and of the Authorities on which such Laws are based.

List of Abbreviations of Reports and other Works referred to.

Table of Titles.

Digest of Cases.

Addenda containing Cases to the time of publication.

Glossary.

Index of Names of Cases.

Index of Regulations, &c., referred to or construed in the Cases digested."

* 21 Geo. III. c. 70. s. 19.

Vol. II.

Appendix.—Sir Erskine Perry's notes of cases, sent to me by the learned judge from Bombay, and till now unpublished. Printed *verbatim.*

A Minute on Police by Sir James M'Intosh, also sent to me by Sir Erskine Perry, and unpublished. Printed *verbatim.*

An Analysis of the Acts of Government.

Reprint of the existing Charters of the Supreme Courts.

A Summary Account of the Land Tenures in India.

It is impossible to calculate the *exact* extent of the Work ; but it is estimated that it will comprise two volumes of from four to five hundred pages each."

We would on no account detract from the value or importance of this compilation: and with no unfriendly feeling we would point out to Mr. Morley, that his first volume already amounts to nearly 600 pages, and has still seven letters of the alphabetical series of the Digest, yet unpublished, besides the Introduction, Tables and Index. This cannot be helped ; and the more voluminous the Digest, the better. But the second volume has proceeded nearly to the same length, and the Charters of the Supreme Courts of Madras and Bombay are still to be added ; and the price to the Indian purchaser is becoming inconveniently high,—equal to six pounds in English money. The celebrated pagoda tree has ceased to grow in India. We would therefore recommend Mr. Morley to bring the second volume, to a conclusion as summarily as possible. The Analysis of the Acts, are, we presume, intended to be omitted, as it does not appear in the order or place indicated for it. The summary account of Land Tenures in India, may, we think, also be advantageously omitted ; we apprehend it will be found scarcely cognate to the principal object of the work, and probably would be of little interest or use to many who would wish to have the Digest ; and in India, at least, copies of the Charters are not wanted. The Minute on Police, by Sir James M'Intosh though valuable as a relic, is quite superfluous : indeed the only proper materials for a second volume or appendix, as it appears to us, were the notes of cases.

Of the execution of the Digest we cannot speak too favorably. The professional classes who are concerned in Indian Law, will derive the same kind of aid from it, as the English lawyers from Harrison's and Chitty's Digests. It is, however, a Digest of several cognate, but not identical systems: the doctrines of Hindú Law especially vary in the different presidencies : a doctrine which prevails at Bombay may not be law or custom, or recognized in Bengal or in the North Western Provinces ; and with reference to this diversity it would be convenient in a future edition if the presidency in which the decision was pronounced were shewn on the face of the Digest.

From the Digest, turn we now to the second volume or appendix. The really valuable part of this volume consists of the notes, by Sir Edward Hyde East of cases decided by *himself* (so described) in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and notes by Sir Erskine Perry of cases decided by himself and his colleagues at Bombay. We must express

our great regret that these cases are not headed with an abstract or brief statement of the subject adjudicated upon or of the points decided. This addition would very much have enhanced their practical value, and was due to the learned persons from whose pens the notes emanated. Such abstracts might yet be added at the end of the volume. These cases occupy about 500 pages: of themselves, a tolerably ample *appendix:* we have cursorily perused them: Sir Erskine's we particularly commend; many of them are on points of great public and political importance, forming land-marks, as we deem, of the law for other Courts and future Judges: and displaying great vigour of mind and a high degree of judicial ability. In conclusion we sincerely trust that Mr. Morley will reap the full reward which is due to his useful and honorable labours.

Selections from the Essays of Oliver Goldsmith. Calcutta: Printed for the Council of Education, 1849.

The natives of India have great reason to congratulate themselves on the exertions which men in high official stations have made on their behalf. These gentlemen too have grounds of self-satisfaction that they have been permitted to be useful to people with whom they have been for a time thus officially connected. Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice of Calcutta, as President of the Committee of Public Instruction, put forth his greatest efforts to promote the intellectual improvement of the natives of the land. He was succeeded by the Honorable Charles Hay Cameron, whose well-stored mind and classic pen were vigorously employed in directing the attention of the students of the Government College and Schools to their self-improvement. We have now the Honorable J. E. D. Bethune, Esq., editing a revised and selected edition of Oliver Goldsmith's poems and Essays and preceding the work with a preface from his own pen.

We have always entertained a favorable opinion of many of Goldsmith's writings. Nor are we disposed to quarrel with the estimate Mr. Bethune has formed of them. Were this edition not intended for the study of Hindú youth, we should not have thought it necessary to notice it, though it is an offspring of the Calcutta Press. However, under existing circumstances, we feel bound to notice the preface which heralds the advent of the Calcutta Editor. As it is not long, we here insert it entire:—

"PREFACE.

The easy homely style of Goldsmith's Essays makes them very fit to be taken into the course of study followed in the English Schools of this country. Young persons often mistake turgid diction for fine writing; and this fault appears to be one into which the Hindú Students of English are very apt to fall. Goldsmith's simple manner, of telling in plain words what he means to say, may be studied by them with advantage. The character given to him by Dr. Johnson in his epitaph, is well known. "He left untouched hardly any kind of writing;

and touched none which he did not adorn." Johnson's admiration of Goldsmith's style is remarkable, as his own was wholly different. Among Boswell's anecdotes is one, that Goldsmith, in conversation with Dr. Johnson, was speculating on his own fitness for writing a good fable ; and observed that, in most fables, the animals introduced seldom talk in character. " For instance," said he, " the fable of the little fishes, who saw birds fly over their heads ; and, envying them, petitioned Jupiter to be changed into birds." " The skill," continued he, " consists in making them talk like little fishes." While he indulged himself in this fanciful reverie, he observed Johnson shaking his sides, and laughing. Upon which he smartly proceeded : " Why, Dr. Johnson, this is not so easy as you seem to think : for, if you were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like WHALES."

I have quoted this anecdote at length, in hopes that it may be usefully applied by some who read these remarks ; and that more than one student may remember, when tempted to the use of gorgeous metaphors and grandiloquent phraseology, that " little fishes ought not to talk like great whales."

The principle by which I have been mainly guided, in the selection I have made from Goldsmith's Citizen of the World and other Essays, for the use of the Government Colleges, has been to omit all those which were aimed at local peculiarities only, and obsolete ridicules ; and which seem to contain no lasting satire, nor any moral of general application. I have expunged some indelicate passages, which appear only as blemishes on the work of this amusing writer. Religious allusions also have been generally struck out. Goldsmith had very loose opinions in religion, and was not altogether free from the common error of mistaking profane levity for wit. In a work intended as a class-book for the young, I felt no scruple in erasing every thing having this tendency.

The book has been printed from the 12mo. Edition of Goldsmith's Miscellaneous Works, published at London in 1834, which was the only one available to me for the purpose. The notes also of that edition have been retained, with some omissions and alterations ; and a few more have been added. I entertained the idea at one time of appending notes to those frequently recurring passages, where Goldsmith's maxims are to be received with considerable qualification ; but, on fuller consideration, I resolved to leave this task to the teacher, who may often make such passages the text of useful discussion and examination. It will be sufficient to premise a general warning to the young reader, that he must not learn to look on the doctrines, either of morality or of philosophy, contained in this book, as unquestionable. It must be added, however, that Goldsmith had a very keen sense of the humorous : and in the Chinese Letters, the critic must sometimes beware how he accuses Goldsmith of narrowness or mistake, where his object has been to ridicule, (in the person of the same philosopher whom he generally employs to satirize the rest of the world,) the pretensions of travellers, to pronounce oracularly on the wisdom or justice of laws and manners, with which they are imperfectly acquainted.

J. E. D. BETHUNE."

Calcutta, 1st January, 1849.

The Editor observes with regard to Goldsmith's style, that it is "*easy homely*." Now we think that neither of these epithets can be justly applied. In the first place his style of writing is *difficult*, and in the next place it is *elegant*. Nor can it be successfully imitated without elaborate care. It is therefore so far unsuited to the purpose for which it is intended.

Another objection to its being employed as a text book is, that the information conveyed in the essays is on the whole *local ;* and the subjects, so often trifling, that they are utterly inadequate to guide and direct the study of youth and improve their minds. A text book should be rich in information, sound in every kind of doctrine, and subservient to the morals of youth. In the essays of Goldsmith, there is an absence of these qualities and they are in conse-

quence ill-adapted for the study of pupils whose minds are yet uninformed and whose understandings are uncultivated.

The reason too which prompted Mr. Bethune to undertake the task of making selections from Goldsmith's essays, is in our opinion, insufficient. Suppose that "Young Bengal" were fond of labored conceit, and generally wrote in an ambitious style,—might not this, upon the whole, be an advantage? The style will be sobered down and the conceits will be abandoned, *as the scheme of education begins to be more practical than it is.* It is no bad sign to see young men *attempt* writing fine. There is some hope of them. To write, from the earliest attempts, in a tame manner is prejudicial. A tame and stilted style is usually the index of mental poverty. At all events, it is always an easier and more hopeful task to lop exuberance of its redundancies than to endow barrenness with fertility. We have not in our experience, seen in the writings of Hindú youth any extreme tendency to the use of "gorgeous metaphors and magniloquent phraseology." They are not all Edmund Burkes.

We must in candor state, that in the very prosaic style of the Editor, we do not see any thing very commendable. On the other hand the whole of the last paragraph is obscure, and very incorrectly written. We did not expect to find a mistake like the following: "*The book* has been printed from the 12mo. Edition of Goldsmith's Miscellaneous works, published *at* London" The Italics are ours. Who will brighten with intelligence the following sentence? "I entertained the idea at one time of appending notes to those frequently recurring passages, where Goldsmith's maxims are to be received with considerable qualification; but on fuller consideration, I resolved to leave this task to the teacher, who may often make such passage the text of useful discussion and examination." Then, Mr. Bethune thinks it "*sufficient* to premise a general warning to the reader"—and then, he *adds* a particular feature of Dr. Goldsmith's mind and warns the *critic.*

What we have however been most surprised at, is, the following passage:—"religious allusions also have been generally struck out." And why? Allow that "his opinions in religion were very loose." An examination of such opinions by a skilful "teacher" might be as useful as the *allowed* "discussion and examination" of Goldsmith's doubtful "maxims." But the fact seems to be that the local Government is afraid to mention a word on the subject of the Christian religion. It is to the great official men, a hydra. Every sincere respect is paid to superstition, to idle and antiquated prejudices—"the brood of folly and of ignorance bred,"—but no respect is paid to the Christian religion. All this the friends of Christianity—the friends of the rising generation of Hindús—cannot but deplore. But this is a subject on which it is vain for us to write. With reference to it, our leading politicians, at home and abroad, seem to be smitten with hopeless judicial blindness. To the President of the Council of Education and his co-adjutors, we recommend the careful perusal of the following extract, from a letter addressed by Bishop Middleton to

a friend in England, upwards of *thirty* years ago (1817) on the prospects of Christianity in India :—

"I am aware that Christianity has vast difficulties to overcome. But I am also convinced that the prospect within these very few years is considerably improved. The natives, especially those of the higher class, who have much intercourse with the English, begin to feel the weakness and deficiency of their own systems, and evince a strong desire of knowledge ; and I am called upon, sometimes, to explain to Hindús, at their own request, the evidences of Christianity. They do not, indeed, say much. But their minds are evidently at work ; *and they certainly display no bigotry, and betray no alarm with regard to the diffusion of our religion.* The wealthy Hindús have just set on foot a school, or college, without any aid or countenance from the government, who (very wisely, I think) have wished the work to be done by themselves. I enclose a copy of the regulations. The superintendant is a military officer, and the only Englishman connected with the establishment. Without such assistance nothing could be done. As no grammars, or other school books, could be found, into which the subject of religion did not enter, the superintendant was obliged to adopt the books used in English schools. But to avoid all appearance of seeking to make converts, he tore out, or pasted over, the passages which related to Christianity. This was observed by the managers, who are all Hindús of wealth and consequence ; when one of them wrote to the superintendant a note, of which I send you a copy, evincing the feelings of this class of people respecting us. On the same occasion, two of the managers declared that they had read the Bible, and had found nothing in it which could do their children harm."

The *note* which the Bishop here mentions is as follows :—"I have looked over the accompaying two books, and found nothing to be struck out ; but felt very much for the passages pasted over, and consequently beg of you not to spoil any other books in a similar way ; as the boys, whose parents are averse to allow them to read whatever alludes to the Christian religion, may leave out the same.

To F. Irvine, Esq. "(Signed) Radhakant Deb."
Jan. 17, 1817.

From the foregoing statements it is clear, that, had Government men, from the first and all along, been faithful to their calling as professing Christians, things might now have been on a very different footing, from what they really are. Have they not much to account for, as the chief authors of the retrogressive process ?

An account, Geographical, Historical and Statistical, of the Chinese Empire ; from the earliest antiquity to the treaty of Nanking : comprehending, a full and circumstantial description of its Dependencies and Tributaries : Chinese Tartary, comprising Mongolia and Mancháría ; Tibet ; Formosa ; the Loo Choo Isles ; Cochin China ; Corea, the Kingdom of Hami and Tonkin, in the Urdú language. By James Corcoran, author of the Jowhar-i-akhláq, &c., Urdú translator Sudder Adáláts, Fort William, Vol. I. Calcutta : W. Thacker and Co., Baptist Mission Press, 1848.

No one who has ever read fifty pages of the Bagh-o-Bahar, or the Kirad Afroz but must entertain a very high estimate of the capabili-

ties of the Urdu language as a vehicle for history. It has abundant sources from whence may be drawn at will synonymes and epithets of every imaginable shade: its verbs are regular in their conjugation: its grammar, though complex in some respects and hardly defined in others, is yet very far removed from general confusion or even intricacy: as a language it is pleasing to the ear when recited, or when spoken with purity and elegance: in short, it lacks nothing but a few really good standard works on popular topics, from the pens of qualified individuals to become as eminent amongst oriental tongues for its literature, as it is now universal for mere purposes of intercourse and mutual convenience.

It is therefore with real satisfaction that we hail this attempt on the part of Mr. Corcoran to introduce Urdú scholars and educated natives generally to some knowledge of the Chinese Empire, which, from its isolated condition, its fortunes, and social policy, bears in many points a strange similarity to the great Indian Peninsula. We had rather see the types of oriental Presses employed on works of this sort, than on antiquated Sanskrit and Arabic manuscripts, however interesting the latter may be to the deeply read oriental scholar. In the first volume now before us, we have the general Geography of the Empire, and the manners, local statistics and revenue of the several provinces. We have too, a notice of the machinery of the government from the Emperor's prerogative down to the internal police of each city, and information on interesting questions from the different classes of Mandarins to the quaint science of Chinese gardening. In the second volume, not yet passed through the Press, we are promised the political history of the kingdom from its earliest ages.

The style employed by Mr. Corcoran throughout, is essentially that of the highly wrought and finished Urdú. Here and there we may detect a slight redundancy of Persian expletives, and a tendency to a free use of that full and forcible language. But there is nothing false or vicious in the style, and it is no mean praise to say that in one or two places we have been incontinently reminded of the admirable Bagh-o-Bahar. As far as critical accuracy goes, we think that few, if any, Urdú scholars would be able to detect any provincialisms in the work. It might in short have been the production of a well-educated Mussulman gentleman. Press of work has prevented our acknowledging Mr. Corcoran's volume hitherto, but we can only conclude by expressing a hope that the second part may maintain the prestige of the first. and amply repay the author for his labours, both in fame and in profit.

With this decidedly favourable impression of Mr. Corcoran's undertaking, we here insert his own explanatory preface entire:—

"PREFACE.

Thirteen months ago this volume should have been published.

As, however, from our late appearance, no deprivation of amusement or instruction has resulted to the Public, apology is unnecessary when there exists no probability of complaint.—But, since, some explanation, on the occurrence

even of partial failure in fulfilling an engagement, is expected, we therefore only state the cause which has chiefly retarded the publication of the present volume.

The Prospectus exhibiting a specimen of this "ACCOUNT *of the* CHINESE EMPIRE," and announcing the issue of the first volume in October 1847, was in course of circulation, when, the writer was appointed Urdú Translator in the Sudder Adáláts, Fort William. The hours, which, heretofore, had been solely devoted to the preparation of the work for the press, became engaged by official duties; and the sedulous discharge of their high functions by the Judges of the Court, dissevering, by zeal and despatch, the proverbial union between law and delay, rendered the translation of their decisions into the vernacular, an employment the very opposite of a sinecure.

No alternative remained, but, to devote towards the completion of this undertaking, those portions of time, when, even the industrious rest from labour and the serious relax in amusement.

In a work of imagination, such additional exercise of the mind, far from being oppressive, contributes to recreation, recruiting its energies for severer exertions.

The nature of a composition of this kind is quite different. In the former, the fancy roves at pleasure; every step of the latter is exposed to scrutiny: the natural conduct of the story; the skilful unravelling of the plot; and the development of character, are all that may be expected from the novelist; to obtain materials from research and to classify them without confusion; to ascertain the principles of action; to trace their connexions with other motives which escape observation, and to detail consequences lucidly, are demanded of the historian: in one, freedom of choice remains; the use of incident and language depending on invention and eloquence; in the other, every event must be not only veracious, but authenticated by indisputable authority; and each expression must faithfully delineate the object of description: finally, marvellous adventures alone, bestow interest on fiction; careless execution injures, inaccuracy destroys, the character of historical relation.

To what extent we have discharged obligations so heavy as these, others must decide; but consciousness of their importance increased our solicitude, when, on the few opportunities we possessed, the necessity was imposed of collating authorities, reconciling discrepancies and of deliberating between the reasons which recommended the adoption, or justified the rejection, of facts comprehended within the limits of our subject.

Embarrassed thus, by insufficiency of leisure and other minor impediments, our work could not have made a quicker progress.

We might have been more hasty, but we would certainly have been less correct. The better part was, therefore, on this conviction, chosen, that, if matter for approbation existed, apparent tardiness would be readily excused.

In deduction from the value of our labours, objection may be taken to the practice, which we have invariably adopted, of omitting the attestation of facts, by marginal evidences of each individual source of authenticity.

We might, in justification, plead the custom of modern history, which allows the insertion in the Preface of a list of Authors consulted, to be sufficient for the purpose of comparison.

By this, however, we have not been influenced in the present instance.

The natives of India are intended to be our readers,—and, had they been able to consult the particular descriptions of China, which are extant in several European languages, then, this work would not be, as we have been told it is, desiderated.—In such a case, we would not have attempted, as we could not hope, to rival the least of those productions.

Under present circumstances, therefore, when, but an inconsiderable number of the people are conversant with English, and fewer still, with the learned or continental languages, it would have been useless and ostentatious to load our pages with the proofs of historical precision.

It ought, moreover, to be remembered, that our performance has very humble claims, and does not pretend to occupy the position of history, composed from

recently discovered records; or from original information gained by travel. The Arabian and Persian historians, in their occasional mention to China, have excited, but not sufficiently allayed the inclination to enquiry: and the substance of their gorgeous texts, implies, that in comparison with *Khatá* the mighty monarchies of the world have had an ephemeral existence; and that, even the surge of Scythian inundation, so destructive to the nations, has, without effacing the landmarks of her ancient Institutions, rolled away from her breast, after fertilizing the soil with the elements of prosperity. If we except the itineraries of Ibn. Wahâb; Ibn Batútá; and the slight notices in the Bíná-Kíti and the Jámiu-l-Táríkh; no information, beyond similar generalities can be obtained from oriental writers; and a compendium of the materials existing in foreign idioms, was undoubtedly in request.

To clothe, therefore, the subject with an interest that might induce some one abler in talent to deem it worthy of attention, this work was undertaken; and in abstaining from allusions to the fountain-head, we have proceeded on the assumption, that the reading of the European Public, does not require, and, that all native readers, for obvious reasons, cannot test, our references.—Though we have thought it superfluous to fortify the margin with quotations, merely to conceal the weakness of the page, we hope, however, it shall be distinctly understood, that, no fact has been made any use of, upon the truth or verisimility of which, the majority of authorities have not agreed.

What respect is due to their names, the enumeration of the following works will show:—

Du Halde's Déscription Géographique, &c. de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise.
Grosier's Description Générale de la Chine.
Martini's Déscription Géographique de la Chine.
China by Barrow.
" " Kidd.
" " Medhurst.
" " Gutzlaff.
" " R. M. Martin.
Mémoires sur les Chinois (Amiot.)
Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.
Voltaire's Essai sur l'histoire Générale.
Gibbon's Rome.
Gaubil's Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute la Dinastie Mangous.
Systema Phoneticum Scripturæ Sinicæ.
Marshman's Clavis Sinica.
Bibliothéque Orientale (D'Herbelot.)
Staunton's Macartney's Embassy.
Chinese Repository, seven Volumes.
Palafox's History of the last Tartar War.
Lieut. Ochterlony's Chinese War.
Dr. McPherson's Chinese War.
Hodgson's Essay on Buddhism.
De la Croix's Histoire du Grand Genghiz Can.
De Guignes' Histoire Générale des Huns.*
Phipps's China and Eastern Trade, &c. &c.

As our efforts have, from the first draft of composition, to the last stage of revision, received no assistance, the toil of correcting the Press, having also been, to ensure exactness, personal; we trust, that consideration of the difficulties with which we have had to contend, may soften the severity of any stricture, of which, our errors, literary and typographical, may be found deserving.

* From this work we have derived much benefit, and consider a translation of it so necessary for the better elucidation of Eastern history and geography, with which natives are not usually conversant, that a version presented to their curiosity would be a genuine service to Literature. We entertain the wish, if not exactly the hope, of hereafter commencing a translation of that great work, and may choose, as a medium, the Persian, which being an easier and more catholic language than Urdú, is better adapted for communicating information to the educated of all parts of Asia.

The History of the Conquerors of Hind, from the most early period to the present time: containing an account of the Religion, Government, Usages, and Character of the inhabitants of that kingdom. By Maha Raja Apurva Krishna Bahadur, Honorary Poet to His Majesty the King of Delhi, and Member of the Hamburg Academy, &c. &c. &c. Chap. 2. Calcutta: Bengal Catholic Orphan Press, 1848.

We now turn to another oriental work though of a very different stamp and calibre from the preceding. The former part of this story has already been cursorily noticed by us, and further detailed criticism would be superfluous. But we are always happy when native gentlemen can employ their time in useful or harmless pursuits of this nature, which probably serve to instruct or amuse no inconsiderable number of the Author's private circle of friends.

The poem, which is in Persian, is accompanied with an English translation. The present chapter is an apparent digression from the original design of the work—being an account of the emperors of Persia in direct descent from Timúr. But the learned and noble Author apologises for it, on the ground of its being necessary "with a view to embody the detached accounts of the ancestors of his present Majesty of Delhi." As a specimen of the contents and English translation, we quote the following:—

"Sultan Shah Rokh, born, A. D. 1375, was the fourth son of the Amér Timúr. He held the government of Khorassan on his father's death and appears to have declined entering into any contest for the Crown of Tartary.

He was a brave and generous, but not an ambitious, prince. During his reign of thirty-eight years, several expeditions were undertaken, in which generally victory was gained with very little bloodshed, and his very name was in certain cases sufficient to make the enemy retreat from the field of battle. He re-built the walls of the cities of Herat and Mero, and restored almost every town and province in his dominions to prosperity. This prince also encouraged men of science and learning: and his court was very splendid. He loved his sons, nephews, and relatives all equally; who in their turn were very submissive to him, and even when they were found to be disobedient he generally forgave them, except in extreme cases, when rigorous measures were necessarily resorted to. He quieted any dissensions that happened to arise betwixt them, and paid due homage to his elder brother, Míran Shah. In short, nature endowed him with all amiable qualities. He gradually obtained possession of all his father's conquests without a struggle. He cultivated the friendship of cotemporary monarchs; and certain embassies passed between him and the Emperor of China, as follows:

When the King Shah Rokh returned from his expedition to Seistan, ambassadors, who had been sent by the Emperor of China to condole with him on the death of his father, arrived with a variety of presents, and represented what they had to say on the part of their monarch. The King, after showing them many favours and civilities, gave them their dismissal.

About this time ambassadors from Day-ming Khan, Emperor of Chin and Machin, from Khezr Khan, Governor of Hindústan, from the Amírs of Persia and Affghanistan, with their tributes, and from several other kings with their presents, arrived at Herat. His Majesty Shah Rokh issued orders on this occasion, that the city and the bazars should be decorated, and that the merchants should adorn their shops with all possible art and elegance. The Lords of the court also went out to meet them, to signify that they regarded their coming as an

auspicious event, and conducted them into the city with the utmost honour and ceremony. It was a time of rejoicing, like the day of youth, and of gaiety, as on a night of nuptial festivity. His Majesty ordered the royal gardens to be bedecked like the gardens of Paradise, and sent his martial and lion-like yesavals to assign every one his proper mansion. After which his Majesty himself, radiant with a splendor which resembled the sun, ascended his throne, as that glorious luminary when in the zenith of his course, and bestowed upon the chief of his lords, and on the ambassadors, the happiness of kissing his hand. The latter, after offering him their presents, delivered their message. The purport of what the Chinese ambassadors said on that occasion, and the letter they brought from their Emperor was as follows :

" The Great Emperor, Day-ming, sends this letter to the country of Samarcund to Shah Rokh Bahadur.

" As we consider that the Most High God has created all things that are in Heaven and Earth, to the end that all his creatures may be happy and that it is in consequence of his sovereign decree, that we are become the Lord of the face of the Earth, we therefore endeavour to exercise rule in obedience to his commands ; and for this reason we make no partial distinctions between those that are near, and those that are afar off, but regard them all with an eye of equal benevolence.

" We have heard, before this, that thou art a wise and excellent man, highly distinguished above others, that thou art obedient to the commands of the Most High God, that thou art a father to thy people and thy troops, and art good and beneficent towards all ; which has given us much satisfaction.

" But it was with singular pleasure we observed, that when we sent an ambassador with Kimkhás, and Torkos, and a dress, thou didst pay all due honour to our command, and didst make a proper display of the favour thou hadst received, in so much that small and great rejoiced at it. Thou didst also forthwith dispatch an ambassador to do us homage, and to present us the rarities, horses, and choice manufactures of that country. So that, with the strictest regard to truth, we can declare, that we have deemed thee worthy of praise and of distinction.

" The Government of the Moguls was some time ago extinct, but thy father, Timour Fûmâ, was obedient to the commands of the Most High God, and did homage to our Great Emperor Tây Zûy, nor did he omit to send ambassadors with presents. He (the Emperor) for this reason granted protection to men of that country, and enriched them all. We have now seen that thou art a worthy follower of thy father, in his noble spirit, and in his measures ; we have therefore sent Dujichûn Bayaz-kasay, and Hararâ Sûchû, and Dan-ching Sadasun Kunchi, with congratulations, and a dress, and Kimkhás, and Torkos, &c. that the truth may be known. We shall hereafter send persons whose office it will be to go and return successively, in order to keep open a free communication, that merchants may traffic and carry on their business to their wish.

" Khullîl Sultan is thy brother's son ; it is necessary that thou treat him with kindness, in consideration of his rights, as being the son of so near a relation. We trust that thou wilt pay attention to our sincerity and to our advice in these matters. This is what we make known to thee !"

Another letter was sent with presents, and contained a particular account of them ; besides one calculated to serve as a pass, which was to remain with the ambassadors. Each was written in the Persian language and character, as well as in the Turkish language with the Mogul character, and likewise in the language and character of China.

His Majesty attended to the letter, and apprehended its meaning with his usual penetration : and after he had understood the objects of the embassy, gave his assent to them all, and then gave orders that the lords should entertain the ambassadors. When the affairs of the Chinese ambassadors were settled, they had an audience of leave, and set out on their return. Shaikh Mahomed Bakshy accompanied them as Envoy on the part of his Majesty, and as the Emperor of China had not yet assented to the Mussulman faith, nor regulated his conduct by the law of the Koran, his Majesty, from motives of friendship, sent him a letter of good advice in Arabic and Persian, conceiving, that perhaps the emperor might be prevailed upon to forsake Vedism and embrace the faith.

"To the Emperor Day-ming, the Sultan Shah Rokh sends boundless peace!

"The Most High God, having, in the depth of his wisdom, and in the perfection of his power, created Adam, was pleased, in succeeding times, to make of his sons prophets and apostles, whom he sent among men to summon them to obey the truth. To some of those prophets also, as to Abraham, Moses, David, and Mahomed, he gave particular books, and taught each of them a law, commanding the people of the time in which they lived, to obey that law, and to remain in the faith of each respectively. All these Apostles of God, called upon men to embrace the religion of the unity, and the worship of the true God, and forbade the adoration of the sun, moon, and stars, of kings and idols; and though each of them had a special and distinct dispensation, they were nevertheless all agreed in the doctrine of the unity of the Supreme Being. At length, when the apostleship and prophetic office devolved on our Apostle Mahomed Mustafa, (on whom be mercy and peace from God,) the other systems were abolished, and he became the apostle and prophet of the latter time. It behove, all the world, therefore, lords, kings, and viziers, rich and poor, small and great, to embrace this religion, and forsake the systems and persuasions of past ages. This is the true and right faith, and this is Islamism.

"Some years before the present period, Chengez Khan sallied forth, and sent his sons into different countries and kingdoms. He sent Jojy Khan into the part about Sarây, Krim (or Crimea,) and the Thusht Kafchâk, where some of the kings his successors, such as Uzbek, and Jani Khan, and Uras Khân, professed the Mussulman faith, and regulated their conduct by the law of Mahomed. Hulâku Khan was appointed to preside over the cities of Khorassan, and Irâk, and the parts adjacent, and some of his sons who succeeded to the government of those countries, having admitted the light of the Mohammedan faith into their hearts, became in like manner professors of Islamism, and were so happy as to be converted to it before they died. Among these were the king Gazan, so remarkable for the sincerity of his character, Aljây-tu-Sultan, and the fortunate monarch Abousaid Bahadur, till at length the sovereignty devolved on my father Amír Timour (whose dust I venerate). He throughout his empire made the religion of Mahomed the standard of all his measures, so that in the times of his government the professors of Islamism were in the most prosperous condition. And now that by the goodness and favour of divine providence, the kingdoms of Khorassan, Irak, and Maver-ul-Naher are come into my possession, I govern according to the dictates of the holy law of the prophet, and its positive and negative precepts; and the Yergu and institutions of Chengez Khân are abolished.

"As then it is sure and certain that salvation and deliverance in eternity, and sovereignty and prosperity in the world, are the effect of faith and Islamism, and the favour of the Most High, it is our duty to conduct ourselves with justice and equity towards our subjects; and I have hope that, by the goodness and favour of God, your Majesty also will in those countries make the law of Mahomed, the Apostle of God, the rule of your administration, and thereby strengthen the cause of Islamism. That this world's few days of sovereignty may in the end be exchanged for an eternal kingdom, and the old adage be verified, 'May thy latter end be better than thy beginning.' Ambassadors from those parts have lately arrived here, have delivered us your Majesty's presents, and brought us news of your welfare and of the flourishing state of your dominions. The affection and friendship which subsisted between our respective fathers, is revived by this circumstance, as indeed it is proverbial that, 'the mutual friendship of fathers creates a relationship between their sons.' In return we have dispatched Mahomed Bakshy as our ambassador from hence, to acquaint your Majesty with our welfare. And we are persuaded that henceforward a free communication will be maintained between the two countries, that merchants may pass and re-pass in security, which, at the same time that it contributes to the prosperity of kingdoms, is what raises the character of princes both in a political and in a religious view. May the grace of charity, and the practices of the duties of amity, ever accompany those who profess to walk in the right path."

Day-ming Khan, Emperor of China, having again sent ambassadors to his

Majesty, they arrived in the month of Rabiaul-Avvul, or May, the chief of them were Bibâchin, and Tûbachin, and Jâtbâchin, who came attended by three hundred horses, and brought with them an abundance of rarities and presents, such as Shonkârs, Damasks, Kimkha stuffs, vessels of China-ware, &c. They also brought royal presents for each of the Princes and the Agas.

With them came a letter, the contents of which consisted generally of an enumeration of past favours and civilities, and of expressions of confidence in the future continuance of his Majesty's friendship. The points more particularly insisted on, were, that both parties should strive to remove all constraint arising from distance of place, and a diversity of manners, and to open wide the doors of agreement and union, that the subjects and merchants of both kingdoms, might enjoy a free and unrestrained intercourse with each other, and the roads be kept open and unmolested. The ambassadors were handsomely entertained, and at length, as on former occasions, received their dismission, when the King sent Ardashêr Tavâchy back with them to China."

My Note Book of Rules and Regulations, Collectory and Foujdarry, by Henry Currie Tucker, Agra Civil Service. Calcutta: Printed and published for the Compiler at the Baptist Mission Press, 1848. *Price Rs.* 24. *Applications for Copies to be made to the Superintendent of the Baptist Mission Press.*

Mr. Tucker having formed a Note Book of considerable variety and size, appears to have kept it in his Cutcherry or Office, for the use of his subordinates and others connected with the duties in which he was employed: and their experience and testimonies of its usefulness, have induced him now to publish it. This much we collect from the Preface.

"My notes having been useful to myself and to my subordinates, I am induced to think that a transcript in print may be of some service to my younger fellow servants, and to the large and important, rising class of Uncovenanted Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors."

The precise character of this work is not indicated in its title or preface, and it is therefore for us to endeavour to describe it. It is partly an index, partly an abstract, and occasionally rises to the completeness and dignity of a digest. When Mr. Tucker had a point of practice or law to consider, having ascertained it, he made a note of it: the note in such instance consists of a proposition, and a reference to the Act, Regulation or Order in support of it. Such was the manner in which the "Note Book" originated and grew.

The multiplication of notes of course rendered some classification necessary; they have been classed under titles, denoting the subjects; and these subjects have been arranged in alphabetical order. For example, the first subjects and titles are, "Abduction—Abkarri—Abortion—Absconding and evasion of process—Absence, leave of—Abuse—Abwab—Accessory—Accounts—Administrations."

In some titles we observe, there are subdivisions; as:—APPEALS, is a general head and under it, we have the following:—"General

Rules,—Appeals of Police —Appeals from Justices of the Peace." Under the head Commitment, we find ten subdivisions: and under the head Treasury, twenty-four subdivisions. It is surprizing that the public service should have been left to the present day without any work exactly of this kind. Mr. Tucker apologizes in his preface for its many faults of omission and commission. Not being intended to be a complete index to the law, mere omissions of subjects are scarcely to be imputed as faults; and of faults of commission we do not perceive any, for which we might hold Mr. Tucker responsible, unless it be a superfluous title on EDUCATION, in which Mr. Tucker has ably expressed our sentiments; and, therefore, in the highest point of view we approve, what as artists and critics we might censure as digressions, (or as Mr. Tucker expresses its faults of commission).

In a very condensed form, the notes comprise a great body of practical information. As some of our readers probably may have the same curiosity as ourselves, we will give a specimen of some of the titles, e. g.:

"BRITISH SUBJECT, *European*. 1. *Definitions*. The illegitimate son ' of a European, by a native mother, can be tried for adultery, but a ' married woman, the legitimate child of a British father is not amen- ' able to the local courts on a similar charge. Con. 978, Sept. 11. 35."

We do not blame Mr. Tucker for putting this under the title of a definition,—which strictly it is not, but it involves one:—it would be as just to blame him for the badness of the law of which his text is the mere exponent; and which is a consequence of the slave holding principle, *partus sequitur ventrem*.

Mr. Tucker's next proposition under this head is, "Illegitimate children considered of the same country as their mother;" which keeps a numerous, but we hope not increasing class, in a state of legal degradation.

Next comes the following:—"All Europeans, not British subjects amenable to the Magistrate like natives (C. 1, S. 19, VI. 03.)" According to this rule, the French, Germans, Dutch and other Europeans are brought under the criminal law of the Mahommedans, unless they are protected by treaty; which, however, we are not aware of.

Mr. Tucker's last proposition under this head is—

"The onus probandi of proving an exemption rests with defendant ' claiming it 2, N. A. R. V. III. Con. 759. Feb. 18, 1833."

This maxim bears most upon the Eurasian or East Indian; the Frenchman or the German is brought under Mussalman law and the Company's Criminal Jurisdiction, merely by reason of his foreign origin; and which, be it observed, it can be no insult to impute to him: the *legitimate* Eurasian—on the other hand, is not subject to that jurisdiction: but the East India Company being jealous of his class, a degrading presumption is established against him, and unless he has proof of his *legitimacy* at hand, he is treated as the son of the bondswoman. What is meant in the above rule by proving an exemption is, proving the legitimacy of his birth, for that is the ground of exemption.

Our reader will pardon these digressions. The law generally is such slippery fish, that the chance is rare of getting hold of it: but presented to us on Mr. Tucker's hook we could not forbear from momentarily handling and examining it, and it is some recommendation of Mr. Tucker's Note Book, that this use may be made of it.

These extracts are sufficient to give our readers an idea of the nature and scope of the work; but the typographical arrangement also ought to be mentioned. It was Mr. Tucker's Note Book: it may now be any body's else who purchases a copy of it; for whole pages are left blank, under important heads or titles, and every page has a very broad margin, and spaces are left between the different propositions to allow the possessor to fill them up with new propositions.

We think we cannot better conclude this brief notice than by giving the following extract from the preface:—

"I trust that this humble attempt to assist others may be judged leniently, and its many faults of omission and commission pardoned. It has no pretension to be a correct and carefully prepared law book, a work which I have neither time nor strength nor ability to execute: but it is simply what its title denotes, my private Note-book of Rules and Regulations, printed on the best paper with blank spaces as in the original, for the insertion of new Rules as they come out. Many who would not take the trouble to write out a Note Book for themselves, may, I hope, be induced to *keep up* the one thus commenced for them."

"This Skeleton may also be useful to young men wishing to obtain a knowledge of the Regulations, but puzzled how, or where to begin. By referring to the Regulations and Rules herein noted, they will obtain a pretty good idea of the law in daily use in a Magistrate's and Collector's office."

Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Tomes, 1. 2. *Paris,* 1839.

This work is printed under the patronage of the Oriental Translation Fund, by Monsieur de Tassy, well known as a second Gilchrist in Urdu philology. The Hindui, which had succeeded the Sanskrit as a spoken language probably about the 11th century, contributed along with the Persian to form under the auspices of Mahmud of Ghizni and Timur, the *Urdu* or camp language, which bears the same relation to the Hindi as the English language does to the Anglo-Saxon. Wherever the Moslem sword waved in India the Urdu accompanied it—it was the badge of conquest. Why has the Government of Agra trod in the steps of the Mahommedans and given a monopoly to the Urdu language, the language of a portion of the people, to the exclusion of the Hindi, the indigenous language of the great mass of the people,—why should not the Hindi be allowed its due importance as an organ of Government?

Monsieur Tassy points out the treasures of biography hidden in MS. in Central India in the Urdu and Hindi. These languages are as the vehicles for propagating religious reform, as the Reformers in Europe used the vernaculars. Monsieur visited England twice to procure and consult MS. for this work, which exhibits profound

research and indefatigable inquiry—we hope that the Bengali language ere long may also have a person who will give us a history of it. Monsieur Tassy notices in his work 950 different publications and 750 authors from the 12th century to the present day, he treats particularly of the writers in the Dakhni Hindi; in the second volume he gives extracts from and analysis of Hindi works.

Monsieur de Tassy notices the following authors *Abd Ulkadir* who translated the Koran into Urdu, which he printed at Hugli in 1829, and a second edition in 1832; this met with an extensive sale among Musalmans—an evident indication of the decline of their prejudices —*Ashef-ud-Daula*, the Nawab of Oude, who died in 1797 and composed many poems—*Adham* who wrote verses in praise of those who loved God, among whom he includes the Virgin Mary, Musalman saints, Ganesh and Krishna,—an instance of the latitudinarian spirit of Sofiism—*Hakan Ali*, who married an English lady and kept her in his *haram* for 10 years—*Babá Lál* who was also a philosopher, he founded a sect, whose tenets were a medium between Sofiism and Vedantism—*Bihári Lál*, "the Thompson of India"—*Birbhán*, the founder of the *Sadhs* or Indian Puritans—*Chand*, the poet of Prithi raj, the last Hindu king of Delhi in the 12th century, part of his poem has been translated by a Russian—*Hajjam*, a barber of Delhi, who repeatedly received the approbation of the literary societies in that city for his poems—*Jafer Scherif*, author of the Quanun-e-Islam, which has been translated by Dr Herklots, and gives a very faithful picture of the manners and customs of the Musalmans—*Kabir*, a weaver, the author of the *Bhakta Mala*, lived in the 15th century; he is venerated both by Hindus and Musalmans and both parties claim him as belonging to their sect. He is one of the most ancient writers in Hindi. He repudiates both the Shastras and the Pandits, the Koran and the Mullas, and from his doctrines Nanak, the founder of the Sikhs, drew his own—*Kali Krishna* of Calcutta, born in 1806, author of a translation of Grey's Fables into Urdu—*Kesava Das*, who lived at the close of the 16th century, his writings form the link between the ancient Hindi writings of the natives and the modern Urdu works of the Musalmans—*Nabhaji*, author of the Hindi standard work, the Bhakta Mala—*Raj Krishna*, born in 1782: his father was *munshi* to Warren Hastings, and he accompanied Lord Clive to Delhi in the capacity of Secretary. Raj Krishna's grand-father was pay-master to the Nawab of Arkot and was killed in fighting with the Mahrattas. The Raja's grand-father took an active part on the side of the English about the time of Mir Jaffer—he presented the Government with the land on which St. John's Church, Calcutta, is built. *Ruid Narayan*, a distinguished Urdu writer of Hugli—*Surat*, author of a translation of the Vetal Panche vinsatí, which he made at the request of Jaesingh, Governor of Jaipar, a magnificent patron of learning—*Tahsen Uddin* author of "the adventures of Kamrup."—"On Goethe's reading a German translation of it, he declared it to be invaluable and that the perusal afforded him the greatest pleasure."—*Tulsi Das* lived in the reign of Shah Jehan, he commenced his Ramayan in Benares, A. D. 1576, in the 31st year of his age.

In an appendix we have a sketch of various other works such as these of Dr. Breton who labored indefatigably in diffusing a knowledge of European Medical Science through the Urdu.—Roebuck's Proverbs—A Catechism composed in 1751 by Capuchin Missionaries at Bettia—Schulz, Gospel of Luke printed in 1749.

As in the East generally the Arabic language followed in the train of the Moslem conquerors, so in India the Urdu, as chiefly of Persian origin, was the favorite language. Of this we have an instance in the various poets mentioned in this book who lived in the Court of Murshidabad. The following are recorded:—*Ali*, *Asch*, *Amasie*, who composed hymns in honor of Husain and sang them himself from the top of the minarets of Murshidabad, about A. D. 1770—*Aschuffta*, *Aulye*, *Azad*, *Azhar*, *Dardmand*, *Firak*, *Galib*, *Haidar*, *Hamdam*, *Hasrat*, *Intizar*, *Khelik*, *Majnun*, *Makhrim*, *Mayil*, *Mukhlis*, *Nadim*, *Rind*, *Shahate*, *Tasuir*, *Uzlat*, *and Walih*.

The notices of writers in Hindi are few and scanty—it was not a language in favour, with the Moslem conquerors, and their British successors seem to have adopted the same policy—a most unwise one for their own interests. Why should not Hindi be an organ of administration in the Upper Provinces along with the Urdu? The Urdu is spoken chiefly in cities, while the Hindi is the language of the masses. From the circumstance of the chief writers in Urdu having been residents of Lakhnau and Delhi and knowing Arabic and Persian, they have formed the language after a Persian and not a Sanskrit type. Literary reunions were established in these cities for the cultivation of the language. In modern times it owes much to that monument of the patriotism and foresight of the Marquis of Wellesley—the College of Fort William, which has fostered the talents of various learned Maulavis, and afforded scope for the exertions of a Gilchrist, who has been indefatigable in his exertions to promote the study of this language among Europeans.

These volumes do much credit to the researches of Monsieur Tassy, and are most important for every one desirous to know what the state and history of Urdu literature have been. Monsieur Tassy has conferred signal services by his various excellent works on different oriental subjects.

The Bengal Medical Code,—and the Bengal Medical Service.

Although the labours of a reviewer are usually called for by some work, or series of works, to which they are solely restricted, yet the field is often so much more extended, that he need not hesitate to break other ground. Such is the case at present, and it may be permitted to wander far from the volume supposed, for form's sake, to be reviewed, and leaving the scanty information laid down for the guidance of the medical service, to consider the position of the service itself, and whether it may not be improved.

During past years a considerable degree of soreness has been felt

by members of the medical profession on account of grievances affecting them unfavorably, as compared with their military brethren. That grievances, infringing, both on rank and emolument, do to a certain degree exist is undoubted, and partial vent has been given to feelings irritated by such grievances; yet, though the medical service is a numerous body endowed with sufficient intellect and character, its cry would appear small—no louder indeed than the chirp of a field mouse. We do however believe in the redress of such grievances;—we also believe in the Millenium.

It is not however our present intention to obtrude private wrongs on an uninterested public; but, as the constitution of the medical body affects the community at large, we would consider points in which that constitution is defective, and which render nugatory the efforts of a large body of officers for carrying on miscellaneous duties, and three boards for the performance of unknown duties. With praiseworthy care, the duties of medical officers are reduced within the narrowest possible bounds. Indeed, beyond attending patients, and furnishing, what in effect prove, very useless periodical returns, we know not that other duties exist.

To understand the efficiency of any body, it need scarcely be premised that their laws are most likely to afford the required information. Let us then take up the Bengal code of regulations for the medical department for 1838, and examine the result it leaves upon the mind. We may suppose a newly landed Tyro with high aspirations, and a somewhat nervous feeling of duty and responsibility, furnished with these regulations for his guidance in every possible or impossible contingency; we may imagine his severe study and anxious attempts to extract some settled opinions from the united wisdom of our Indian rulers. At length, having painfully groped his path to the end, he can but consider the code as a set of miscellaneous triflings, the offending against every article of which would render him neither a worse man nor less efficient officer, while the only system they effectually carry out is to render the medical profession a cypher in the hands of Government.

In confirmation let us glance over the regulations by which the Medical Board is guided, consisting of thirty-eight articles contained in eleven pages. Of these twenty-two regulate the granting of sick certificates: the twenty-fourth orders a confidential report on certain of the medical staff: after this follow instructions regarding six reports to be forwarded to other departments, and permissions granted to pass certain indents on the commissariat, and to address Government directly regarding public medical buildings: they conclude with five articles, settling rank and emoluments. Moreover we find from page 149 that the Medici are wine tasters to the commissariat.

We doubt whether a more comprehensive order than No. 1 could be penned. Article 1.—"The Medical Board will superintend, under the Commander in-Chief in India, the management of the medical department and the conduct of all persons employed in it." Observe the results. After this highly promising opening the immediately succeeding articles, twenty-two in number, with various riders, al-

together regard sick certificates. Is it then too much to suppose, that the chief part of their duty consists in supervising sick certificates, or, in other words, that the Indian army possesses a board of three officers, ranking as colonels, with salaries of three thousand rupees a month, as a check to malingering on the part of English officers?

Their having to report on the eye infirmary for the information of the Court of Directors speaks honorably of the anxiety of the Home authorities for the clear sightedness of the natives, though it appears scarcely necessary.

Article 31 contains a curious proof of the subordinate position of the Medical Board. "The Military and Medical Boards are considered in communication with one another on questions respecting expenditure in hospitals." It is so noted in the margin; but, when we come to examine the wording of the order in question, we find the communication is all on one side. The Military Board, whenever any difficulty arises, may ask questions from the Medical Board, but, "alas poor ghost," the latter cannot speak till it be spoken to; and every one knows that advice is more frequently asked than acted on.

After looking over so many articles which cramp and render nugatory the board, we must now confess that we come to some orders which grant a certain amount of substantial power, some dignity, and respectable rank and emoluments. "The Medical Board may, under very particular circumstances, object to retrenchments made by the Military Board." Article 33 empowers them to an act of a purely executive nature, and it is the only case of such power granted; we give it in full. "The Medical Board is authorized to pass indents on the commissariat department for articles required for the use of hospitals when necessary." We presume as a sop for their very subordinate position, they are permitted the honor of addressinig Government direct, on the subject of public buildings. Now these are truly gratifying concessions, and serve to show in a marked manner the moderation of the board. Common opinion attributes to those endowed with small powers a morbid pleasure in their use; we are pleased then to find that the board are not continually objecting, for ever indenting, and like Mr. Toots carrying on a constant correspondence with distinguished personages.

Such are the regulations for the due governance of the sentient head ordained to guide the medical profession in the performance of their duties to Government, and, if the pretensions of promise compared with its inconsequences are somewhat amusing, not less so is the homily on the importance and responsibility of superintending surgeons when compared with the regulations pointing out that responsibility, Chapter 1. Section 2. Of superintending surgeons.—"The right honorable the Governor in Council deems it necessary to call the attention of superintending surgeons to the importance of the office they are appointed to fill, and the great degree of responsibility which attaches to their situation. It will be the especial duty of all superintending surgeons minutely and scrupulously to enforce the most strict and undeviating execution and observance of the rules and regulations now established for the medical depart-

ment of the army under this presidency. It can be only necessary to add on this head, that the responsibility that is invested in superintending surgeons will be best appreciated by contemplating the extensive benefits that will result to the public service and to the important interests of humanity, from a strict, constant and minute exercise of the superintending controul and authority with which they are invested, and on which his Lordship in Council deems it fit to declare, that their continuance in office or otherwise must absolutely depend." This is, we observe, a sort of sermon, addressed ex cathedrâ to superintending surgeons at large, and divided into four heads—first, the doctrine of the responsibility of their class—secondly, an exhortation to perform their duties—thirdly, a moral call on the good fixing their attention on their utility—and fourthly, a severe threat to the evil-minded. Such an exordium would lead the uninitiated to approach with awe the consideration of these mighty duties, yet, having perused all the articles from page 12 to page 44. we come to the conclusion that article 7, page 14, contains the marrow of a superintending surgeon's duty.—" It will be the especial duty of superintending surgeons of division, by a frequent personal inspection of regimental and all other hospitals, within the limits of their circles to ensure the most unqualified attention to their professional duties on the part of the subordinate surgeons and assistants. to inspect with particular attention the journals of their medical practice, to correct the errors of inexperience by instruction to those who require it, and in general minutely and scrupulously to enforce the most strict and undeviating execution and observance by all concerned of the established rules and regulations of the department." Thus after the formal proem, we find, visiting hospitals, inspecting journals, and correcting forms, constitute about the sum of their responsibility :—but hold, we observe they are no less than twice called upon to inspect the cooking pots and pans ; it is a pity that in addition to a writer and stationery allowance, they are not allowed a tinker and something for kulyias. Of the forms it were hard to know the value, except that this is a country of forms : but it is worth enquiring whether two annual reports would not give a more succinct and useful history of the transactions of the year than the 106 forms shewn in pages 21—23. One cannot, however help contemplating with deep wonder the inky rills of information, trickling towards each office, there concentrating in a river to join with kindred streams, till it rushes on a mighty current towards the abyss of Government profundity.

We observe from page 44 to page 71 some sixty-two articles for the guidance of those subalterns of the profession, surgeons and assistant surgeons. Such of them as are mere matters of form appear good in their way, but rather solemn trifling. Many more belong to the subject of pay and allowance, rank, uniform, &c., which, whether good or bad. is without the scope of the present paper. Moreover as these grades of the service collectively are of little moment to the community at large, it is enough to say that regulations for their supposed Government exist, and that, with those regarding civil surgeons as far as

page 84, they may be passed over as though they existed not. From page 89 to 95, are regulations regarding conveyance of troops across sea. Though every thing in any way affecting their health under these circumstances ought perhaps to be entrusted to the hands of the medical department, we will not at present remark on the subject, further than to say the regulations appear for the most part good: we may except clause No. 2 of the instructions which is somewhat illiberal, calling on the ship captain or skipper to act as a superintending surgeon.

In the regulations regarding military hospitals, it will be observed that a very large portion of the articles apply solely to military officers and not to the medical staff.

Article 7, page 118 appears very invidious. Superintending surgeons and commanding officers may with propriety be called on to sign the various papers of medical officers, though it might be better if the counter-signature of the superintending surgeon were in all cases sufficient; but that, when casual European soldiers are left in charge of the medical staff at civil stations, the bills for their maintenance should require the counter-signature of the magistrate, or senior civil servant, when a magistrate may be present, is, to speak mildly, highly invidious. Yet it is but a part of a system of depreciation: the skipper signs the medical officer's journal; the senior civil servant, when there is no magistrate, counter-signs the bill; and consequently, it may be, that an officer and gentleman is obliged to have his bills guaranteed by his junior, it may be, by a native official. If the officer may not be trusted, it were at least more decent, that the superintending surgeon should countersign the necessary document. But enough: there appears throughout, the same legislating for trifles, and a determination, whenever practicable, to shelve the medical service and perform its duties vicariously.

Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.—It is no doubt true that perils with their concomitant sufferings endured, afterwards become pleasant memories, and the growl with which they were endured is forgotten. It is indeed strange that in pain, bereavement, and peril, lie the germs of pleasure and safety; but for their expansion the soil of an energetic and well-cultivated mind is required. Here as elsewhere the phenomena of Governments are but modifications of the laws governing individuals. Thus we find an irresistible pleasure in recalling scenes of national probation; whilst a course of peril calls forth unexpected latent energies not alone sufficient for safety, but also proving a barrier to a recurrence of danger. To ensure the latter point, however, it is needful that there be eminence of peril or of suffering, vitality of Government, and thoughtfulness in those of high station,—a thoughtfulness infinitely preferable to showy talent or imposing abilities, as it alone can loosen the bands of prejudice, take an unbiassed view of varied and comprehensive interests, and in success remember past dangers and provide against their recurrence. Now let us ask, when our armies have taken the field in what manner the arrangements for their sick and wounded have been hitherto carried out? we believe the answer would be that there has been no

arrangement; that in consequence there has been much individual suffering, and much future expense entailed on Government. This is stating the question in its mildest form. Again let us ask, why, with years of experience in all parts of the world, this suffering and expense have not by proper arrangements been prevented? we find, in answer, that the suffering has been individual, that the world is accustomed to it, that those whom it affects think but little of it till it arrives and forget it when past, and lastly that authority has more pressing, labours than providing for contingencies, which, if unavoidable, are future and may be distant. We can scarcely then imagine that Government will yet make such provision; but, if it did so, it were worth the enquiry, how could such provision be most readily and effectually made? The answer we believe is simple;—*leave it to its medical servants, and render them responsible.*

From what has been advanced, it appears, that, as a body, the medical service is lifeless, and that the cause of this lifelessness is to be found in a want of responsibility and consequent authority in its higher grades—paralyzing ability and energy throughout. How can a body act whose brain is in a state of lethargy? The communicating wires of a military or commissariat board, transmitting the influence of an Adjutant General's office, can but cause the inanimate body here to fling out an arm, there a leg, but real consentaneous life there is not. Now this is but little felt in the ordinary routine of cantonments; nor even generally during the peaceful incidents of a march from station to station. But sad indeed is the difference during the harrasing progress through a hostile country, where the mortality from the elements is often greater than that caused by a foe. Even those who have never witnessed it may well picture forth the tale of suffering by some endured; by others more happily succumbed to. A complete want of arrangement in the medical department; a want of carriage, stores, and medical officers; over-crowded hospitals, if there indeed be any hospital save the threatening pall of an inclement heaven; on every side agonizing claims for aid,—the surgeon, doubting who most requires it, turns from his severe duty to find that he is separated from even the few necessaries he had possessed, and is thrown on the resources of extemporaneous expedient at the moment when the most perfect command of the appliances of his profession is requisite. How may this be counter-vailed? Surely not by an economy which limits the extra medical staff allowed to an army in the field, to a superintending surgeon; and, when field hospitals are employed, to a surgeon on 600 rupees a month allowed salary, and as many surgeons and assistant surgeons for the duties thereof as are necessary and can be spared; for whom, as no staff salary is named, (we presume) beyond bare pay nothing is sanctioned; to also an assistant surgeon as store-keeper on a salary of 250 rupees per month, who shall invariably, in addition to that charge, afford such medical attendance on the sick as may be required of him by the surgeon in charge of the hospital.

It seems as though one asserted a truism, to say that a nation might prepare during peace for successful war: yet the Romans seem to be the only nation who have done so, if we are to believe Vegetius, who

represents them exercising in peace with arms and armour weighing double those used on the battle field. Now though drilling soldiers with double sized musket and knapsack might not be advisable, yet establishments might be taught during peace to become serviceable, or remodelled if inefficient.

The first step necessary to infuse new life into the medical service would be a total disruption from every other board than their own, and the formation of boards necessary for medical duties in subordination to it. To many this would appear needless, circumscribed as the functions of the profession now are; but a wider field of utility belongs to it which we hope at some future period to see opened; meantime a slight sketch of the duties of such boards will show them to be no sinecures.

A board formed for the sanatory management of troops in motion would have a wide field of practical utility, as the following slight summary of its duties will show. To it would belong all arrangements of medical staff and hospital attendants, hospital apparatus medicines and carriage: in case of troops proceeding in ships or boats, it would be necessary to superintend the arrangements, to see that the vessels were sufficiently ventilated, not over-crowded, and that the provisions were of a proper quality; indeed to examine every thing supplied, on which in any way health depended, not only for the sick, but for the healthy. To it ought to belong the regulation (as far as public emergency will permit) of the proper season for moving troops,—the acquaintance with encamping grounds on the line of march, as regards rivers, nullahs and jungle,—the nature of the soil, and any peculiar endemic relations so common in India. For the comprehensive performance of such duties, a large amount of correspondence would be needful, as every medical officer whilst marching would be in communication with such a board, and for its guidance it would gradually collect a topographical report of every mile travelled by troops in India. These duties, we imagine, would supply an ample field of labour for a board of medical officers; and this, be it remembered, is only their employment in time of peace.

During a campaign, a part of the board, according to circumstances, would be detailed on the superintending surgeon's staff, who would find an ample field for their energies in the following labours: the perfect and unfailing supply and carriage of every article required for the sick, (the arrangements being made totally independant of the commissariat,) as also the care of supplying carriage for the sick. We may here be allowed to digress slightly, and to say a few words regarding the carrying of the sick in the British army. On this point no arrangement exists. We know that medical officers have paid attention to the subject, but it does not appear that much encouragement is given to prosecute their researches. Of all awkward and expensive contrivances the dooly appears the most so, and we must have borrowed largely from the apathy and indolence of our Hindú fellow-subjects, else it had long ere this disappeared from our establishment. Were there no other objection to it, the number of the worst and most disorderly of all camp followers, least under European surveillance, who must

be subsisted, were enough to condemn the dooly establishment. In difficulty, danger or starvation we can well imagine *their* services of small avail. Next comes whatever may be the common conveyance of the country; and if, as is not unfrequently the case, the village hackery is not procurable in our own territories, how can we expect to find them always at hand in an enemy's country? Even when found their use appears but small; a man who could move at all would prefer the support of his own limbs to the racking of the uneasiest vehicle human ingenuity ever devised. "They manage these things better in France." Napoleon paid much attention to his ambulance, and every thing connected with it. "Fas est et ab hoste doceri," and from him much might be learnt. It may be asked what is to be substituted for the dooly, the hackery or bullock? The answer must be confessed to be difficult. Some doolies for extreme cases we may suppose must always be used; but a due arrangement of depots and field hospitals might do away with the necessity of using many bearers; and possibly well-constructed, well-horsed carts might almost supersede bullock hackeries. Carts drawn by two or four stout nags might carry twelve men sitting dos a dos. They could be readily brought into action, and could speedily carry the wounded to the rear. Something of this sort was we believe used, if it is not now, in the army of the empire: however, we can no longer follow out this most important point, which would require much space for its due consideration. Let us then return to our original subject, the field duties of the medical staff. They would require to search for eligible sites for hospitals, such as forts, and the larger houses of the better class of natives, which, with suraies, mosques and temples, would in many instances form admirable extemporaneous hospitals, especially with the aid of the raj. They would also require (in communication with all medical officers attached to the force) to draw up the fullest medical topography of the country occupied; and, when permanent occupation was intended, with them would rest the sanatory survey of sites selected by the military authorities for stations or posts. The perfect performance of these duties would, we think, be ample employment for one board; which for its guidance would require the gradual compilation of a carefully digested code.

Important, from its duties, as such a board would be, we must now bring forward one which we think is even more so. As the first would be more particularly a sanatory board for troops in motion, the great duty of the second would be to take charge of the health of troops in quarters; to it might would be added the sanatory charge of jails. It might also form a committee for the country in general on matters of medical police, more especially for the larger towns. The native is personally clean but collectively foul; and, notwithstanding the fine organization of the Hindú race, their olfactory apparatus, whether blunted by use or adapted to the country by nature, is decidedly obtuse. If their villages are not clean, dirt increases at a progressive ratio in their larger towns; and though sanatory regulations are required more here than in England, not even could a London Alderman more strenuously oppose their introduction than would every class of the native commu-

nity. There is a wide field of labour for a board like this, as it would comprehend, besides a mere attention to matters of medical police, all causes moral or physical affecting the health of soldiers, acquaintance with the economy of regiments—all sorts of military statistics, the causes of crime, (for whatever leads to crime must lead to disease),—in fine, intimate knowledge of the soldier in his every relation.

There remains room for a third board for which a noble vocation exists, and whose labour would aid much in the advance of science;—we would have a board for the purpose of collecting the scientific information of the East. Though learned associations have in too few instances come up to the expectations of those interested, yet from such a board much might be expected. The task of noting and organizing the information of their medical brethren and of the large body of non-professional men, who in the Indian army cultivate science, would be doubtless arduous, but most honorable. Alas, the scheme is Utopian! It is to be feared, that not even the prospect of future fields of profit cultivated through its agency could induce Government to sanction so novel a measure. Yet could we be too sanguine in the results of such a board brought into communication with a body of men whose experiences have been gathered over the accessible East? There is no want of such men as Raffles, Moorcroft or Griffiths in the Indian army, who, with the practical information of the closet, combine the energy of the soldier and sportsman; but there is a want of a medium for communicating their labours which are too likely to die with them; there is a want of the spur given by communion of kindred spirits,—a want which more than ought else causes a rust of the mind. And what it may be asked is the expense for which such advantages are to be foregone? it would be but slight; the chief indeed would be the erection of a museum, which voluntary contributors would shortly fill. There is another duty which would fitly belong to such board: to it should be delegated the interest of the medical school at Calcutta, which may with a little fostering care become a school of science to the East. It is high time, instead of encouraging the Bengalí to seek in England advantages which the metropolis of the East cannot afford, to prepare for the rapidly approaching duties it may soon be called on to perform. Sooner than is imagined we may expect the Singhalese, the Dyak, the Chinese, and the inhabitants of many an isle and eastern continent to look towards Calcutta for scientific instruction; and it is to be hoped when that not distant day arrives, Calcutta may not be ashamed of her incapacity to afford it.

But enough:—the subject is to the world at large a dry one, and we will wind up by saying, that the community would profit by an alteration in the present system of the medical department. This is a truth which few we believe would deny. Its existence at present is that of a being through whose veins the blood of a different species is circulating, which physiologists tell us must be mortal. The change may result in death by perfecting the present system of irresponsibility; or the body may again become vital by being rendered independant and responsible.

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., TYPS., NO. 7, MISSION ROW.

NOTE ON THE HYDERABAD ARTICLE.

Since our Hyderabad article was thrown off, the title and functions of Dewan have been conferred upon Nawab Shums-ul-Omrah, a nobleman of dignified character, and held in the highest respect both by Europeans and natives. It will be remembered that on the death of Mir Allum in 1808, Nawab Shums-ul-Omrah was the favored candidate of the British Government, and the one whose pretensions we then encouraged. It is to be lamented that the active services of such a man have been lost to the State during the greater and better portion of his life. But though his prospects of usefulness would have been more encouraging forty years ago, when in the vigour of his faculties, he may yet do good service to his country. Of enlightened and scientific views his talents for the administration of public affairs are undisputed. With two sons, said to have been educated with great care, the labours of Office may be lightened, and if the family will only work together with straightforward integrity, and in real earnest, we have every hope,—from our belief in the capacity and willingness of the new Minister, supported by the confidence and favour of his Master, and aided by the energy and general intelligence of his sons,—that with fair play and a fair field, a gradual improvement will be introduced, and in the end a complete reform be brought about in the Hyderabad State. This appears to be the last and only chance for that unhappy country!

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *A Brief Topographical and Historical Notice of Calcutta: with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Sanitary Improvement in the East Indies. By J. R. Martin, F.R.S. London:* 1847. *(Printed for private circulation.)*

2. *Statistical Report of the Sickness and Mortality among the Troops serving in the Madras Presidency. Prepared from Official Documents. Printed by Order of the Madras Government. By T. Graham Balfour, M.D., Grenadier Guards,* 1847.

3. *Memoir (Part the First) on the Political, Naval, Military, and Commercial Advantages of the Re-occupation of Negrais Island; including (Part the Second) its Advantages as a Place of Resort to the European Sick of Calcutta and Madras. By J. R. Martin. (Privately printed,)* 1843.

THE titles of these works, and the order of their location at the head of this article, clearly set forth our present design. We believe that we shall do good service, if we only help to circulate the valuable information collected, and the benevolent projects urged so luminously and so earnestly, by Mr. Martin. We purpose, indeed, to do little more. Mr. Martin's Memoirs have been printed only for private distribution, and are, therefore, inaccessible to the majority of our readers. Among that number there are not many, from whom the name alone, of one who has lived so long and worked so diligently amongst us, as the writer of these papers on Calcutta and Negrais, will not secure a respectful hearing.

Whatever may be the real claim of Calcutta to the flattering title of a "City of Palaces,"* there can be little doubt, that it has

* Dr. Hooker, in letters written during his botanical mission to India, and published in the first number of Hooker's (Sir William Jackson) *Journal of Botany and Kew Garden Miscellany*, published at the commencement of the present year, says, "Calcutta, as a city, is much over-praised; it has grandeur enough, but, except in the Oriental Bazar and the costumes of the natives, there is not a picturesque feature connected with it—not one street view stops you. The Hooghly, a noble river in itself, is a mere canal amongst architectural features of such dimensions. Chowringhee is a noble road, one side open over a vast greensward plain to the river, and the other a continuous line of first-rate English houses, and is a fine coup d'œil from the said plain; and the palatial Government-House on the left, and the new Cathedral to the

long possessed and unfortunately still possesses, a very clear right to the appellation of the "City of Sepulchres." Long before, among us Englishmen, the "Ditcher" class had risen, our Mussulman predecessors had discovered that Bengal was a place fitly adapted as a residence for criminals, whom it was desirable to kill off without the aid of the rope or the sword. "The climate of Bengal," says a Persian writer, quoted by Mr. Martin, "on account of the inclemency of the air and water, was deemed inimical to the constitution of Moguls and other foreigners, and only those officers who laboured under the royal displeasure were stationed there; and this fertile soil, which enjoys a perpetual spring, was considered a strong prison—as the *land of spectres, the seat of disease, and the mansion of death.*" Another native writer, with reference to the same subject, observes, "The Mussulman invaders of the west of Hindustan, who afterwards established themselves on the throne of Delhi, considered this country, Bengal, to be Dojakh, or *an infernal region;* and whenever any Ameers or courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, and the rank of the individual did not permit their being beheaded, while policy at the same time rendered their removal necessary, they were banished to Bengal. The air and water of Bengal were considered so bad as to lead to the certain death of the criminal." A lesson this that has been learnt by Christian monarchs, who have contrived ere now so to kill off state-prisoners, whom they have feared to behead. It was thus that Napoleon killed off Toussaint L'Ouverture, and thus, according to Napoleon and his friends, he was killed off himself.

The "land of spectres"—the "mansion of death"—an "infernal region"—so the English also have found this province of Bengal—this city of Calcutta. In one of the earliest notices of the latter that is extant, it is quaintly said by Captain Hamilton, who was here at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, "The Company has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the

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right, are, though far from faultless buildings, noble objects, and, on the whole, good supporters of the frontage; but the ships in the Hooghly rise out of the land and intrude upon the view, whilst Government-house and the Cathedral are each too faulty in proportion to be individually pleasing to the eye. There is nothing in Calcutta to compare with the noble Plazas of Lisbon and many other towns; for those are cities of palaces, where the aggregate of the community unite to raise noble buildings, while here the few dwell in palaces, constructed without reference to the general features of the city. Oxford is a city of colleges; Cambridge has colleges; and however effective the structures of the latter may individually be, they do not, in the aggregate, produce the effect so obvious in the former. So it may be conceded that Calcutta is a city *with* palaces, and plenty of them; but a city *of* palaces is very different."

penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation."

. . . "One year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about 1,200 English,—some military, some servants of the Company, some private merchants residing in the town, and some seamen belonging to the shipping lying in the town; and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty burials registered in the clerks' books of mortality." Mr. Tennant, writing at the end of last century, refers to this remarkable fact; and, speaking of the rapid growth of Calcutta, pertinently observes, "To have increased in forty years in so unhealthy a spot to its present population of five hundred thousand souls implies a degree of prosperity, amidst all the irregularities of an infant settlement, that is unparalleled in any quarter of the world." And again, in another chapter—"The climate of almost every inter-tropical region is unfavourable to European constitutions. Those flat countries where moisture is combined with heat are unquestionably more injurious to health than such as are dry. Hence the climate of Batavia has long proved one of the most fatally pernicious ever visited by Europeans. Calcutta was, at first, deemed hardly less destructive than Batavia. Its situation, surrounded by a flat and marshy country, was productive of the same effect. The vicinity has since been cleared considerably of trees and jungle, and some of the more offensive marshes have been drained; much, however, still must be done, before it can merit the character of a healthy town." "Much, indeed!" may be added more than half a century later.

The old writers almost uniformly attribute the unhealthiness of Calcutta to the contiguity of the Salt-water Lake. Hamilton says—"Charnock being then the Company's agent in Bengal, he had liberty to settle an emporium on any part of the river's side below Hoogly, and, for the sake of a large shady tree, chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthy place on all the river; for three miles to the north-east is a salt-water lake, that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious numbers of fish resort thither; but in November and December, when the floods are dissipated, these fishes are left dry, and with their putrefaction affect the air with their stinking vapours, which the north-east winds bring with them to Fort William, when they cause a yearly mortality." Dr. Lind, to whose authority Mr. Tennant refers, and whom Mr. Martin has quoted more than once, writing, in 1792, on the same subject, observes,—"The fever with which Calcutta is visited is to be attributed chiefly to the lake. To the north end of the town it

is all wet soil, and fit only for raising rice, but not a whit healthier than the Great Lake." To the Salt-water Lake almost all competent authorities, from Hamilton to Martin, attribute the unhealthiness of Calcutta. But we must not assign to this cause alone the frightful mortality which, in the time of the earliest settlers, converted the growing city into a great Golgotha. The Salt-water Lake still exists—a standing source of disease and death. But we have ceased to destroy ourselves by intemperance; we live in what may be called houses; and we are constantly tended by some of the ablest, the most enlightened, the most assiduous medical practitioners in the world.

On the improved physical condition of the English in India, as resulting, from improved moral habits, we have already commented in this journal. We purpose here only to speak of material causes of disease. Mr Martin, as we have said, like his predecessors, sees in the Salt-water Lake a gigantic reservoir of fever. His account of this and other suburban tracts is worth quoting:—

The Salt-water Lake lies about three miles east of the city, extending upwards of four miles north and south. It is composed of pits and shallows, and is no-where of considerable depth,—the entire area comprising eighteen square miles and a half, or about 12,000 acres. A considerable portion of the area here described is left, at each reflux of the tide, exposed to a seething sun by day, and to the heat and moisture of the night, during nine months in the year; while the common borders of the Lake are hardly of better condition, being generally under rice-cultivation, with occasional patches of long reed-grass, both reeking with pestilential vapours. This may be truly termed "the Lake of the Dismal Swamp." The average level of the ground in and around Calcutta is between three and five feet above the average of high water, both the upper and sub-soil being pervious to water, the general character being alluvial. A section of the several strata give alternations of loose sand, blue and yellow clay, with here and there a stratum of peat, some of the beds nearly 100 feet in thickness. At 357 to 430 feet, bones were found; and at 390 feet, pieces of wood. Brackish water is obtained at from eighteen to twenty feet; while at 480 feet no spring water was reached. More remotely, Calcutta has, to the south and east, extending for 180 miles along the sea, and covering a superficies of 20,000 square miles, the woody tract of the Sunderbunds, consisting of jungle and marsh, including the embouchures of the Ganges; while to the north and west it has the extensive tract of annual inundation, anciently called Beng—a great alluvial flat—"the work of the Ganges." This tract is intersected, like the Sunderbunds, with innumerable rivers, and in the rainy season is deeply covered over. No words, and no experience of other scenes, can convey an adequate idea of the oppressive gloom and desolation of the vast wilderness of the Sunderbunds—that huge labyrinth of jungle and rivers:—

> "Here rocks alone and tasteless sands are found,
> And faint and sickly winds for ever howl around."

It is sad to reflect that this desolation has been the work of man—of outlawed runaways, chiefly Portuguese, from their ancient settlements in Goa

Cochin, and Ceylon, aided by pirates and vagabonds from the neighbouring coasts. The wastes, now "the abode of tigers, rhinoceroses, and alligators—the seat of malaria," were described, three centuries back, as containing "beautiful cities and gardens," and as "fine isles well peopled." "The unhealthy kingdom of Bengal"—the Delta of the Ganges—like Guiana, is below the general level of the Sea at high-water mark; and like, Guiana also, it would be uninhabitable from continued stagnation, but for the silted elevation of the river-banks, and the fluctuating declivity occasioned by the retiring tides.

Before leaving Calcutta, Mr. Martin submitted to Government a memoir "On the Draining of the Salt-water Lake," with a view to bringing its extensive area of 12,000 acres under cultivation, and thereby improving the climate of Calcutta. In this memoir, as printed in Appendix I. of the Calcutta Sanitary Commission's Report, he says; "Next in importance to the 'great works required, in and around the city of Calcutta, to 'render the climate comparatively salubrious, the clearing of the 'Sunderbunds and the draining of the Salt-water Lake claim our 'notice." The author, after some prefatory observations on the influence of the Sunderbunds, and on the former states of the Salt-water Lake as to extent and depth, goes on to say that "to reclaim the ground, now covered by the lake, for the pur-'poses of agriculture, is easy; but to deprive it of its character 'of marsh, and thus retain it, is not so." . . . . "It is 'not sufficient to convert the ground into a state of soft low 'meadow-land, for the most dangerous exhalations are those 'which are retained and occasionally emitted from under a crust 'of earth, during the drying process, whereby they would 'appear to acquire unusual concentration, and to prove the 'origin of the worst fevers. It is necessary that the ground 'be thoroughly drained, leaving none of the characters of marsh, 'otherwise it had better be left as it is; its present condition 'being one of far greater safety than such half-drained soil as 'that of Chatreuse, for instance, near Bordeaux, which caused, 'in the year 1805, 12,000 persons to be affected with fever 'within the city, of whom 3,000 died in five months.

"Two modes of effecting the drainage suggest themselves—the 'one by letting in the river during the rains, and thereby gaining a succession of deposits of the river silt, so as gradually to 'fill the inequalities of the ground now occupied by the lake, 'and thereby bring it in time to a level with the surrounding 'land. This would seem the easiest; it imitates the simple 'operations of nature, and it would be the cheapest, but perhaps 'not the most conducive to health. Another mode is by a deep 'and well-constructed canal, so as to effect the drainage; but as 'even this must, to a certain degree, prove a receptacle for

'noxious matter, and offer a considerable surface for evapora-
'tion, a close line of umbrageous trees should be planted on
'each side of the canal, as being proverbially attractive of marsh
'exhalation." After referring to the use of trees, by ancient and modern people, for the purpose alluded to, the author adds :—"The ground cleared from water should be well
'ploughed and cultivated, the ploughing to be done during the
'heaviest rain, so as to prevent exhalation: for it is during a
'certain stage of the drying process that exhalation is concen-
'trated: and it has been observed in many countries that the
'drying-up of brackish water is more injurious than that of
'either salt or fresh alone. A succession of crops purifies and
'evaporates the soil, and thereby obviates exhalations; but they
'should not be of rice, or of such crops as require profuse
'irrigation. The want of attention to some of the precaution-
'ary measures above hinted at has neutralised the advantages
'that would otherwise have resulted from extensive drainings,
'executed in some parts of France and Italy: and I have
'only thus long dwelt on that of the Salt-water Lake, because its
'proper performance I know to be a matter of great importance
'to this city, as far as regards the prevention of disease; and
'I need not insist on the superior efficacy of preventive mea-
'sures, such as have advanced in our own country" (the writer here refers to the benefits of agriculture only,) "apace with our
'civilisation, and altogether banished from us some of the se-
'verest calamities that have ever afflicted the human race."

The principles here sketched forth will be found to apply to all countries, and emphatically to all intertropical climates. Their application is now much needed at Sarawak. They may, indeed, be applied with great results to every station in India. While touching on the subject of local improvement throughout India, and of the results of Mr. Martin's systematic plans of prevention of disease, we would refer to his suggestions for the removal of the European troops throughout India to the mountain ranges—a measure of the first importance, whether we consider the efficiency of the army, or the saving in life and money.

In a supplement to the memoir here referred to, dated Barrackpore, August 28, 1839 (a station to which Mr. Martin retired in extreme suffering from one of those fevers of Calcutta of which he has so spoken) he calls the attention of the Sanitary Commission, of which he had been two years a member, to the results of drainages executed in several of the West Indian colonies, and in the several military stations in the Mediterranean. Here he furnishes practical illustrations of a modern date

and which are powerfully illustrative, in proof of the advantages as regards public health to be derived from systematic drainage, cultivation, &c.

But let us do what we may with Calcutta and its vicinity—let us drain the Salt-water Lake, and carry out all our projected sanitary improvements to the utmost, still will remain the original curse of the moist heats of Bengal. We may modify the evils under which we suffer; but we cannot wholly remove them. But we have another remedy at hand. Next to the means of turning a bad climate into a good one, the blessing most eagerly to be sought is the means of escaping readily from the bad. In this respect, it must be conceded that already Calcutta has some peculiar advantages. A little while ago we were dazzled with bright visions of lines of railway from the metropolis to the north-western frontier of India, by which an invalid might be transported in a couple of days from the Mahratta ditch to the foot of the Himalayahs. We saw, in imagination, the sick man carefully placed, with abundant pillows and other appliances, in the spacious and comfortable first-class carriage, his soda-water or lemonade, ice-encircled, wrapped up in a horse-blanket, and stowed away under the seat; his medicine in the pockets of the carriage; his morning paper in his hand; his review in a corner to be taken up when the last news from the Punjab has been read and digested; his servants in a contiguous second-class carriage ready to ask if the sahib wants anything, at all the principal intervening stations; and so we saw him whirled, in less time than it now takes to go to Berhampore, to the very foot of the northern hills. We saw the toil-worn commercial Ditcher making good use of the Doorga-Poojah by rushing off to Simla or Mussoorie for a fortnight, and returning to take up the bills falling due "after the holidays." We saw, too, the ambitious civilian, eager to recruit himself and enlarge his ideas during his month's leave of absence, setting off to look in upon our camp on the banks of the Sutlej, or the Chenab, and coming back to tell his partners at the Town Hall that he had been lucky enough to fall in with a general action, and what he thought of the same. But all these bright visions are now dissipated. We awake to the sad reality af guarantees ignored, companies dissolved, and floods of objurgatory pamphlets: and so awaking, fall back upon the great substantial fact of our steam *ships*. Calcutta steameth not by land, but by water. When the invalid would fly from our moist, exhausting climate, which forbids all convalescence, he must betake himself to the boat. And fortunate it is that he has such a resource at hand. How many lives have those magic fire-ships saved! We have known, in days when steamers

were few or none, the imperative mandate, pronounced by the far seeing physician, to "get away from Calcutta," most unwillingly disobeyed for want of the means of getting away; and the patient demonstrating the soundness of the advice by dying before the ship on which he has taken his passage has been got ready to sail. More fortunate in these times, it seldom happens that the sick man need wait many days for the means of rushing into a better climate. There is almost sure to be a steamer ready to convey him within the renovating influence of the sea-breezes of the Bay of Bengal.

The importance of getting away from Calcutta—as a remedial or a prophylactic measure—has been sufficiently understood, almost ever since the settlement was founded. "The unhealthy town of Calcutta," wrote good old Dr. Lind, "has in its neighbourhood the healthy stations of Barasett and Ghyrette, where the gentlemen residing in Calcutta should retire in the months of July, August, September, and October. Both Chandernagore and Chinsurah, the French and Dutch settlements in Bengal, are more healthy than Calcutta." Commenting upon this fact Mr. Martin observes:—

Their necessities drove the older inhabitants to seek shelter, during the period of danger, in the healthier localities mentioned by Dr. Lind; and, admitting their superiority over Calcutta, the advantages to the sick must yet have been small comparatively. I have seen the same measure continually under trial there, from the want of a better resource, and, in severe cases, with but slender benefit; indeed, there is but one direction that offers a chance of recovery to the really sick, and that is, the neighbourhood of the sea, or an insular climate. It is to these above all others that the inhabitants of Calcutta and Madras should look; and there is not a year that I did not witness the most lamentable sacrifice of health, and of life too, from want of such a place of resort, especially during the S. W. monsoon, when persons in a state of extreme illness are unable to undertake a long voyage, in the face of the S. W. monsoon and a southern winter. From an extensive observation of the effects of a residence in the mountain ranges, I should be disposed to consider them as chiefly beneficial in *preserving* health, and in this sense they will always be found of the greatest importance to military prophylaxis. I have seen officers in great numbers every year proceeding to the Cape and to England, in whose cases a residence of one or two seasons in the hills had been insufficient to overcome the habit of recurrence even of common Intermittent Fever. I have witnessed better results in a great variety of instances from a two months' voyage to sea;—such is its superior influence on health.* The result of all my personal observation would therefore lead me to the conclusion that, when Europeans have contracted disease, or are suffering from protracted convalescence on the continent of India, there are distinctive characters

* There went to the hill ranges during the ten years ending 31st December, 1837..... 723 officers.
Ditto to the Colonies of N. S. Wales, the Cape, and Mauritius .... 242 ditto.

Total during ten years.... 965

which give a preference to an insular climate over every other;—viz., the purity of its atmosphere, and its equability of temperature, both of which are enjoyed by an insular position in a degree nowhere else to be found. In Madeira, for instance, the Winter is 12 deg. *warmer* than in Italy or France, while the Summer is 5 deg. *cooler;* and while the mean annual range at Madeira is only 14 deg., it is double that amount at Pisa, Rome, Naples, and Nice. The nearer mountain ranges have of late been looked to with much solicitude by the inhabitants of Calcutta and Madras; but without comparing the qualities of their atmosphere, or reckoning the difficulties to the really sick in reaching such places, my own experience, together with the results all over India, lead me to the conclusion already stated.

We are inclined, upon this point, to agree with Mr. Martin; and the opinion of the greater number of our highest medical authorities sets in the same direction. We duly estimate the importance of change of air, under any circumstances; and we set high value upon the sanatory influences of our several hill stations. They have preserved the health and prolonged the lives of thousands. But the uses of these inland sanitaria are of a distinct character. They are chiefly, as Mr. Martin says, beneficial in preserving health; and in this sense they will always be found of the greatest importance to military prophylaxis. They are not equally serviceable in a restorative character. They may fortify men against attacks of acute disease; but, once attacked, they are rarely able to restore the sick man to health. They do not eradicate the seeds of his disorder, and breathe new life into him, as does the invigorating and purifying sea-breeze. The effect of sea air upon the patient reduced to the extremest state of exhaustion by acute disease—especially by fever—is often so sudden, as quite to assume the aspect of a miracle. We have seen men carried on board to all appearance moribund. We have seen a sallow, emaciated, hollow-eyed object, wrapped up in a cloak and propped up with pillows, placed upon deck in a reclining chair, too weak to lift a hand, almost too feeble to convey an order to the quick ear of a Bengalee servant,—seemingly with no power left in him, but the power to die. We have seen such a man, his soul, as it were, knocking at the very gates of death, exhibit symtoms. of revival in a few hours; something of the old distress passing away from his pale face—something of the feebleness from his voice—something of the utter languor and prostration, which were so painfully visible in his every motion and his every accent, subsiding under the cheering influence of the fresh river air, scarcely yet even redolent of the still distant sea. And when the breezes, though the ocean itself be not yet visible, are really odorous of the salt waves, how striking the change in the aspect and demeanour of the sick man. His face brightens up with a

glow of hope; he converses with something of cheerfulness in his manner; he takes an interest in what is going on around him; he essays to move without assistance: he is soon to be seen walking the deck. A day or two of genuine sea-air, and he is altogether a different man. The fear then is of too much confidence—too much self-indulgence. Convalescence is so rapid that the patient is prone to take liberties with himself. That danger escaped, the cure is speedily accomplished. Hope is the best of tonics, and there is nothing so hope-inspiring as the sea-breeze.*

"Leave to sea"—such is the grand remedy, when the *sequelæ* of violent fevers, or other acute diseases, are not to be shaken off. Various are the forms it assumes, from the two years leave to the Cape and New South Wales, to the trip between musters to the Sand-heads; or the run down the river on one of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's steamers to meet the in-coming vessel; or, this failing, to wait its arrival on a pilot brig. Some visit Singapore and Penang,—perhaps go on to China. Others take the steamers to Moulmein or Ceylon; or run down to the Madras coast; or take advantage of a surveying cruise in the Bay. In whatever direction the voyage may be made, and whatever its duration, sea air is the one thing sought; and sea air is the grand restorative. But there are discomforts and distresses on board ship. At some seasons of the year they are considerable. A voyage, for example down the Bay of Bengal, in the teeth of the south-west monsoon, has nothing very desirable in it. We have been more than a month making Madras—a month of dreary, rainy, squally weather, with wet decks and dead-lights often in; and everything that could possibly retard convalescence—bad water, bad food, and eternal noise included. Board-

* A more striking illustrative proof of the extraordinary and almost instantaneous effects of the removal of sick men from the deteriorating influence of the land to a pure marine atmosphere, than that afforded last year by the case of the 95th (Queen's) Regiment, which, after upwards of 100 deaths from fever had occurred within a short time in barracks, was very judiciously sent to sea by General Staveley, is not on record. The regiment was almost immediately restored to its ordinary state of health. An English Military Journal, (the *United Service Gazette*) alluding to this circumstance, puts forth an excellent suggestion, to which we are glad to give increased currency:—

"There are numerous old seventy-fours now floating useless at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and in the waters of the Medway. We would suggest that one of those ships be immediately fitted out as a Guard-ship, and sent to Hong-Kong. A man-of-war, such as she would appear, in the harbor of that port, would, there is no doubt, not only check the turbulence of the Canton rabble, but prove a Naval protection to our trade in the vicinity of that rising colony. Hammocks and bedding sufficient for a regiment should be put on board (1,000 men could be conveniently accommodated in such a ship anchored), and on the earliest appearance of sickness—before it has had time to affect the spirits of the men—the troops should be removed from the locality where the disease was engendered, to the purer atmosphere which certainly the harbor would afford. By this means the expense of preparing the ship and of her voyage out might, in one season only, be covered by the saving of so many valuable lives."

ship, indeed, is not a very good place for a sick man. The great desideratum is a marine sanitarium only a few days' voyage from Calcutta. A sanitarium in every way adapted by nature to such a purpose (but necessarily requiring the labour of man to perfect it) Mr. Martin is certain may be found in our "ancient settlement of Negrais." The advantages of its situation are at once recognisable by all who know where to find the island on the map. Of its intrinsic advantages, assisted by Mr. Martin, we may now proceed to speak.

In September, 1830, Mr. Mangles, then secretary to the Government of Bengal, wrote to Captain Dickenson, commissioner at Arracan, submitting certain queries relative to the island of Negrais, which the latter in due course answered. The substance of the information, which he was able to collect, may be thus succinctly stated. The circumference of the island is eighteen miles, and its area about ten square miles. It is distant two miles from the nearest shore, and may be seen from the sea sixteen miles off, from which fact we may assume that the elevation of the island is considerable. The soil is sandy towards the coast, and alluvial more inland. Of the "natural productions" little more can be said, than that there are some gurjun trees, and a fair supply of ubiquitous jungle. It is stated that "some of the land in the interior might be cultivated with paddy." Water is plentiful and of good quality, found at the depth of three or four cubits, "no streams, but a few springs." There is good shelter for shipping at all seasons of the year. To the question, "are there any lakes or morasses?" it was at first answered, "none;" but Captain Dickenson states in a postscript, "Further intelligence informs me that there is a small morass (Theab or Dhepa) in the island, and about 20 or 25 dorns of land cultivated and sown with paddy." Of the population it is stated (1836) that there are said to be about 50 families, Burmese and Taleins, engaged in fishing and preparing balichong—"nothing known of their physical character. In their habits and customs they do not differ from the Burmese and Mugs;" "they eat every thing and burn their dead." Their houses are constructed of bamboos and leaves, raised on machauns or raised stages, as in Arracan; and lastly, the harbour is said to be good holding ground, and to possess all the advantages of security and convenience ascribed to it. Such is the substance of the official information, now before Government and the world. Mr. Martin supplies, from other sources, a considerable mass of important intelligence, relative to the island and the main land adjacent. "It has always appeared to me," he writtes, "that on every account our ancient settlement of Negrais merits our

especial notice, and that, amongst the least of its advantages, may be numbered its proximity to Calcutta and Madras, being but four days steaming from the former, and its accessibility at all seasons. Its insular climate too, its geological character, its free exposure to the influence of the S. W. monsoon during eight months of the year, its noble harbour, easy of ingress and egress under every change of season, all point it out as a place of the highest promise; in short, next to the special improvement of the two capitals referred to, the possession of some such place of resort for the sick is the desideratum."

Of Negrais itself Mr. Crawford reported, as the result of all his inquiries on the subject, that "the climate is considered by the natives perfectly salubrious." Of the main country adjacent Dr. Buchanan Hamilton says, "the anastomosing branches of the Pegue rivers beyond the reach of the tides are chiefly swelled by the periodical rains, and many of them, for a great portion of the year, are nearly dry, but for a time they are of much use both as fertilizing the country and for commerce, as during floods they admit of extensive navigation. They also contribute much to the health of the climate by carrying off superfluous water, and by preventing it from corrupting the air; so that Rangoon, surrounded by inosculating rivers, enjoys a salubrious air, very unlike Calcutta, Dacca, and the intermediate places, which are still more unhealthy. One of the most remarkable features of the country, the Delta of the Irrawaddy, is that although it is far from level, consisting chiefly of swelling grounds, many places of which contain rock, and although in many places these rise even to hills disposed in ridges of considerable length, though of no great elevation, yet the rivers anastomose almost as much as in the lowlands and Bengal, where there is not the slightest trace of rock, stone, or eminence." Of the general climate of the country, Colonel Symes—an excellent authority, for he speaks from practical experience—reports most favourably, having lost during his embassy "only one man by disease." There are frequent allusions in the Colonel's interesting volumes* to the salubrity of the climate. "In addition," he writes, "to the comfort we experienced from living at ease, and having every want liberally supplied, our gratitude was due to Providence for the inestimable blessing of health, which we enjoyed to a degree that fully evinced the salubrity of the climate; not a symptom of sickness, in a single instance excepted, had manifested itself among our people." (Vol. III.) And again, in

* An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor-General of India, in the year 1795. By Michael Symes, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel in her Majesty's 76th Regiment.

the preceding volume, "The climate of every part of the Burman empire which I have visited bore testimony to its salubrity by the best possible criterion, the appearance and vigour of the natives. The seasons are regular, and the extremes of heat and cold are seldom experienced—at least, the duration of that intense heat, which immediately precedes the commencement of the rainy season, is so short, that it incommodes but for a very little time. During our residence in the country we lost only one man by disease."

It is true, that certain untoward circumstances have given rise to a belief that the Burmese provinces are not remarkable for salubrity. We all remember the calamities of the war. But there is much truth in what Mr. Martin, who speaks from personal experience (he was in medical charge of the Body-guard during the war), says upon this subject:—

> Those amongst us who would judge the climate of Pegue by the fate of the European army at Rangoon, must be told that, neither there nor anywhere else, were the soldiers cut off by uncomplicated tropical diseases, as in India. It was scorbutic disease, and that seriously complicated with every casual illness arising in the course of a most arduous service, that destroyed the force; and this terrible scourge was no more affected in its progress by the climate of Pegue, than would have happened at any of our best stations in India during the rainy season, during which field operations continued to be carried on. Climate, in short, was one of the very least of the causes that led to the destruction of the European force, and this truth is amply borne out by the healthy condition comparatively of the native portion of the army. The writer of this memoir served with the forces under Sir Archibald Campbell, with which he marched from Rangoon to Upper Ava. The climate throughout was both agreeable and salubrious; and, with all the hardships and privations of the two campaigns, from which all the horses of the corps perished, there were but few deaths amongst the soldiers of the body-guard, other than by casualties in the field.

Many examples might be quoted of great mortality among our troops in places not generally insalubrious. Thus, to cite a recent instance, it would be eminently unjust to attribute to the climate of Chusan, the destroying power which cut up the noble Cameronian corps. We may corrode the vitals of an army with putrid food, or we may send it to rot in a miasmatic swamp, such as are common to all countries—but it is not the cruelty of the climate, but the cruelty of man, that commits these wholesale murders. There are destructive influences which no body of troops can withstand in the finest climate in the world.

But it is especially the insular situation of Negrais, and its accessibility both from Calcutta and Madras, which favourably recommend it as a sanitarium. We regret that we have no statistics—indeed, that there are no Indian statistics in existence, demonstrating the superior salubrity of coast stations over

those, whether on high or low ground, situated in the interior of the country. As regards the eastern coast, we have Arracan on the one hand, and Maulmain on the other. The medical records of the Madras Presidency, complete as they are, throw no light upon the subject. Dr. Balfour, of the Guards, has grouped into one interesting and instructive report, the returns received from all the military stations in the Madras Presidency. His report shows the mortality at the several stations on the plains, or the table-lands, and on the sea-coast; but, as far as the present inquiry is concerned, it leads to no very satisfactory results. From the tabular statements it would appear that on the plains the rate per 1,000 among the troops is 32.4, on the table-lands 41, and on the sea-coast 37.4. According to this, it would appear that the plains of Madras are more salubrious than either the hill-stations, or the sea-coast. But the returns from the plains exhibit only one European station, Trichinopoly, and in those from the table-lands Secunderabad is included, and there the mortality has been as high as 82 per 1,000. "The excess at Secunderabad," writes Dr. Balfour, "has been caused chiefly by dysentery, which, during the period under review, gave rise to a higher rate of mortality, than that from all causes at the other stations on the table-lands. It has been a source of great sickness and mortality among the Europeans, ever since Secunderabad was first occupied in 1804, and committees have at different times been appointed to investigate into the causes of it, but without any satisfactory result. The unhealthy character of the station has been attributed by some medical officers to an endemical malarious condition of the atmosphere, occurring at a season when the vicissitudes of climate and the diurnal ranges of temperature are very great." But whilst the mortality at Secunderabad has ranged as high as 8 per cent., at Bangalore it has scarcely exceeded 2 per cent. On the sea-coast (the Mount being included among the coast stations) the range is from 25 to 48.9 per 1,000—such being the advantage of the Mount above the Fort in point of salubrity. Masulapatam is no longer a station for European troops. In 1833 the mortality was so great—reaching as high as 343 per 1,000—that the European barracks (situated within the fort, which is only five feet above high-water mark) were abandoned. All these statistics, however interesting, lead to no satisfactory results relative to the comparative salubrity of the stations on the plains, on the high lands, and on the sea coast. Important as is sea-air as an auxiliary, it cannot make a healthy station. We were about to write "sea air alone is not enough." But sea air alone would be enough. The misfortuue is that we can never get sea air alone. We get it for the most part with

certain attendant disadvantages which go far to neutralise its sanitary effects. At the stations on the Arracan coasts—Akyab and Khyook Phyoo—there is no lack of sea air; but there have been other things, hitherto too fatally against those cantonments, to allow the sea breezes to exercise their wonted salutary influence. In Major Bogle, that province found a vigorous sanitary reformer; and already have the good effects of his exertions become manifest in the increased salubrity of the Arracan stations. They have even been resorted to, in more recent times, by invalids and pleasure excursionists, careful to avoid protracted residence, and, in some instances, resolute not to sleep on shore. They are not healthy stations now; but we regard them as excellent examples of the good that may be accomplished by any able energetic public officer, determined to do his best to remedy the natural defects of an unhealthy province.

And doubtless it would be found necessary, if the re-occupation of Negrais were determined upon, to submit that station to a similar sanatory process. We are not to expect to find it a ready-made Montpelier. Some clearing and draining on the low lands are requisite to insure the salubrity even of an island so greatly favoured by Nature. It is too much our custom to settle down in a new locality, and to think of rendering it fit for occupation only after a wretched sacrifice of human life has taught us our mistake in doing that last which ought ever to be done first; but, this error avoided, we believe that in Negrais all the conditions of a first-rate sanitarium would be fulfilled; and that future generations would bless the day, when it passed again into the hands of its old owners and rightful proprietors—the British.

The island of Negrais is *de jure* the property of the East India Company. In 1757 it was ceded in perpetuity to the British by the King of Ava and Pegu. But before we enter into particulars of the cession, it may not be uninteresting to trace the fortunes of Negrais from the earliest times of European connexion with India—a task that has been so well performed by Mr. Martin, that we need do little more than submit ourselves to his guidance. The principal authorities referred to are Dalrymple and Symes, in whose works may be found many interesting particulars relative to our early settlements in Negrais.

The first European settlers on the island appear to have been the Dutch, who occupied it as early as the commencement of the seventeenth century, as an inscription found on the tomb of a Dutch colonel, who died there in 1627, seems to indicate. The English, it is probable, obtained a footing soon afterwards; but,

in consequence of a dispute between the natives and the Dutch, the settlers belonging to both the European companies were expelled from the country. The Dutch never regained their position. The English did not return to the island before 1687, when Capt. Weldon touched at Negrais, "and, having destroyed some Siamese inscriptions and huts, took possession of the island, hoisted colours, and left an inscription, on a tree, of his proceedings." This step, however, does not appear to have been followed up till some years later, when an English agent, named Hunter, was despatched from Madras to establish a factory on the island. "With the nationally characteristic indifference to matters affecting health," says Mr. Martin, "this man caused the fort to be erected *on the only unhealthy spot on the island*—a flat 'overflowed by the tides.'"

The settlement thus established does not appear to have been very prosperous. As was too often the case in those days, the settlers misconducted themselves and mismanaged the affairs of the Company. They were in a constant state of warfare with the natives; and, as may readily be supposed, were not slow, in that isolated settlement, to commit excesses characteristic of the age in which they lived. After many years of misrule and mismanagement, the affairs of the settlement were so disordered, and there appeared so little prospect of recovery, that the abandonment of the factory was projected; and on the death of the governor of the island, Mr. Roberts, at the siege of Madras, in 1746, the design was formally executed, and Negrais abandoned.

In 1751 the island was re-occupied, and six years later, after the conquest of Bengal, by Clive, a treaty was entered into with Alompra, signed and sealed at Ava on the 28th of July, 1757, by which Negrais, with a slip of ground on the opposite mainland, was formally ceded in perpetuity to the British Government. Mr. Martin, in his memoir, has printed the treaty entire. The first paragraph, after the preamble, sets forth that "the King of Ava and Pegu doth hereby for himself, his heirs and successors, freely and absolutely grant unto the said Honourable United Company and their successors, the Island of Negrais, which from henceforth for evermore they shall and may peaceably and quietly possess and enjoy, together with all benefits and advantages arising therefrom." The second paragraph relates to the cession of the "spot or tract of ground situate on the bank of Persaim River, opposite to the Pagoda hill and the old town of Persaim, of the following extent, viz.: two hundred bamboos square, each bamboo containing seven cubits, which said tract of ground the said company and their successors shall and may

henceforth, for evermore, peaceably and quietly possess and enjoy, together with all benefits and advantages arising thereby, and with full liberty to build fortifications and erect such other buildings thereon as they shall think fit." The three following clauses grant permission to the Company to trade and to employ Burmese subjects; and guarantee protection against invasion and molestation. The sixth sets forth the conditions of the tenure—the acknowledgement to be paid—"In consideration whereof the said Honourable Company do hereby promise and oblige themselves to present unto the King of Ava and Pegu, annually, one piece of ordnance to carry a twelve-pound shot, as likewise 200 viss of gunpowder, as an acknowledgment that they bear in remembrance the King's friendship in granting the said Island of Negrais, with the spot or tract of ground situate on the bank of Persaim River, as before mentioned, to the said Company." The seventh paragraph grants to the King of Ava the privilege of trading with the Company's ports; the eighth includes general terms of alliance, offensive and defensive; and the ninth and last, a more particular and specific defensive alliance against the King of Tavoy. "In witness whereof I, the great King of Ava and Pegu, &c., Allaum Praw, have hereunto affixed my royal signet, this 28th day of July, 1757."

Under this treaty Captain Newton was appointed governor of Negrais; but it would seem that the war in the Carnatic soon afterwards rendered it advisable that the Company should concentrate their resources, and temporarily relieve themselves from the necessity of supporting and protecting remote and isolated settlements. In May 1759, Captain Newton was therefore recalled, and his establishment, European and native, withdrawn from the island, "having left a few persons to guard the British property and preserve the right of possession, in case it should at any future time be desirable to re-occupy the settlement." And it was not long before re-occupation was determined upon. In the following October Mr. Southby, who was despatched by the Government of Bengal to succeed Captain Newton, landed at Negrais. Two days afterwards he and all his establishment were treacherously murdered. The history of this deplorable affair we give in the words of Colonel Symes. The narrative is too interesting to call for any abridgment:—

> The tragical catastrophe that followed presents us with an instance of the sanguinary and cruel disposition that jealousy inspires, when rival interests are to be maintained by the arts of policy and fraud, rather than by open force of arms. The Armenians, the Jews of the East, a description of men subtle, faithless, and indefatigable, whose industry is usually seconded by a competent capacity, beheld with a malignant eye the progress

of European colonies, threatening the annihilation of that influence which they had supported for a long series of years, in the administration both of the Pegu and Birman Governments. Amongst these, Coja Pochas and Coja Gregory are represented to have been conspicuously active in their efforts to defeat the views and depreciate the credit of the English; the latter in particular, who had obtained a considerable office, and carried some weight in the councils of Alompra, especially in what related to strangers, as soon as the affairs of the French were ruined beyond redemption, adopted the policy of attaching to him the few Frenchmen whom Alompra had spared, in order to render them instrumental to the destruction of the English, now the favoured nation. Laveene, the youth before mentioned as having been left at Dagon by Bourno, an hostage for his fidelity, instead of falling the victim of retaliation, had been kindly treated by the conqueror, who, pleased with his appearance and vivacity, early promoted him to a commission in the guards that attended on his person. The young man is said to have imbibed the strongest prejudices of his nation against the English; and in him Coja Gregory found an apt instrument to execute his purposes.

Soon after the return of Captain Newton with his party, the Government of Bengal thought proper to send Mr. Southby to Negrais, to take care of the timbers and shipping materials collected there for the use of the Company, and to retain possession of the settlement. The Victoria Snow, Alves, master, was despatched on this service, with orders to convey Mr. Southby to Negrais. During her passage the Snow suffered severely from a violent gale of wind. On the 4th of October she anchored in the harbour of Negrais in a very shattered and distressed condition. Happily for her, the Shaftesbury, East Indiaman, was at this time in the harbour, having put into Negrais for the purpose of procuring a supply of provisions and water.

Mr. Southby disembarked on the evening of his arrival, and next day landed his baggage. Antonio, the interpreter, of whom mention has already been made, came down to Negrais to meet him, and, being a man of official importance, was treated with civility and attention by Mr. Hope, at this time in the temporary charge of the settlement, as well as by Mr. Southby, the new resident. The pretext for the journey was to deliver a letter to the English chief from the King; this letter, however, was a forgery, to give plausibility to the visit, and afford an opportunity of carrying into execution the horrid plot with which he was intrusted.

The address and secrecy, with which the intended massacre was concerted, gave no room for taking any precaution. Antonio, who had paid a visit to Mr. Southby on the morning of the 6th, was invited by him to dinner on the same day, at a temporary building belonging to the English. Whilst the entertainment was serving up, the treacherous guest withdrew. At that instant a number of armed Birmans rushed into the room, and put Messrs. Southby and Hope to death. This transaction took place in an upper apartment. Messrs. Robertson and Briggs happened to be below, with eight Europeans of inferior note. A separate attack was made on these by another set of assassins, in which five Europeans were slain; the rest, with Mr. Robertson and Mr. Briggs, shut themselves in a godown, or storehouse, where they continued on the defensive until the afternoon, when, receiving a solemn assurance that their lives should be spared, they surrendered, and experienced the utmost brutality of treatment from the murderers. Mr. Briggs being wounded, and unable to move with the alertness required of him, was knocked down, and a period put to his sufferings by having a spear run through his body. The rest were escorted to the waterside, where Antonio, who had retired when the massacre commenced, was

waiting with a boat to receive them. This fellow had the humanity to unchain the prisoners, and pursued his journey with them to Dagon or Rangoon, where he expected to find the King, and doubtless to receive a reward for the meritorious part he had acted.

A midshipman of the crew of the Shaftesbury was about to enter the house when the slaughter commenced, but on hearing the cries of his countrymen, and perceiving the danger, he fled to the water-side, wounded by a spear that was cast at him in his retreat. The Shaftesbury's pinnace brought away the midshipman, with several of the black people belonging to the settlement, the fury of the murderers being indiscriminately levelled against Europeans and their Indian attendants. The long-boat also, that had brought on shore some of Mr. Southby's baggage, was fortunate enough to push off before the Birmans could get possession of her, and, letting the ensign fly with the union downwards, gave intimation to the ship, by that token, of some unexpected mischance.

The Birmans, thus becoming masters of the fortified works, and having dispersed or put to death all the settlers, turned the guns of the battery, nine in number, against the Shaftesbury. In the performance of this service, Laveene, the Frenchman, was conspicuously active; indeed, the whole of this diabolical assassination seems to have been executed under his direction. It was afterwards ascertained, that, when the English were surprised and overpowered by the Birmans, this man rushed into the works at the head of a body of banditti, and completed the slaughter. The precision with which the guns were pointed sufficiently demonstrated that he who had the management was not deficient in the art of gunnery. The Shaftesbury returned the fire, but suffered considerably from that of the enemy; the second officer was killed, the running rigging damaged, and nine shots received between wind and water. Many of the Birmans are said to have fallen by the fire from the ship. The action continued till dark, and was renewed next morning on the part of the enemy. The Shaftesbury, having unmoored in the night, weighed at daylight, and dropped down with the ebb to the mouth of the river, where, beyond the range of shot, she rode secure. The Victoria Snow followed her example.

On the 16th of October, 1759, the Shaftesbury sailed, and the Victoria proceeded to Diamond Island to procure water and ballast. Whilst they were at this place a small vessel was perceived in the harbour of Negrais. Captain Alves humanely sent to warn her of the danger; but before the intelligence could reach her she had cast anchor within the harbour. It does not, however, appear, that the Birmans had any intention of doing further mischief. They contented themselves with setting fire to the place, and abandoned it on the night that the vessel arrived. In a few days Captain Alves returned from Diamond Island to Negrais, where, venturing on shore, he was shocked at the sight of the unburied and mangled bodies of his unhappy countrymen. Amongst these he recognised the remains of Messrs. Southby, Hope, and Briggs; the bodies of near one hundred natives, who had been attached to the settlement in various capacities, lay scattered around; the boats, buildings, gun-carriages, and everything combustible, were consumed, except the teak-timbers belonging to the Company, which would not easily take fire, and were too heavy to be removed. Some Birman boats appearing in sight, Captain Alves thought it most prudent to depart. He accordingly weighed anchor, and leaving the shore which had proved so fatal to his friends, prosecuted his voyage to Bengal, where he arrived on the 10th of November, 1759.

After so many proofs of a friendly disposition, the assurances given to Captain Baker, and the compact concluded with Ensign Lyster, it is reason-

able to suppose that some acts of hostility, not thoroughly explained, must have been committed, or that very plausible misrepresentations must have been used, to excite the Birman monarch to take such sanguinary revenge. That Gregory, the Armenian, was the principle instigator, is a fact, of which no native of the country, who remembers the transaction, entertains the smallest doubt, as well as that Laveene was the principal agent and instrument of execution. It is said that the former accused Mr. Hope, who commanded after the departure of Lieutenant Newton, of having supplied the Peguers with provisions, and sold to them four or five hundred muskets; that he had taken pains to instil into his Majesty's mind a persuasion that the English were a designing and dangerous people, who, having acquired Indian territory, first by fraud, and afterwards by violence, meditated the practice of similar treachery upon them, and only waited a fit opportunity to wrest from him his empire, and enslave his subjects, as they had recently done in the instance of the unsuspecting and abused Mogul. He also added that the Governor of Negrais prevented vessels from going up to Bassein, by which the royal revenue was defrauded. These arguments, whether groundless or founded, were sufficiently plausible to produce the desired effect; and there is but too much reason to think that some provocation had been given, though perhaps of a trivial nature, and certainly not sufficient to warrant a step unjustifiable by every law, human and divine.

"In 1760," says Mr. Martin, "the British Government, being in no condition to resent the recent outrage and national insult, sent Capt. Alves to seek redress as he best could, at the hands of the new king, Namdogee Praw; the Captain was bearer of letters from Mr. Holwell of Calcutta and Mr. Pigot of Madras; and altogether his reception was satisfactory. British and other European prisoners were set free, and friendly communication between the countries established," and there is in existence a state paper, addressed by Mangee Norata, Prince of Persaim, to Governor Pigot, dated November 8, 1760, wherein it is stated that the king has "granted to the British the residing place of Persaim and the island of Negrais as before;" on condition of the English Company paying the custom dues.

It appears that from this time little or nothing has been done to enforce our right of possession. On Colonel Symes's second mission to Ava in 1802, he was instructed by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, to bear in mind our claim to Negrais. "You are apprised that the Company possesses a well-founded claim to the island of Negrais. His Excellency is of opinion that either this claim may be prosecuted, or the dereliction of it may be offered as an equivalent for some concession on the part of the Government of Ava." It does not appear, however, that Colonel Symes did more than bear all this in mind; and the Supreme Government had more momentous matters to occupy its time and engross its attention. Our eyes were turned in a different direction, and the Negrais question slept again for another quarter of a century.

On the conclusion of the Burmese war, the attention of Lord Amherst was called to Negrais and our right of possession, by Mr. Crawfurd, the Pegu commissioner, who, in May, 1826, reported upon the advantages of the island, stating that its retention as a British possession had been suggested to him from various quarters. Nothing, however, seems to have been done or contemplated during Lord Amherst's government; but three years after the treaty of Yandaboo, on the 15th of July, 1829, the subject came before the Council of India. Lord William Bentinck was then Governor-General. The cession of the Tenasserim provinces was contemplated and recommended by the home authorities; and a question arose, on the suggestion of Mr. Maingy (or, more properly speaking of the secret committee), whether the island of Negrais might not be exchanged for that territory. The Governor-General then remarked—"Mr. Maingy has judiciously suggested, as combining the object contemplated by the Court, with a suitable establishment for the refugees, the exchange of the Tenasserim provinces for Negrais, with the adjoining tract of territory of Bassein." And again—"It is possible that the Government of Ava might think the cession of Negrais to be a good exchange for a part or the whole of the remainder of their contribution, or a portion of arms and ammunition, in addition to the Tenasserim provinces, might induce them to accede to our wishes." Mr. Maingy had expressed a similar opinion. "The secret committee," he said, "point out Negrais as a desirable possession. We have abundant proof of its value and importance." And then he goes on to state that the island was little more than a barren waste, and that, therefore, if, in lieu of the Tenasserim provinces, we demand only "the island of Negrais and the adjoining territories on the right bank of the Irrawaddy which form the harbour of Negrais, we should not have, I imagine, any difficulty in effecting the exchange." The opinion here expressed of the facility of obtaining the cession of the island is of a somewhat too sanguine complexion. Colonel Burney went to Ava in 1830, and exerted himself to the utmost, but to no purpose, to bring about this desirable result. Like Mr. Maingy, he was thoroughly convinced of the expediency of effecting the interchange, and was disappointed at his want of success. Seven years afterwards he wrote to Mr. Martin:—

Your scheme of taking possession of Negrais, and forming a sanatarium there, is so good that ever since the receipt of your letter, I have been turning the matter over in my mind to discover some way of persuading the Burmese to resign the island to us. But it is so contrary to the practice and feelings of the Burmese Court to relinquish voluntarily a single inch of territory, that I see no chance of obtaining its consent to our occupying

the island. The subject is not a new one to me. For several months after my first arrival here in 1830, I did all I could to negociate a cession of that island to us. The court, at that time, would not give us the island in exchange even for the whole of the Tenasserim provinces, nor for a portion of the last instalment of the Crore, which was offered to be remitted.

If we took possession of Negrais, it would soon become a second Singapore, and all the English merchants at Rangoon would remove to it. In another war with France, Negrais would prove a splendid port for our vessels of war to victual and refit in during both monsoons, and a settlement there could communicate with the seat of government at Calcutta, in about the same number of days at all seasons of the year. In Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, you will see a good account of the advantages of forming a settlement at Negrais. How is it to be done? is the question, however; and really I cannot point out any other way than to wait patiently until the present King of Ava joins his ancestors in the *Nat* country, when, in all probability, there will be a disputed succession and a revolution here, and our aid may be solicited by the rightful heir. Whether we can avail ourselves of the cession, said to have been made by Alompra, I cannot determine, until I see the original document the King granted, which I have never done, and respecting which no Burmese history or records, that I have been able to examine, take the slightest notice. I believe, however, that after Colonel Symes's last mission to this court, in the year 1803, Lord Wellesley recorded a minute in council, in which, after examining this point, he expressed his opinion in favour of our right of occupying Negrais whenever we desired to do so. I have never seen that minute, but perhaps Mr. Macnaghten could find and show it to you. We have only to establish our right fairly to the island, and then act; and our proceeding, although it will certainly give great offence here for a time, will not, in my opinion, so far provoke this government, as to make it venture into another war with us.

(Signed) H. Burney.

To this important testimony may be added that of Sir Edward Owen (extracted from his Survey Reports) who, as regards the question of the value of Negrais as a naval station, is an authority of the highest character:—

Negrais Island.—It would have certainly great value as a place of commerce, and the great depth of water close to the shore of the N. W. side of Hingie or Negrais Island (as marked in red figures, denoting feet, at the low water of spring tides), together with the perfect shelter and smooth water between that island and the northern shore, would give great facility for constructing wharfs or slips for merchant vessels, whilst the elevation of the land in that part of the island seems to ensure a good foundation for whatever might be placed there, with a constant supply of fresh water to the wells.

Negrais River.—Fully according with the remarks by Captain Crawfurd, I have only to add, that the Bassein or Negrais River affords naturally one of the best positions for a naval station on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, as there would be no difficulty in establishing a dawk to Calcutta, the present one coming within 120 miles of it; and from the wind prevailing at south, and even to the eastward of it, during the S. W. monsoon, a ship would generally be able to fetch Madras at that season; nor is it less adapted for the purposes of commerce, having water to Bassein (near 60 miles above its mouth) for ships of the largest size, and for 40 miles higher up, for those

of 300 tons: its other inland water communications are innumerable, joining the main branch of the Irawaddy in latitude about 17 deg. 40. min. north; thereby affording a direct communication to the heart of the kingdom of Ava, as well as to the city itself. The country is also well peopled and cultivated. The N. W. side of Negrais or Hingie Island where an English factory formerly stood, is steep too, and jetties or wharfs might be made without difficulty; the rise of tide being only from six to eight feet during the springs, would not admit of dry docks—heaving down quays might be built. A ship bound to the Negrais during the S. W. monsoon ought to be careful in keeping well to the southward, and to stand to the eastward of 94 deg. 6 min. east, until Diamond Island, or the high land of Hingie is seen The former is a small island covered with jungle, and so belted with rocks, that a boat can hardly land at half-tide; part of the latter is an abrupt height rising from a level plain, and might be made almost impregnable. On a reference to the chart it will be seen that a few buoys would render the entrance into the river and a spacious harbour simple; indeed, I know of no great river with so few obstructions, which may be accounted for by the tides not being so strong as is generally found in similar situations.

(Signed) E. Owen, *Commander-in-Chief.*

To the mass of evidence thus piled up nothing need be added to convince the reader of the value of such a possession. The question is, how are we to obtain it? That the island was ceded in perpetuity to the British nearly a century ago is an historical fact, not to be gainsaid. But for nations, as for individuals, there are statutes of limitation. Claims of this kind die away for want of assertion; and we are afraid that we have too long abandoned the island—too long allowed others to pick up and to retain possession of what we had thrown away, now to assert, with any great show of justice, our proprietary right to Negrais. There are things, moreover, which though very well worth possessing, may not be very well worth quarrelling for. Let our claims be what they might, it is doubtful whether any statesman would think of enforcing them at such a time as this, if the Burmese government, continuing in the same temper as described by Colonel Burney, should still resolutely resist the proposed transfer. Even Mr. Martin, with all his benevolent enthusiasm—enthusiasm which, setting in such a direction, we admire and respect—would not recommend, we are sure, that Negrais should be *wrested* from the Burmese. But it is well that the supreme government should never lose sight of the value of such an acquisition—that time and opportunity should be looked for, and when they come, every effort be made by British diplomacy to obtain the cession of the island. From time to time we may cautiously feel the pulse of the Burmese Government; and ever watchful for an occasion to introduce the subject with success, endeavour to effect by peaceable negotiation, what might be too dearly pur-

chased by having recourse to arms. Circumstances might arise, it is true, to compel us to abandon all our scruples, and promptly to re-possess ourselves of "our ancient settlement," to keep it from falling into other European hands; but, although we have heard that in this light the subject has been recently considered by Lord Palmerston, and although Mr. Martin in the memoir before us expresses a significant "hope" that our sense of the advantages of the station "may not be whetted by the establishment of an alien power to injure interests till then disregarded by us, and even to rival our authority by erecting a permanent settlement in a country so contiguous to the chief nursery of our revenue and the capital of our possessions," we cannot say that we are apprehensive of any such crisis arising. Mr. Martin refers, in explanation of his doubt, to the past history of the French in the Indian seas, "This is not a matter of speculation," he says, "for it is well known that the superior advantages of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, in a political, commercial, and naval sense, were very early in the late war duly estimated by those against whom it was most incumbent on us to guard—the French; and the declared opinion of M. Suffrein is well worthy of consideration, that Pegu was the country through which the English might be attacked in India with the most success. He well knew the value of Negrais, the most secure harbour in the bay, whence the French cruisers issued forth in safety at all seasons to capture our merchant ships driven at random from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, along the whole extent of which coast there is not one safe harbour for a vessel of 500 tons burthen, during either monsoon." That the French have known, and perhaps do still know, the value of such a station as Negrais, we do not doubt. It is known indeed that the French Government has recently directed its attention to the consideration of the causes of its declining influence in the East; but we may question whether there is any inclination at the present time, in the Republic, to try conclusions with us in the Bay of Bengal.

Apart from the sanatory bearing of the question, the case may be thus briefly stated, in the language of Mr. Martin—"The naval, military, and political advantages of Negrais are no less conspicuous than the commercial. As a port of safety and convenience it has no equal for naval purposes, whilst its occupation by the British would effectually secure to us the entire commerce of Burmah and the adjoining countries—place at our command the supply of grain to Upper Ava and Pegu; and thus, as well as by having our garrisons at the mouths of their

great rivers, we should for ever padlock the military energies of the Burmese, and that without cost or trouble to ourselves." We might almost wish that this were less true. The fact last stated, we are afraid, may be sufficiently patent to the understanding of the Burmese Government, to present a formidable obstacle to the success of any negotiations we might initiate for the cession of the island. For our own parts, we would rather that, as regards at least our relations with Ava, the transfer of Negrais to our hands were no political or military gain. We should be content to think of our shipping our commerce, and the establishment of a sanatarium. The less there is to excite the jealousy and the apprehensions of our neighbours, the better. We must not, at all events, let them think that, in endeavouring to obtain possession of Negrais, we are about " to padlock their military energies."

Whatever mistake may have been committed, in not obtaining after the Burmese war the cession of Negrais, we are not in the position, we then were, to dictate to the Court of Ava, and must now effect our object by adroit management, not by the utterance of an imperious fiat. Our object has been simply to demonstrate, with Mr. Martin's assistance, the various advantages that would accrue to us from the possession of Negrais Island, and more especially its sanatory advantages. We have regarded it less as a padlock for the Burmese, than as a convalescent depôt for the sick of Calcutta and Madras. It is principally in that view of the case that our sympathies have been enlisted, and our advocacy secured. Unwilling that the value of Negrais should be lost sight of, even in these stirring times, when the eyes of men are turned in a totally opposite direction, we have put on record, in a form readily available for future reference, much, if not all, that is known relative to the past history and natural advantages of the island. The time may come when such a compendium will be of use. We can patiently abide it.

ART. II.—1. *Mitchell's Australian Expeditions.* 2 *vols.* 1839.
2. *Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies, by J. Backhouse.* 1843.
3. *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia in* 1844-5-6, *by Captain Sturt. London.* 1849.
4. *Twelve years in the British Colonies from* 1835 *to* 1847, *by J. Byrne. London.* 1848.
5. *Australia, its history and present condition, by the Rev. W. Pridden. London.* 1843.
6. *Enterprise in Tropical Australia, by G. Earl.* 1846.
7. *Burton on Religion and Education in New South Wales.*

THE question may be asked, why should the *Calcutta Review* enter on the subject of Australia, as its special field has hitherto been India? We have only to reply, that we hope bye and bye to take up the question of the great Eastern Archipelago. Our motto is "usque Gangem *et Auroram.*" Australia has been a favorite resort of many of our Indian invalids, and would have been still more so, had there been more facilities of visiting it, or were it as accessible as the Cape. And such a time is at hand. Steam communication from Singapore to Sydney, which is to commence next September, will bring India, Australia, the Spanish and Dutch settlements with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, into close juxta-position; and exhibit the magnificent prospect of the extension of the Anglo-Saxon race, at once in the regions of the Punjab, and amid the bush of Australia. While, in the North of Asia, Russia, the pioneer of civilization and the friend of commerce, holds her protecting ægis over those tribes who have been so long the victims of ruthless chiefs;—in the South, we observe the influence of the English stretching, through the centre afforded by Australia, on the one side, to New Zealand and the islands which stud the Pacific, and, on the other, to those islands, of the Indian seas, once a chain of sub-marine volcanos, which now afford a field of action to the myriads of the Malay race.

In comparing the condition and history of New South Wales and Northern India, various points of comparison present themselves:—such, for instance, as—the state of the aborigines of this country and Australia, and the incorrect notions entertained by Europeans generally of both; life in the bush among the Squatters, and life in the Mofussil among Indigo Planters; Governor Philip's choice of Sydney, and Job Charnock's of

Calcutta; Emancipists and East Indians, and the local prejudices against *every* individual of both, arising from the hateful caste feeling; swindling in Sydney, and mercantile frauds in Calcutta; the opposition to Sydney centralisation by Port Philip, and to Calcutta or "Ditch ascendancy" by the people of the N. W. Provinces; and the improvement in morals in both, owing, in no slight degree, to the diminished use of ardent spirits, and the increase in the number of virtuous, intelligent females. Those, with various other data, suggest many reflections; but we shall confine our attention in this article to a simple detail of facts, illustrating the condition of New South Wales, and confirmed by our own personal observations.

Although a number of books have been written, descriptive of the Colony of New South Wales, yet few of them convey any thing like a true and faithful account of that territory. Most of these productions appear to have been got up by parties, so connected with the country, that their success in life in a great measure depended on inducing emigrants (especially those having capital) to proceed thither; and, with such an object in view, the books hitherto published may be expected, more or less, to contain one-sided views, giving no true picture of the real state of the colony. We shall therefore endeavour to give a plain unvarnished account of the state of New South Wales, in that most remarkable period of its history, from its days of *apparent* prosperity early in 1840, to those of ruin in 1844.

The approach to Sydney is striking. Through a narrow opening in the savage and iron bound coast, barren, desolate and monotonous, you glide at once into a scene of beauty and animation, perhaps unrivalled in the world. The sail from the Heads—two promontories bounding the entrance to Sydney Cove, is certainly most beautiful, extending about seven miles into the interior, with rich deep water, land locked on every side, forming numerous bays, and studded with islets—each more romantic than another, and all of them crowned with villas, and covered with wood. We can conceive nothing finer than the harbour of Sydney, whether we consider its extent, depth of water, safety, or natural beauty.

George Street, a street upwards of two miles long, is the main artery of Sydney. It has many good houses; and certainly, if one considers that little more than fifty years have elapsed since we took possession of the colony, the mere extent is truly wonderful. Not that it is one continued succession of houses the whole way; there are sundry blanks, especially towards each extremity. Steep lanes run up from the right hand of George Street to a very high and disreputable part of the town, called

the Rocks, being a number of low houses, built on that rocky mountain of granite which terminates so abruptly at Fort street. On the left hand, at this part of the street, the bay or harbour runs along side the back part, bounded by a line of wharfs. As you advance, the beauty of the street is much injured by a very long wall, enclosing the military barracks, so that the houses here only run up the left side. However, after passing the barrack wall, you have continuous and elegant buildings on both sides of the way. Such is George Street. Several shorter streets cross it, and a few run parallel to it ; but they are all second rate.

Nothing strikes one in them all, more than the want of public buildings, especially in a town where private enterprize has done so much. There is *no* public building that appears to a stranger as of any consequence, except the new Government House. There are no doubt several Churches, but except one or two in the course of erection, they are conspicuous only for ugliness.

There is a large clumsy building in Hyde Park, called Hyde Park Barracks, which is entirely occupied by convicts and the necessary offices of the principal superintendent.

The old court houses were very poor affairs ; but a new court house, gaol, and military barracks have been lately erected in the suburb of Wulumulu.

The college in Hyde Park, called "Sydney College," has a cold and unfinished appearance. Dr. Lang has also a school or college in Jamieson Street, but of no architectural pretension. Perhaps the most noticeable architectural feature of the town is the market place,—a remarkably extensive and well finished building, situated near the Police office in George Street. It runs in two parallel lines, and contains divisions for meat, fruit, vegetables, poultry, and fish, all as neatly arranged as in Hungerford Market, and equally well furnished. Indeed the fruit market is even superior, from the great quantity of grapes, peaches, green gages, oranges, &c., temptingly exhibited.

One very great inconvenience in Sydney is the wretched way in which the streets are paved. Most of them have no kind of pavement at all, and even in George Street, the stones are in many cases so broken or sunk, that in rain you generally, at night, prefer the centre of the street, to avoid plunging into holes filled with water. In the upper part of the street you may be thankful if you can get along without tumbling down into some dreadful pit, out of which stone has been taken for building purposes, and the vacancy neither filled up nor enclosed.

Another monstrous nuisance is the non-drainage of the town,

which is as bad in this respect as Calcutta. Indeed the *only* drain is an *open* one, running into the cove, and intersecting the principal street entrance from George Street to Government House. The effluvia arising are very offensive.

The dust is another annoyance in which we may have a common feeling with our fellow-sufferers in Sydney. From the general dry weather, and the sandy soil which surrounds the city, the dust is constantly blowing in masses, so that it is impossible to keep the clothes free of dust; and you may be thankful if you can keep your mouths and eyes clean. Indeed when a wind, called a "*Brickfielder*" happens to arise (and these winds are pretty frequent,) you are not only blinded with the dust, but the round hard particles of sand hit with such force upon the face as to be absolutely painful.

In 1840, the expense of living at Sydney was very great. Beef and mutton, bread, milk, firewood, water, as well as groceries and all goods imported, were very dear; and flour was £55 per ton. House rent was most excessive. A mere cottage of a few rooms built of wood, which in England would not bring £20 a year, was let for £120. New houses in Lyon's Terrace, Hyde Park, were rented at £500 a year. Shop rents were equally high, readily yielding in George Street from £500 to £600 per annum.

At this time expense seemed to be an object of no consequence with the inhabitants. Money was so plentiful, and so easily obtained, that the price of any article was no bar to its possession. In carriages alone, the invoice price of the number imported into New South Wales, *in one year*, exceeded £300,000. As may be supposed, some of the persons in these carriages were rather of equivocal aspect. We recollect being struck by seeing two persons very gaily dressed (a man and woman,) driving up George Street in an open carriage with an air of great dignity, and deliberately stopping at a public house, into which the man went, and brought out a glass of gin to the *fine lady* left in the carriage at the door. Such people will no doubt be found in all places, and we do not mean to state that these persons composed the general class of the inhabitants. On the contrary, the appearance of society was surprisingly respectable; but it was a very heartless society,—in its most harmless phase exhibiting chiefly the mere pride of life and boundless ostentation.

The inhospitality of Sydney to strangers was quite proverbial. Even persons of great respectability, who brought the strongest

letters of introduction, were seldom invited to dinner.* In the case of an individual, who arrived with capital, the matter was somewhat different; but then the civility was confined to the interested blandishments of one or two stockholders, ardently desirous to assist the stranger in the disposal of his money, by transferring it to their own pockets.

At the same time with this selfish and niggardly spirit, the most lavish extravagance was going on. Not to speak of the carriages, the dress, and the house rent,—in every article within the dwellings of even ordinary people, the most reckless expenditure was practised. Many persons, who in England had never been accustomed to drink any thing but draft ale and porter, now could drink nothing under claret and champaigne; and parties were given merely to exhibit the finery of the host and hostess. If the mere rent of a shop-keeper's *villa* and shop nearly amounted to £1,000 a year, another £1,000 would be a small allowance for house-keeping: and how £2,000 a year was to be made *honestly*, even with the high prices given in 1840, is a matter we cannot pretend to explain. Such a system of course was one of the causes which brought the colony to ruin.

One of the chief luxuries of Sydney is sea-bathing. In a very beautiful bay, opposite Wulumulu, there were very good floating baths; and in a fine morning nothing could be more pleasant than a swim in the bay. Close to these baths, and all round the various bays in the neighbourhood of Sydney, there are delightful walks. There can be nothing finer than to walk along the edge of the water, following all its windings, promontories, and rising grounds, observing the ships and boats skimming about in this lovely harbour, guarded on all sides by beautifully sloping banks, and surrounded by wood and wild flowers.

In the midst of these slopes lie the Botanical Gardens. These are very beautiful gardens, possessing a great variety of Indian, South Sea, and Norfolk Island plants, with the native and imported plants of New South Wales. In the upper garden there is a good vineyard; and in the lower part, which gradually sinks into the water, minute waves sparkle and break against a grassy embankment, and a very great variety of flowers, tastefully laid out, delights the eye. These gardens are not above

* We knew, for instance, a clergyman of the Church of England, appointed to a charge at Sydney, who was left for months in a lodging house, without a visit or an invitation, except to an official breakfast, from any one of his brethren.

ten minutes' walk from the town, and form altogether a most agreeable resort.

On a promontory of the same bay stands the new Government House. This is certainly a fine building. Its local position is excellent, and the style of the architecture is in good keeping with the surrounding scenery. It has the appearance of a palace in the castellated style with admirably executed turrets, and is built entirely of splendid white granite.

The Government Domain adjoins the new Government House, and consists of very pretty lawns running from the water to the top of the rising ground on which the upper part of the town is built. At the extreme end of the domain, and about half way up the slope, stands the old Government House, which is merely an extended line of building in the cottage style, having a neat appearance from the outside. It possesses some handsome rooms; and is a very pleasant residence from its position; but it has nothing commanding, or in keeping with the purpose to which it was applied. In its early days it was, no doubt, thought very handsome; but things were then conducted on a very free and easy sort of a scale. It is said, that when the officers of the old N. S. Fencibles were invited to dine at Government House, they were requested to bring their own bread with them, as these were days of scarcity from the extravagant price of flour; and that they arrived accordingly, each with a loaf stuck on the point of his sword.

From all parts of the town, and surrounding country, the appearance of the shipping in the harbour is very fine. Not only are there ships close to the various wharfs discharging and loading, but a great number lie out in the various bays forming the harbour; and these bays are constantly gay with sailing boats, small yachts, and rowing boats plying about in all directions.

The suburbs of Sydney are not remarkable for beauty: but as you proceed into the country, and all along the bays, there are many beautiful houses and gardens, especially on the opposite shore,—where there is a large suburb called the North Shore, which is a series of villas embosomed in wood, each commanding charming views of the town, the cove, and the shipping.

Towards the North, the nearest town to Sydney, at the mouth of the Hunter, is New Castle, a very dreary and cold looking place. It has a peculiarly bleak appearance from the quantity of drifting sand surrounding the town, and the bare rocks of the sea-coast. It possesses a gaol, the only one for the whole district of the Hunter, new military barracks, and a very neat Police office. The town itself though a port, has very little

trade, and wants even the bustle which would be given to it by steamers discharging, as almost all the passengers and the goods for the settlers up the whole country as far as New England, go on to Morpeth, by which some twenty miles of land carriage is saved. At New Castle the Australian Agricultural Company have a valuable coal mine, which is worked here, and the coals sent to Sydney and elsewhere. This company appears to have a complete monopoly of the coal trade,—not only from their obtaining a grant of land of a *million* of acres, but because in their charter, there is a clause binding the Government of New South Wales to prevent the working of any other mine within the colony.

Higher up, the river narrows, and the banks are so thickly wooded, that it seems impossible to penetrate inland, and as dull and quiet as if the country was unoccupied. An oppressive silence prevails. There is no noise from animals, and no singing from the birds. A dreary chirp, or whistle may be heard every now and then, but this makes the solitude of the place the more apparent. Occasionally a spot of cleared land with its solitary hut or house may be seen; and, further on, a township named Raymond Terrace, where several houses have been erected, and a wharf, from which coals can be embarked. Morpeth is an insignificant place, with some green hills in its neighbourhood. It has a Church; and coaches run from it, (if they can be so named) being open boxes, like small London pleasure vans, shut in with curtains.

Beyond Morpeth is Maitland, the second town in the colony,—a long straggling place, nearly three miles in extent, and including two towns, called East and West Maitland. East Maitland is decidedly the place where the town should have been entirely built, both from its local advantages in possessing elevated ground, and from being the place where the Court House is situated, and where the Police magistrate resides. Had all the dwellings been properly arranged in this locality, instead of being stretched out along the road side for three miles, a very compact and important inland town would have been formed, and business would have been conducted in a much more convenient way. Altogether it is a very gay and bustling place.

After leaving Maitland and the cleared ground in its vicinity, you have fairly entered the bush, and nothing is to be seen but forests of endless length. The chief object worthy of notice, in this part of the colony, is Mount Wingen, the only burning mountain yet discovered in New South Wales. It is of no great extent, the flames issuing from several small fissures, particularly from a very narrow opening about thirty feet long, and flicker-

ing in the sun-shine about a foot high. There is evidently much combustion underneath; and here and there you see a deep recess which has burned out. The progress of the fire has been very slow, and the area of the whole burning surface does not exceed half a mile. It has a sulphureous smell, and a singularly strange and wild appearance.

The wilderness and the bush naturally lead us to speak of the bushrangers, many of whose deeds remind us of scenes which occurred in the district of Krishnagur in the days of Mr. Blacquiere.

Bushrangers are runaway convicts. Very often these men are driven to take the bush from the cruel and over-bearing conduct of their masters; although, we admit, that they are generally the worst disposed of their class, who, being often punished for their neglect of duty, are thus rendered hardened and desperate. But whatever cause may have driven them to the bush, their life there is a very miserable one,—always in dread of being taken, unable to trust their comrades, and often dying of starvation among the caves and distant mountain ranges, where they hide themselves. Sooner or later too they are almost sure to be taken, and in most instances to be hung.

In 1840, a very famous gang of bushrangers, called Davies's gang, from their leader, Davies, a Jew, completely took possession of the Hunter districts. They robbed over a range of 3 or 400 miles, and were heard of, at so many different spots, committing depredations about the same time, that no one knew whether the gang was in the immediate neighbourhood, or several hundred miles away. So great was the terror they inspired, that travelling along the road was very much given up. Eventually six of these bushrangers were hung in Sydney. But even this severe example only kept bushranging in check in the Hunter districts for a short time.

A man, named Wilson, then took the lead, and became notorious. He was said to be the natural son of a lately deceased Scotch nobleman. He was originally a native of London, where he had been well educated; but falling into bad company, and thence into crime, he was sent to Sydney as a convict. On his arrival, he was assigned to a kind and lenient master. This gentleman however had a convict overseer, a flash low fellow, who went by the name of "Captain Rock;" and Wilson, having disobeyed some order of this man, to avoid punishment, took to the bush.

For upwards of two years did this man continue to rob passengers and drays with perfect impunity: but, as he never attempted to injure any one, he was exceedingly well liked, especi-

ally by the assigned convicts, who gave him information of all that was going on. Besides, being perfectly acquainted with the broken country he had chosen for his habitation, he used to lie on the top of the mountains near Murrurundi, from which he could see the direction in which the Police went in search of him, and thus easily avoid them. In all his robberies (and they were not few) he never used any violence, but always came up to the traveller, well armed, and demanded his money. This demand was generally complied with; and Wilson carried his civility so far, that if the traveller had some keep-sake of value with him, which he did not wish to part with, it was often left with him. From his coolness, and from calculating his time and place so well in effecting his robberies, he might never have been taken, at least not for a long course of years, had he not joined himself to a companion named Forrester,—a tall powerful man, but a cowardly fellow, with none of Wilson's cleverness. Shortly afterwards a third man joined them; and, being well mounted and armed, they became dangerous and formidable, more especially as Forrester was a rash reckless man, with little or no command, either over his temper or his gun.

About the end of 1842, a Mr. Bigge and his people were driving horses near the Peel river, on their way to Moreton bay, when they were stopped by Wilson's gang. Mr. Bigge, (a brave resolute man), offered resistance; and Forrester fired at him, and missed him. Wilson then fired, and wounded Mr. Bigge severely on the upper part of the shoulder, the ball grazing the shoulder blade, and going within a hair's breadth of a dangerous artery. Mr. Bigge again fired at Forrester; but his servants having disappeared, and there being three armed men to one, he yielded; and the bushrangers, without doing him any further injury, decamped. Wilson was taken some weeks afterwards by the mounted police, who came unexpectedly upon the bushrangers as they lay encamped in the bed of a creek during the night, beside a fire, which had attracted the attention of the police. Both he and Forrester, who was apprehended some weeks afterwards, were hung for the offence. The third was never afterwards seen or heard of.

Davies's and Wilson's gangs were the principal bushrangers, although many others appear now and then. There were likewise numerous robberies of drays proceeding up to the distant stations, which were not effected by the *regular* bushrangers, but by the assigned servants in collusion with the bullock-drivers, who made a pretended attack of bushrangers, an excellent excuse for drinking their master's wine and spirits, and distributing the property, entrusted to their care, among their fellow-convicts.

The constant annoyance from bushrangers renders the country a most unpleasant place to live in; for, although they do not often attack a dwelling-house, yet it is most inconvenient for settlers, especially those at the most distant stations, to have their drays robbed, and the supplies, laid in at much expense, suddenly taken from them, just when they may be completely out of the necessary articles of life. Again it is most uncomfortable to think, that you cannot travel without being liable constantly to fall in with these villains, who may deprive you of your horse, your money, and even your clothes, leaving you stripped of every thing, to make your way home in the best mode you can.

It cannot be denied that there was generally too little opposition to the demands of the robber on the part of the settler. It was certainly humiliating to see one or two men bring in half a dozen mounted gentlemen from the road side into the bush, one by one, tie them up, and rob them without their making the slightest resistance. In fact it was this want of spirit which gave encouragement to bushranging, and rendered it a safe and idle life for those who would not work.

Another evil which the colonists have to endure—and one even of greater extent in its ramification than that of bushranging—is the system of cattle-stealing, which is practised all over the country. Various circumstances combine to render the stealing of cattle and horses an offence very easy to commit, and very difficult to detect. There is the large space occupied by cattle running loose in distant parts of the colony, the fact that the owners cannot see them so as to identify them for years, the great price sometimes given for cattle, the collusion between the butcher and seller, the former not being particular from whom he purchases, if he can only purchase cheaply, the easiness and rapidity with which brands are defaced, and above all the readiness with which a person, so disposed, can gather a set of discarded convict stock men, who, for a share in the plunder, will immediately join any set of cattle-stealers.

There are vast (almost incredible) numbers of cattle now astray in the bush. Most of these are becoming wild from their never seeing a human being,—much less being handled or brought into stock-yards; and, as they breed among themselves, the whole country will, no doubt, in the course of time, be over-run with wild cattle. This gives an additional impetus to cattle-stealing. For in these distant runs—away from all stations, and in broken and mountainous ground,—nothing can be more easy, than for a few stock men to encamp, and take the least wild of the cattle into a temporary yard, and, after placing a brand upon them, drive them away to market. No one can possibly identify

the cattle, and, as they are generally fat, having an unlimited range of pasture, they bring a good price.*

The country about Bathurst used to be the great cattle-stealing district; and there was a kind of co-partnership kept up between two sets of cattle-stealers, one at Bathurst, and the other at Liverpool plains.

The great check, which cattle-stealing latterly received, was from the low price given. It became not worth the trouble involved, to say nothing of the risk. But we are convinced, that, whenever a fair price is given for stock, cattle and horse-stealing will always more or less prevail in New South Wales; and we do not see how, by any vigilance, it is to be prevented.

It will be naturally expected that we should say something of the transportation system, especially in so far as it relates to the assigning convicts as servants to the settlers. Reserving for another article the great question of free or convict labour, there can be no doubt, that, whatever its merits or demerits may be, the sudden cessation of the assignment system was one of the principal causes of the temporary ruin of the colony. The non-assignment plan at once struck a blow (by entailing an immediate outlay in the shape of wages to free servants of £500,000 *per annum*,) which no young colony could stand. The immediate and constant payment of wages to the men, who supplied the places of the convicts, was an immediate drain upon the profits of sheep farming, to such an extent, as to render that mode of living, the principal one in the colony, a system of no profit, or rather of absolute loss, as it afterwards turned out. Besides it

* One individual is known to have carried on this system on a large scale, and for many months undiscovered. He was the son of an English officer, and having failed in business, he took up an inn at Murrurundi, and, gathering about him a great number of disreputable characters, he carried on a regular system of cattle stealing at a hidden station in the mountains. His villany was at last discovered by accident. About twenty head of cattle had been seized by the Police at Maitland at a butcher's, under the suspicion that they were stolen cattle with defaced brands, when this inn-keeper whose name was Atkinson, now again a bankrupt, came forward to the Magistrate, stating that he had purchased them from a man named Schofield. It so happened, that Schofield himself was in the lock-up at the same time under a charge of cattle stealing; and there being strong ground to suspect, that these cattle were originally drafted from the hidden station in the mountains, a party of Police was dispatched, *with Schofield's horse to lead the way through the defiles of the mountains*, in order to discover the station. After giving the horse his head, and meandering through a most rugged and wild country for many miles, the Police at last came upon the station. The parties, having heard of Atkinson's apprehension, had all escaped, leaving behind them a very good hut, with an excellent four-railed stock-yard, capable of containing several hundred head of cattle. There were recent marks of its being occupied. The yard was filled with fresh manure, and outside lay *a large heap of bones of horses half consumed.* These people had been in the habit of destroying the mares, and keeping the foals only! If the mothers had been kept, there would have been a possibility of tracing them; but there was none after the mares had been destroyed. The unbranded foals were then branded with a fictitious brand, and in a few months sold as young stock.

was attended with other disadvantages. The system of assignment ceased on a given day. The whole future supply of convict labour became at once stopped, and there was nothing to supply its place. Emigration was only a partial supply, not at all equal to the sudden demand made upon it. The consequence was, that wages advanced with the limited supply, and settlers were even compelled to restrain their exertions, from the want of labourers. Another great disadvantage was the kind of labourers supplied. The emigrant in many cases was an ignorant, lazy person, totally unacquainted with country pursuits, and quite unsuited to the wants of the colonists. The convicts, on the other hand, were generally powerful men, and often very clever fellows; and, though great rogues, yet the severe corporal punishment, which hung over their heads, had a wonderful effect in keeping them to their duty: whereas the master had no mode of compelling the emigrants to perform their work, and in many cases they were totally useless.

The convict population, in a moral point of view, is certainly a great draw-back to the colony; and to be doomed to live and die in a land of felons is a very painful and disheartening idea. The general character of convicts is as bad as can well be imagined; they are full of deception and vice; no kindness can make any lasting impression upon them; when you are kind to them, they immediately think it arises from some merit of their own, and they are sure to turn it against you. They will rob you before your face, and, when out of sight, will do nothing.* The best mode of treating them is to give them all their dues, (and no one is better acquainted with what he is legally entitled to from his master than the convict) and at the same time to enforce the regular performance of all the work required of them.

Convicts are divided into three classes, the bond, the ticket of leave-holders, and the emancipists or ex-convicts. The bond are either in Government employment, in assigned service, or in road gangs. Those in Government employment are mostly kept at Sydney on the Government works, and live in Hyde Park barracks. They are mustered every morning under overseers, and dispatched about sun-rise, in bodies marching two

* This condemnation is perhaps too sweeping, and yet might be extended to servants of honester repute. Convicts generally must be bad and wicked men. But a bad man may be susceptible of gratitude, fidelity, and attachment. And instances of such are to be found, not largely, but in a fair proportion, amongst convicts whose masters treat them with kindness and firmness, as misguided, but reasonable and immortal fellow-creatures. A true answer to the question, What made these men convicts? might perhaps lead to conclusions little flattering to those, who are not convicts.—Ed.

by two, to the different localities, where their work is going on. They generally carry their food with them, and in the evening are marched back again to the barracks in the same order. The convicts in assigned service are under certain regulations: but so much depends upon the character and disposition of the master, that the convict finds his assignment, a punishment or a reward, just as the master's natural disposition leads him to treat his assigned men.

When they behave so well, either in Government employment or private service, as not to be punished at all, convicts for life are entitled to *a ticket of leave,* after eight years' service; convicts, for fourteen years, after six years,'—and convicts for seven years, after four years' service. It is therefore a system of rewards, and punishments. These tickets may be granted for any district except Sydney, and the holders must remain in the district chosen, working for their living like free men, and conforming to the rules set forth in the regulations. One of these rules, now abolished, was a quarterly attendance at the Police Office, there to be inspected by the Police Magistrate of the district, and to give an account of their mode of living, producing their tickets, which the Magistrate marked as having been mustered. This personal quarterly attendance is now done away with; and the ticket of leave-holders are only obliged to muster once a year; which may be done either by reporting themselves to the clerk of the bench, or by their employers writing a letter, to inform the bench that the men are in their service. Every punishment a convict receives, puts him back one year in obtaining his ticket; and those ticket of leave-holders, who commit a fault, lose their tickets, and are returned to Government service. But if these men are not punished, and hold their tickets for six years, they are entitled to petition the Governor for *a conditional pardon.* This restores them to all the advantages of a free person, except that they cannot leave the colony.

It is a great mistake that convicts, on their arrival, are not classified according to their offences. As it is, the most ferocious murderer, and the comparatively innocent man, transported for some petty political or military offence, are classed together; and, what is worse, may be assigned into the same private service. Again the plan of assigning them as domestic servants in Sydney was bad. Here a felon, who just escaped the gallows, is assigned to a Sydney gentleman, gets into gay living, and is seen walking about, as unconcerned and happy, as if he had arrived with the most unblemished character and the highest recommendations. Another fault in the system was

allowing men to be assigned to their own wives. Nothing was more common than (in the case of bank robbery, &c.) for the husband to be transported, leaving the wife to follow with the plunder, and on her arrival to get assigned to his wife, when they lived comfortably on the profit of their villainy.

The ticket of leave-convict is generally a well behaved man, his ticket depending on his good conduct. They form the best shepherds and general servants to be found.

The emancipists are of a very mixed character. Generally speaking, the short sentenced men of seven years, when they become free, especially those who had never held a ticket, are found to be the most uncivil and worst conducted men in the colony. They have been kept in check during their bondage by the fear of corporal punishment; and, whenever that is removed, they break out into all the unrestrained viciousness of their natural disposition. Others again, from the class who have long held their tickets, are well behaved, industrious men; and, having accumulated some wealth, they generally continue to work hard, and from small settlers at last arrive at the height of their ambition—that of becoming considerable stockholders.

The quantity of work which the convicts have done in the colony, whether in assigned service, in hired service, or on their own account, is most surprizing. The mere labour of cutting down, burning off, and stumping, the numerous paddocks now under cultivation is no small matter. The almost incredible amount of fenced land in the colony, and the numerous houses, stockyards, huts, wells, &c., all done by convict labour, prove most abundantly, that the early settlers were no idlers, and knew well how to work their convict servants. At that time the masters were entitled to make the convict do two rods of fencing each day; and the general rule was, that whatever they performed beyond that, was paid for in extra indulgences.

The female convicts are generally worse behaved than the males. The system of keeping them locked up in a factory at Sydney, almost (till lately) in utter idleness, is certainly one very much to be condemned. In a country, where the disparity of the sexes is so great, it certainly would be advantageous to the colony, and likewise to the unhappy women themselves, to assign them to masters as far in the interior as possible, and never in Sydney. The keeping of these depraved women together only renders them more depraved; and, as there is no mode of punishing them but returning them to the factory,—that, instead of being a punishment, is a boon held out for bad behaviour. For they prefer much being together with their wicked compani-

ons to being in the interior at a solitary farm, and with a regular family.

Upon the whole, it seems very doubtful, whether transportation to New South Wales be any punishment to *the felon*. He arrives in a most delightful climate, and, as the chances are, he may be assigned to a kind and reasonable master; he at once obtains good food in abundance, with clothing and lodging, for his labour; and in time he secures for himself independence. How many thousands in England, able and willing to work, might envy such a fate!

Much has been written for and against transportation, as a secondary punishment. The Archbishop of Dublin wrote a pamphlet condemning it, which was answered by Sir George Arthur. The present Bishop of Australia, defending the System, says:—

> After all that has been or can be said, I must return to my original assertion, that transportation has been too hastily decreed and condemned. It reforms as many, I believe, as any other mode of secondary punishment could reform; and they who are not improved in morals, become less dangerous, than if they had remained at home. Punishments more formidable may undoubtedly be devised, but then they could not be equally cheap, corrective, or humane, and consequently their adoption is out of the question. In the present state of the country, I am satisfied transportation cannot be dispensed with; and should the legislature try the experiment, after stocking, and over-stocking as many penitentiaries as can be built, they will be at last compelled again to have recourse to penal colonies.

Notwithstanding this high authority, we cannot agree with the Bishop. The object of all punishment is to deter from crime; and we maintain, that when the class in England, from which convicts spring, are aware of the advantages enjoyed by their convicted brethren, they will naturally long to commit some crime, which may send them to so desirable a country.

In point of morals, we cannot see that there is at present much improvement in the colony. It will take a long series of years before the old leaven of felony can evaporate, if it ever disappears; and besides, the class of emigrants sent out were but little calculated to improve the old hands. On the contrary, being principally Irish labourers, ignorant and easily led, they were speedily corrupted by the convicts. In many cases this was not a difficult task; for more than half the lesson in vice had been learned at home, and the remainder was taken up with wonderful alacrity.

The whole question of emigration is a fertile theme for discussion; for with it is mixed up the question of Government land sales, as it was from their produce that emigration was carried on. We have already spoken of the general character of the emigrants sent out. What else indeed could be expected from the system

as managed by Mr. Marshall? who, being paid a fee of 20*s.* per head for every emigrant shipped, could not be expected to enquire over minutely into the previous history and habits of the emigrant. From the General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of 1843, we find that the total amount of emigration into New South Wales, during a period of five years and a half, up to its temporary cessation about the middle of 1842, was thus:

	Immigrants assisted.	*Immigrants unassisted.*	*Total.*
1837	2,664	871	3,535
1838	6,102	1,478	7,580
1839	8,416	2,952	11,368
1840	5,696	1,840	7,536
1841	19,523	3,677	23,200
1842	5,807	1,217	7,024
	48,208	12,035	60,243

The bringing out of so very large a body of immigrants to so distant a colony was accomplished entirely by the produce of the sales of Government lands. But here again, as if every thing was to combine for the downfall of the colony, another grand mistake was committed. The price of land was raised by the Home Government from 5 to 20 shillings per acre; the consequence of which absurdity was, that the sale of Government land totally ceased, and of course emigration was at an end. This took place at the same moment with the ceasing of transportation; so that both these tremendous blows took place at once, and fairly levelled the colony with the dust.

The emigration commissioners in their report very graphically state,—

In this colony we regret to have to notice an extraordinary falling off in the receipts from sales of land. This branch of revenue, which in 1840 amounted to £317,251, decreased in 1841 to £93,538, and in 1842 only reached the sum of £19,444. The following is a comparative statement of the receipts and number of acres sold in the three years:—

	1840.		1841.		1842.	
	Acres.	£	Acres.	£	Acres.	£
Sydney	105,900	99,231	19,546	21,923	7,711	13,405
Port Phillip	83,887	218,020	66,230	71,615	2,962	6,039
Total...	189,787	317,251	85,776	93,538	10,673	19,444

The commissioners most inconclusively argue, that this de-

crease arose from the general depression in the colony, because the Act of Parliament, raising the price to 20 shillings per acre, not having passed till July, 1842, could not possibly have reached the colony till the end of the year. But it was well known in the colony, when the first rise in the price from 5 to 12 took place, that in a very short time the price would be 20 ; and so preposterous and absurd did such a plan appear to the public, that the very hint of such a proceeding almost stopped the sales. The actual arrival of the Act of Parliament completely effected that purpose. We are not sure that the price alone (though in many places the land was not worth 6*d.* per acre,) could have effected this purpose, had the supply of labour been continued. Many purchases were made for the mere object of procuring the men assigned with the land to the purchaser; but when there was no assignment, the only motive for such purchases was entirely removed. On this subject Sir George Gipps, the late Governor, observes in a despatch dated 14th May, 1842,

> That up to the time when the assignment of convicts to private service ceased, lands were largely purchased by new comers for the sole purpose of qualifying themselves to receive convicts,—assignment of convicts being made according to the landed qualifications of the different applicants ; but, since the discontinuance of assignment, this inducement to purchase land has of course wholly ceased.

Another striking proof of the utter wantonness of the measure is the fact, that capitalists were thus raising a monopoly against themselves. The capitalist alone pays for the land, and his money is expended in bringing out emigrants : but the old settler, who received grants of land, and who paid nothing, was ready in Sydney, along with the merchants and tradesmen, to engage these emigrants so brought out, at higher wages, than the party, who paid for their passage, and required their services, could possibly afford to give. This plan reminds one of the man who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Here were at once ruined the creation of the fund, the emigration itself, together with the settler for whose benefit the whole plan was put into existence : and with the settler fell the colony.

Although the pursuits of settlers and squatters are very much the same, still there is a distinction between them, as they carry on their systems of sheep-farming under different circumstances. Certain boundaries are established within the colony, by the name of boundaries, or limits of location. These embrace the colony proper as divided into counties, and within those limits land is either sold, or let upon lease. Beyond them it is not either sold or let ; but *licenses* are granted for the occupation of such tracts as may be desired for pasture by proprietors of

stock. On each of these licenses a fee of £10 is payable annually: and an assessment under a local ordinance (2d Vict. No. 27) is levied on the stock depastured thereon.

The settlers occupy that portion of the colony within the boundaries of location, and the squatters the districts beyond. The settler's land is generally a grant, or property purchased either from the crown direct, or from a private settler. As it takes about three acres of land to feed a sheep, of course the settler has a great deal more to contend with than the squatter who sits down on Government land, possessing a run of 5,000 acres, for the annual rent of £10. The settler therefore does not keep many sheep on his purchased land; but, if he happens to be a large sheep-holder, he takes out a license, and sends his flocks to a squatting station, to be managed by a superintendent. His home station is then generally used for a few flocks, or as a resting place for others coming down to market; and he endeavours to raise wheat both for the home and out-station.

The settler's life is one of unceasing occupation from day-light to sun-down. In the morning he sees his sheep taken out of the hurdles to be fed, or, it may be, he has cattle to brand, or to receive drays with provisions, or to despatch in them provisions to the station, to send down his wool, to plough his land, to sow or reap his crop, to wash and shear his sheep, to pack and press his wool, to make his wine, to grind his wheat, to attend to his garden, to proceed to his station, to hire and despatch shepherds, to keep his accounts, to give out the weekly rations to his establishment, to proceed to Sydney for the purpose of shipping his wool to England, of getting supplies, and transacting business with his agent. In these, and a thousand other matters constantly occuring, the settler's time is fully occupied: and, as avocations, so numerous and varied, never go on smoothly, he is kept in a constant worry. He is annoyed by the conduct of servants, by the loss of bullocks by which his drays may be detained for weeks on the road, by the want of rain which destroys his crop, or by a deluge which entirely sweeps it away. Latterly, in addition to all this, he has had the misfortune to see all his golden dreams of fortune evaporate, to find his bills dishonoured, his cattle or sheep return from Sydney unsold,—and to face, above all, the ruinous expense created by the sharp practice of the Sydney lawyers, who at once institute actions, and hasten the wreck of his property into the hands of the sheriff.

Such is a rapid sketch of the settler's life in 1844. Four years before how different were his prospects! In these palmy days of supposed prosperity, he was gay, active and hopeful, driving his carriage, and entertaining his friends with claret and

champaign,—with plenty of exercise in the open air on horseback, his hands full of business, his flocks and herds increasing, and his credit unlimited. But when "a change came over the spirit of his dream," then matters were materially altered. He had no longer the same incentives to exertion; and, finding all he could do of little or no service, he began to await the result with a gloomy indifference.

The squatters, although, like all the other colonists, they felt the hardship of the times, were at first in a better position. They had their land for nothing. No doubt they paid an assessment on their stock, on sheep $\frac{1}{2}d.$, cattle $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, and horses $3d.$; but these taxes went to provide a border police for their protection, and a commissioner, whose labours were of much use to the squatter. The duties of this officer were to enquire into the correctness of the returns made by the occupants of the number of their cattle; to carry out the law in respect to the branding of cattle; to impound the cattle of unlicensed persons; to decide upon questions of encroachments; to settle disputes between the licensed occupants, and between masters and servants; and generally to secure the rights of the crown, and protect the lives and properties of the squatters.

There was a strong feeling of jealousy on the part of the land-holder against the squatter. Thus Mr. McQueen says, "This measure acts most unfairly to the old settler, and to 'those who have sunk capital in agriculture and general 'improvement; it encourages a race of wandering unsettled 'and almost lawless proprietors, of stock, some of whom, it 'is shrewdly believed, are not over scrupulous how they in-'crease their flocks and herds." This gentleman was then a considerable land-proprietor in New South Wales, and of course adverse to a system, which did not encourage the purchase of land, but held out all the advantages of sheep-farming, without embarking a large capital in the purchase of land. But in truth, instead of being "lawless proprietors of stock," the squatters of the New England district, the most important in the colony, are mostly all gentlemen of high character and good family. There were perhaps more gentlemen in New England than in all other parts of the colony put together, and among them men who had sunk a large capital in sheep and cattle.

Squatters besides are the pioneers of the colony. They are gradually bringing into civilization the wild districts, and have pushed considerably beyond Moreton Bay on the north (nearly 500 miles from Sydney,) and nearly as far in a south-westerly direction, towards Yass and Port Phillip. In doing so they un-

dergo very great hardships, and no little danger from the blacks, who are very troublesome at distant stations. The squatter has everything to do, when he first encamps at a station he means to occupy. He has to build huts for himself and his men, shearing sheds and other out-offices; to fence a paddock, and to cut down and root out the natural timber, which is sometimes very heavy. During all these operations he has constantly to shepherd his stock, and is liable to be attacked by the wild blacks, who, if they do not murder his solitary shepherd, are very apt to carry off of his sheep and spear his cattle. The squatter is therefore entitled to as much support as the Government can give him. The uncertain tenure of his land was very annoying; as in former time he was at any moment liable to be removed, and even now he is at the mercy of the Government, which *may* pay him for his improvements on the Government land, or—*may not*.

A bush life may appear to the romantic very delightful; but to a man with a family, a narrow income, and in an expensive country, where he must keep up a good appearance, it is a life of unmixed discomfort. Every day is so like another, that it puts you in mind of the monotony of the sea; and the calm tall gum trees with the songless birds are most tame and stupid. Besides all this, something is eternally going wrong. The fierce sun has withered up the new sprung vegetables; the well has run dry; the dray with the provisions has been robbed by bushrangers, and arrives a "miserable account of empty boxes;" the servants have got drunk or bolted; the horses have gone astray from the paddock; the sheep have come home *minus* a few hundred, or, during the night have been attacked by the native dogs, and many of them destroyed. A thousand other distresses and annoyances are continually occurring, which no vigilance or prudence can in any way prevent.

The society again is very limited, and not such as one can have very much pleasure in. The settlers are all of them too much taken up with their own concerns to spare any time for visiting: and, when they do visit, the conversation is all about their annoyances and troubles, or the everlasting talk of sheep and bullocks. This is the general tone of society in the bush, although there are of course several favourable exceptions.

The mode of living is with every one very much the same. Almost every settler kills his own sheep or bullocks, and, as the former is more easily manageable,—mutton seems to be universal. The quantity used is really wonderful. The common rations for a man is 10 or 12 lbs. of mutton per week; and, where a number of men are kept, many sheep in this way are killed

every week; in hot weather, and when the meat will not keep, they are killed every day.

A great deal of the comfort of a family depends on servants. Although even in England they are a plague, still you can *get* them, however frequently you may have occasion to change,—and you have always the hope that the next change will be for the better. But in New South Wales in 1840, you could scarcely get servants for love or money; and even when you got them, and brought them from Sydney at considerable expense, it was very difficult to prevail upon them to remain. The females often got married, or went off without being married at all; and, as for the men, they were so utterly useless, and ignorant of the kind of work required of them, that you were nearly as well off when you had none. The class of emigrants sent out at this time was wretched. No care was taken in providing proper and efficient men for country employments; and, as Mr. Marshall, who was then in full force as an emigration agent, had no inducement held out to him to be particular in his choice, as he got a guinea a-head for every emigrant shipped, it is evident that the most lazy, worthless and inefficient persons would serve his purposes just as well as the best instructed able labourers. Strange to say, the convict women were not much inferior to the emigrant women; indeed, as the settlers had more controul over them, if they were not thoroughly depraved, they were often the more useful of the two to a family in the bush.

From the prosperous state of the colony in 1840, the public were not at all prepared for the ruin which afterwards overtook it; the first appearance of which began to shew itself about the middle of the year 1841. We have no doubt that even then many persons initiated into the mysteries of banking, and judging of their own personal liabilities, and the great extent of their speculations, were full of fear for the future, and did not think matters were on a sound basis. But at that period they did not give the matter much thought: they were entirely occupied in their own manifold concerns from morning till night; and they never dreamt of comparing notes with their neighbours, because they could not do so without explaining their own pecuniary affairs.

Without examining minutely the speculations of private settlers, who all anticipated a golden harvest as the issue of their labours, there were, even in 1840, many subjects of dread which would occur to the mind of a close observer. In the first place, the number of banks was alarming. There were the bank of New South Wales, the Commercial bank, the bank of Australia,

the Union bank, the bank of Australasia, and the Sydney bank. All of these were large joint stock banks with immense capitals, and some of them English banks, having branch establishments in the interior. These banks all issued notes, and competed keenly for business. Of course they were very desirous to oblige their customers by discounting their bills; and, it is said that the bank of New South Wales had lying in their coffers, not gold or bullion, but dishonoured bills to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds. These sums were due principally by the proprietors of bank stock; but, instead of enforcing payment of these bills, which it had originally discounted, the bank took them and placed them to the debit of the stock account,—thus rendering the amount of stock of each holder nearly nominal. This certainly was a most extraordinary system of banking, and one which sooner or later would bring down any establishment.

The distress at first appeared among the very small settlers, or those who had speculated the least. When a bill of one of these men fell due, and was not regularly taken up, a legal prosecution immediately ensued. At this time, the lawyers were fully employed, and the amount spent in litigation was quite enormous. One extensive mercantile firm especially, which had very large transactions in all parts of the colony, managed its affairs in a most discreditable manner. Their bill transactions were very large, and their system was never to pay bills when they could be renewed. As soon as they became unrenewable, they arranged so as to pay off certain bills, allowing law proceedings to take place against them on the others, —openly alleging that they could turn the money to more use by keeping it, than the law expenses amounted to: so that in this matter they gloried in their shame, and, it may be, compelled honest, but poor men, to be sacrified by their inability to meet their engagements. In London, when a merchant's bill is dishonoured, he cannot again shew himself on change, and, as a matter of course, he must become insolvent; but in Sydney, matters were very different, although afterwards these very merchants became insolvent to an enormous amount.

In many instances, parties were both merchants and bank directors. Suppose, for instance, A. and B. wished to join together in buying up a cargo of tea, sugar, or flour. They could easily do so, and yet not have a shilling. A. had merely to take B.'s bill to his bank, where he could thus at once raise £20,000; another £20,000 would be raised in a similar way by B. Then with £40,000, they bought up the whole cargo of tea or sugar then in the market, by which at once a monopoly

was created against the settler with his own money. The tea, or sugar, was then sold at a very large increase of price to the public, and probably the money was pocketed by the monopolizers,—leaving the bills, or part of them to be renewed, and, what afterwards turned out to be the fact in one of the banks, viz. the Bank of Australia, the bills themselves to be paid up by the shareholders of the bank.

The banks also in a most cruel manner curtailed their discounts to the unfortunate settler. The paper of settlers, we cannot tell for what reason, was not looked at, when the banks were eager enough to discount the Sydney merchant's paper. It is plain that no policy could be more short-sighted, as the settler is the main stay of a colony, which has nothing but wool principally to depend upon; and that wool cannot be raised, except by the industry and exertions of the settler.

It becomes then very easy to perceive how, with such powerful agencies against the settler, he began to totter towards his fall.

The number of declared insolvencies, which took place during the year 1843, was quite surprising. The list, extending from the commencement of the panic to this period, was little under one thousand insolvents ;—and there were many others tottering on the brink of ruin. By degrees the large landed proprietors began to feel the want of money : their bills became due, as regularly as before, but there was more difficulty in getting them renewed; and then money became more difficult to get, in consequence of the falling off in the price of stock. They likewise felt the effects of their former extravagance : the accounts for goods purchased came pouring in. They were pressed by lawyer's letters, instantly followed by actions, soon doubling the amount in expenses ; while the absurd regulations regarding land, rendering their land, unsaleable, together with the great additional expense of managing their establishments by hired labour in place of convicts, all combining, threw the affairs of the settlers generally into confusion. Great distress arose, but still it was not conjectured that the distress and ruin would become so universal as it soon proved to be.

But it is not only in its mercantile character, that the morality of New South Wales stands so low : in the trial of cases in the Supreme Court, and more particularly at Police offices, the amount of perjury daily uttered is quite astounding. India, heathen though it be, affords no parallel to the unblushing effrontery with which this system is carried on. In fact you will get men in any number to swear anything you like ; and the magistrate can merely weigh the probabilities with the character of the witnesses.

But it is time to turn from the settlers and the squatters, the merchants, the felonry and the ex-felonry of the colony, to the subject of the aborigines at large, and their habits and character.

It is a curious fact, that in every part of the country, taken possession of by Europeans, whether by force or otherwise, —as the white men become more numerous, the blacks and the kangaroos gradually disappear. In and about Sydney, there are very few native blacks, and these of the most hideous and worst disposed kind. They are naturally a race difficult to train to habits of industry; and, as they are fond of ardent spirits, those who have survived about Sydney, and other large towns, become debauched, and in personal appearance most disgusting. Generally speaking, only the lowest of the white population take notice of them; and then merely out of sport, or from a fellow feeling in the love of vice. Up the country again, the aborigines are a much better race; and, in some districts towards the south, they have been made to labour at several of the farms. This however is the exception to the usual rule; for they are most inveterately addicted to idleness, and no kindness or good treatment has hitherto availed to convert them into steady labourers. When hard pressed for food, (a case which very often happens,) they will bring in wood or bark to an establishment, or assist in weeding a garden, or in gathering maize; but as soon as they have been rewarded with a full meal, they will very likely take themselves off, and leave the wood half cut, or the maize half gathered.

They are the most primitive people in the world. They encamp in the open bush under the gum trees, with no shelter, even in bad weather, but a few pieces of bark stuck up against a tree. They kindle fires, and some half dozen of them sit down around each fire, which are at no great distance from each other, and there they remain, a day or a month, as the whim strikes them. The oppossum and wallaba are their principal food; for seldom do they get a kangaroo, except they wander far into the interior. In fact there are very few kangaroos in the settled parts of the colony. It would appear, as if they did not relish the grass over which sheep feed; for it is a certain fact, that there is no more sure way of driving the kangaroos into the far interior, than to send flocks of sheep into the districts they formerly inhabited.

Many experiments have been made to civilize the natives: but generally, all have failed. The best plan perhaps, is taking them when children, and keeping them as much as possible separate from their countrymen. The few we have seen at school,

were not particularly intelligent, but they were docile and cheerful.

The blacks have always a most timid and frightened look. They are constantly at war with the neighbouring tribes, and therefore watchful and suspicious. Their keenness of sight is truly remarkable.

In the wild districts, as we may call them, about Moreton Bay, and on the outskirts of Liverpool Plains and New England, the native blacks are very troublesome. Reports of their spearing cattle, stealing sheep, and killing the solitary shepherd, were continually heard; and the settlers, having little protection from the Government, had taken matters very much into their own hands, and shot the blacks like wild beasts. It was not unusual to see stands of arms proceeding up to these stations in the drays for the avowed purpose of arming the convict servants, and killing the blacks. This was really a shocking state of matters. The blacks exhibit certainly very unpromising specimens of humanity, the lowest perhaps in the scale; but they have been dreadfully ill used by the white man. The first of our people, who came into contact with them, were the lowest and most depraved of the convicts. These villains treated them cruelly, took from them their wives or *gins*, and shot them, when they offered to resist. Mutual causes of irritation have since arisen; and at some outstations they are very troublesome;—but can it be wondered at? We have taken from them their country, deprived them of their supply of food,—the kangaroo and opossum, driven all before us into the far interior, robbed them of their women, killed the men and have made no provision for their subsistence, and very little exertion to civilize or enlighten them. It is true, that we can point out gross aggressions on their part at some solitary sheep station, or treacherous and brutal conduct in murdering some inoffensive traveller. We do not defend such savage and bloody deeds; but when we remember the inhuman and merciless treatment the natives met with from the persons who first went among them,—when we remember the wholesale murder of an entire tribe, who, enticed by false pretences and show of friendship, were made drunk, deprived of their arms, bound all night, and next morning, in cold blood, actually roasted alive by Englishmen,—men, women and children—can we wonder that such acts, and innumerable others of a like infernal nature, which have never come to light, have driven the blacks to desperation?

If some step is not taken to protect both whites and blacks, and to interfere between them with a high hand, we must soon witness the complete extirpation of the aboriginal race. Many say, that

this is a consummation devoutly to be wished, as they are useless, idle, and depraved. It may be that they are so; but God created these people, and gave them an ample field for their enjoyment, with abundant provision for their natural wants. Did He send us thither to deprive them first of their land, then of their food, and last of all of their lives? As they shall answer to Him, it is the bounden duty of the settlers to tax themselves to create a fund for the supply of food for these unhappy persons, to cease from that brutal system of hostility and aggression which has been carried on for years, and to introduce among them, patiently and gently, the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

In personal appearance the natives are generally hideous; although we have seen among the men very handsome fellows. Their features are all bad; but the bodies of the young men are in some instances very well formed. Their habits of life tend much to develope the natural form, and they enjoy excellent health from their constant exposure to the open air. In the numerous drawings which adorn Major Mitchell's book, in which, also many of the original habits of this extraordinary race are detailed, you have a very fair specimen of their appearance. The women are not nearly so well formed, or so handsome as the men. This may arise from the harsh treatment they meet with, or from the wretched lives the poor creatures pass, without protection from the cold weather, by means of clothing, or habitation of any kind. They have a strong sense of justice in their way, and will give to their fellows, left behind at the camp, an equal share of tobacco, or any other luxury, which may be given them.

Education is still in its infancy in New South Wales. Indeed of all civilized countries on the face of the earth, this colony is perhaps the worst, in so far as regards the education of a family. This does not arise so much from the want of talent on the part of the masters of the various schools and colleges, as from the contagion of vice among the boys. It is certainly difficult for the masters to adopt any system to expel vice. It appears naturally bred in the youth of Sydney, and strengthened by the lessons learned at home. Indeed wherever vice predominates, and want of principle is in full growth, a public school increases the evil. At the same time, the plan adopted at Sydney college is not a good one to check the natural propensities of the pupils. They are left entirely to their own guidance. They come from their respective homes, and are allowed to ramble through the streets of a large town, without that control which would keep them out of mischief. In the interior again, there

were no schools at all; and it was necessary to resort to private tuition. Unfortunately the tutors to be had were anything but satisfactory; for any educated person could make more, by keeping a store-keeper's books, than by teaching. Our personal experience tells its own tale:—the first person we tried, was totally indifferent to his charge, and, when he left us, became ultimately a hut-keeper at an out-station. A second behaved so badly, that though we sent him money to pay his expenses up, and to buy some necessaries for himself, we never saw either the tutor, or the money. With such difficulties in the way of educating a family, there is no alternative but to keep the children at home, and do the best one can for their instruction.

Thus, in the country, you can obtain neither ordinarily good schools, nor ordinarily good private tutors: and, at Sydney in the colleges, where the parties *are* qualified to teach, the moral contagion is worse than the benefit arising from any amount of instruction. The vicious habits of the lads are learned, partly in the streets of a city, swarming with felons, always on the watch to corrupt the unwary youth, and too often, alas! from the example shown them at home. The simplest remedy would be to keep all the pupils within the walls of the college, and to board them there. Such a system, vigorously prosecuted under teachers of high character, penetrated by a deep sense of the moral and religious importance of their work, might issue in the moral renovation of the youth of Sydney.

Of the religious character of the colony, we shall only, for the present, observe, that by the local church act of Sir R. Bourke's Government, the different denominations of churches, whether Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic, are placed on the same footing, and paid alike. But the great mass of convicts being Irish catholics, and the preponderance of emigrants being also from Ireland, the Roman Catholic religion is spreading with great rapidity. Amongst all, as the tone of society but too obviously indicates, religion is at the lowest ebb, from causes which hereafter we may submit to our readers.

But we must hasten on to the crisis of 1843 and 1844. One of these grand crashes, which gave fresh impetus to the stream of ruin, was the failure of the bank of Australia. This establishment was a joint stock bank, after the plan of the Scotch banks, set up by numerous shareholders, chiefly men of wealth and landed property in the colony, and conducted by a body of directors, headed by a chairman and deputy chairman. The management must have been frightfully bad; and the system, which we formerly condemned, was in full force at this bank. So early as May, 1842, it appeared to be in an unsound state, from

the fact, that the directors issued a fresh batch of notes, and delivered them to their customers, on the understanding that they indorsed each note, and would only be charged in account with such notes, so indorsed, as found their way back to the bank. These were generally scattered far into the interior,—of course in the hope they would not again find their way to Sydney. Such an expedient could of course only be resorted to in the throes of bankruptcy. That event speedily took place, and cast a gloom over the whole colony. This was not only, because of the vast sums which hitherto solvent persons were called upon to refund; but, from the exposure of the system of banking, and the conduct of the directors in appropriating to themselves the money intrusted to their care, it was felt that the colony at large would suffer much, and fall low in the eyes of the English public.

It was a total failure. The unfortunate shareholders, always the victims in such cases, were called upon to make good the deficiencies of the directors; and orphans and widows not only lost the whole of their stock, but had to pay up, out of the remnant of their means, the calls made upon them according to the extent of their shares. It needs not that we point out to our readers the likeness, or rather the identity, of these circumstances with the Union Bank catastrophe in Calcutta. Here we see the same false and unsound system pursued for years; the same gross misconduct on the part of the directors,—the negligence of some, the fraud and rascality of others; the same impunity for the offenders; the same wide spreading ruin and misery falling upon the innocent and unfortunate shareholders. If there be a difference in this shameful strife, the capital of Felonry must yield the palm to the superior genius of the metropolis of the East.

Another blow to the colony was given shortly afterwards by the final stoppage of the Sydney bank. The directors however were not like their brethren at the bank of Australia, and seem to have been imposed upon by their manager and cashier. These parties prepared and laid before the board false returns, and in this way the directors were misled. The Bank also had not been long in existence, *luckily for the shareholders;* and as soon as the directors found out the fraud which had been practiced, they had the manliness at once to stop, and to declare it. The shareholders, accordingly, escaped pretty well, and we believe, were likely to receive ten in the pound on their paid-up capital. The manager and cashier, who were the defaulters in this case, were brought up to the police office; but the magistrate would not commit them.

Why he did not send the case to a jury, we are at a loss to know. Certainly it is not satisfactory either to the shareholders, or to the public, to see such instances of malversation escape unpunished.

The state of Sydney towards the end of 1843 was truly melancholy. Every one you met had a long desponding face, and seemed completely at their wit's end. The town itself was rather improved in appearance; gas lamps had been introduced; houses had been built, in the suburbs particularly; and the foot-paths were adorned with neat curb stones, in some places even with pavement. But one looked in vain for the happy faces, the bustle of business, or the roll of carriages, which made every thing appear so cheerful three years before. Few people were moving about, and many of these were the pictures of misery. The shops were outwardly as gay as ever, but there was no one purchasing inside: and many were entirely shut up, or selling off bankrupt stock.

If such was the state of the capital, where the residence of a large number of people naturally creates bustle and stir,—the state of the country was very much worse. We recollect passing through Maitland, in September, 1843; and the place brought to our recollection the description of London, when visited by the plague. There was absolutely nothing doing. The shops were shut up in rows, and those, which were open, had their goods piled up behind the counter, while the shop man and his assistants stood utterly idle, and apparently most desponding. The inns even were deserted; no carriage was to be seen; and did a gig appear, or a solitary horseman riding for pleasure, it became a matter worthy of remark.

During this period of general depression, the price of stock was uncommonly low: and this was the more grievous, as it was with the produce of the sale of stock, that the engagements of the settlers were to be met. Fat bullocks of 800 lbs. weight, brought only £3 or £4; sheep 8 shillings, and everything else was correspondingly low. Six months afterwards, in 1844, the same bullocks were sold for *ten shillings*, and sheep for *one!* It is very easy to perceive what the consequences must have been to the settler, who had purchased the cattle at £8, or £10 a-head, and sheep at 40 shillings a piece. It very often happened that no sales could be effected at any price; or, if effected, cash was not given even at these low rates, but a bill, which, when due, was not paid. The consequence was a complete state of stagnation.

It was then that the system of auctions, always, a favourite mode of raising money in New South Wales, was put into full

operation. Whole ship loads of goods were sold at once for what they would fetch; and shopkeepers, who could not sell their good in the usual way, took out auctioner's licenses, and sold off every thing they had by the hammer. Every second or third door, in this way, became an auctioneer's place of business, and, from morning to night, goods were knocked down for any sum they would fetch. It would no doubt have been a good speculation, to have bought up those goods originally sent from London, to have freighted a ship, and then re-sold them in London:—in this way, we doubt not, after paying all expenses, a very considerable profit would have been realized.

Nothing could more strikingly shew the entire want of money. Where it had gone to, no one knew. Much must have been drained off to England in the original purchase of the extravagancies of life; and some few capitalists were no doubt afraid to embark their money in a country, where every thing appeared so uncertain. The banks likewise, which stood out the storm, had shut up their cash, and would not allow a penny to escape.

Another breach of faith was committed by the parties, to whom goods from London or elsewhere, had been consigned. These men sold by auction the property entrusted to their care; and even the miserable sum the goods realized, when forced into an over-stocked market, never reached the parties who had shipped the goods. When the sales were effected, the money was applied to the agent's own wants, and bills granted in return which, long before they became due, were met by the filed schedule of insolvency. In this way, the unfortunate owner of the goods was as fairly done out of them, as if they had been seized, when landed, by a body of thieves.

But the surge, which broke so fiercely, has swept over the colony. The first panic is past. Confidence and hope are returning: and, if she will but profit by the lessons of the past, there is a bright future for Australia. Let us now consider her capabilities. There can be no question that Sheep-farming is the chief, if not, the only profitable speculation for the present in New South Wales. We include under this name the possession of a cattle station. As this is generally near the sheep station, the same establishment can manage both. There were various opinions in 1842 among the settlers, whether sheep or cattle were the more profitable; and at that time the preference was given to cattle. The returns indeed are much slower,—for it takes several years before a bullock is fit for market: but if a settler could afford to wait, he had the

great advantage of conducting his establishment during the years of probation at a much less expense. Labour is the chief expense at a sheep station; and there was then great difficulty in getting servants at all. While, if he keeps cattle only, the settler himself has the healthy and pleasant daily exercise of visiting his cattle run, observing that the stock feed quietly, are not disturbed by blacks, and do not stray from the run. Thus all the incessant care and handling necessary with sheep are avoided. At a sheep station you have every morning to see the watchman count over each flock to the shepherd from the hurdles, and, on their return at sun down, they have again to be counted into their folds. The flock must not be more than 500 or 700 for one shepherd, and the hurdles are to be shifted each day. We speak not at present of the sheep shearing, or all the requisite labour in getting the wool shipped, but merely of the daily routine.

The chief matter to be considered at a sheep station is the expense of management. We subjoin a table of the comparative expence of a freeman, a prisoner, and a coolie, viz:

Freeman.	s.	d.			
Flour .... 12 lbs.	3	0			
Beef ..... 10 „	2	0			
Tea ..... ¼ oz.	0	6			
Sugar .... 2 dr.	0	6			
Per week	6	0	p.an.	£15	12 0
Wages				25	0 0
Cost of a Freeman for 1 year ..				£40	12 0

Coolie.					
Flour or Rice	2	7½			
Beef	0	8¾			
Chillies, Ginger, &c.	0	0¾			
Per week..	3	5	or p.an.	£8	17 8

Slops.	£	s.	d.
1 Jacket ..... 7 1 pair Trowsers.. 7 1 Blanket 6	1	0	0
Wages, 10s. per month	6	0	0
Freight & Expense from Calcutta average	2	0	0
	£17	17	8
Small Sundries.....	0	2	4
	£18	0	0

Prisoner.	s.	d.			
Flour .. 10 lbs.	2	6			
Beef.... 8 „	1	8			
Tea	0	3			
Soap ..	0	1			
Sugar .. 1 lb.	0	3			
Per week....	4	9	or pr.an.	£12	7 0

Slops in May.					
1 Jacket	7	0			
1 pair Trowsers ..	7	0			
1 Shirt.....	2	3			
1 pair Boots	7	9			
1 pair Blankets ..	10	0			
				1	14 0
In August.					
1 Shirt	2	3			
1 pair Boots	7	9			
				0	10 0
In November.					
1 Duck Jacket....	5	0			
1 pair Trowsers ..	4	0			
1 Shirt	2	3			
1 pair Boots	7	9			
				0	19 0
					3 3 0
				£15	10 0
To balance & small sundries..				0	10 0
				£16	0 0

Freeman	£40	12 0
Prisoner	16	0 0
Coolie	18	0 0

This table was made in 1840, by a practical person at a station, where freemen, prisoners and coolies were actually employed.

Sheep-farming in New South Wales has been a losing concern for some years. It has not repaid its own expenditure. Indeed it is calculated, that by careful management, the sale of the wool will barely meet the necessary expenses: and all that the sheep farmer has to look to as profit, is his increased stock. As soon as sheep bring once more 20 shillings a-head, the farmer will then realize a handsome sum on the sale of his increased stock; but at present they are well pleased if they can merely exist, and pay their way by the money raised from wool.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the vast labour and personal exertions endured by the stock-holders, especially those beyond the boundaries. These squatters in particular go through much hardship. They are generally active enterprizing young men, whom no difficulties can put down, and no dangers terrify. They shepherd their own flocks when necessary, drive their own herds of cattle through the country, and employ themselves in any manual labour required about the station.

It is quite obvious that sheep-farming will be a losing concern if the sheep are to be fed on purchased land, or on leased land, where the tenure is not only uncertain, but burdened with severe taxes, and arbitrary rules. It is calculated that three acres are requisite to feed one sheep; so that the land must be cheap in order to purchase such an extent, as would be required for a settler's flocks; and, accordingly, beyond the boundaries, we may expect to find capitalists embarking in sheep-farming.

In the squatting districts, by the land and emigration commissioner's report of 1843, it appears the number of stations was given "at 756, embracing 8,963 acres under cultivation, with a 'resident population of 7,593. There were about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions 'of sheep; and the amount of assessment was calculated at '£5,773."

In these districts you must live and work like your own men, not only in attending the sheep, but in all the work of the station. In travelling through the bush, you must encamp at night under the canopy of heaven,—exposed to the weather, the frost, the dews, and the rain. It is astonishing how well squatters, so exposed, escape. Though sleeping in the open air, with nothing to cover them but an old horse rug, or slight blanket, and rising from the wet ground covered with dew, and dripping, they suffer no injury. The climate is therefore calculated for this kind of life: and by those

who like it, and can have patience,—stooping to every kind of work, avoiding inns, remaining almost constantly at their station, and living generally on salt meat and damper,—by such, no doubt, money may yet be made in the colony.

The vineyards are increasing very fast in New South Wales; and there can be no doubt, that it will in time become a wine growing country. The grapes are exceedingly good, growing in great abundance on each vine, the clusters being sometimes a foot long. There are already several vineyards of considerable extent, such as Sir John Jamieson's at Regentville, Mr. Macarthur's at Camden; and on the Hunter, Mr. Ogilvie's, Captain Pike's, and Mr. Kelman's, near Black Creek. Besides these gentlemen, who have for years made wine, several others are now doing so. We have drank wine, made by Mr. McIntyre from his vineyard at the Cuan, of a very excellent description, especially a red wine, which was not inferior to claret. Mr. Forsyth also at Cliffdale has commenced in earnest, and with good prospects of success.

The progress hitherto made in the raising of wine has not been great. Formerly there was so much wine imported, (and the saving of money in purchasing such was never dreamt of,) that there was no opportunity for the native wine to advance. Now however with the bad times, there has appeared a necessity, not only to save every expense, but to raise a commodity which will be a source of revenue. If it only could drive away the vile system of spirit-drinking, it would tend much to the moral improvement of the country. At all events there seems no reason why the settlers and others should not drink it in their own families, giving up entirely the use of foreign wines. If so encouraged, the landed proprietors would all cultivate the vine. The climate agrees admirably with it;—and the soil, both the rich alluvial soil, and the light sandy chalky ground, is well calculated for the various kinds of grapes. A vineyard will take a few years before it bears at all, and at least five or six, before it is in perfection; so that the raising of wine must, from this fact alone, be always a work of time. The sooner, however, the vine plants are set, the better; and we hope yet to see the day, when sufficient wine will be raised for the supply of the whole colony. This alone would be a great advantage,—that the large sum, which has annually gone out of the colony for imported wine, would remain in the colony, and be turned to some profitable use.

Much wine however is never likely to be exported from New South Wales. The wines raised will be at best like the continental wines as drank abroad; and, as the wine brought to Eng-

land is no doubt prepared with the greatest skill, there is little prospect of Australian wine competing with French, Rhenish, or Portuguese. Many pipes, however, might be sold in England from the novelty of the thing;—but the grand advantage to the colony would be the prevention of imported wines being consumed there, and the improvement in the morals of the people from their drinking a less intoxicating liquid. Many Germans are now engaged in New South Wales in wine-making, who were formerly so occupied on the banks of the Rhine; and there is every prospect that good light wines, best calculated for a warm climate, will be produced in the colony. Another advantage, which every day is gaining strength, is the advanced age of the grape. This has of course a considerable weight in the proper making of wine:—but as no skill could force the age, the wine-growers were frequently obliged at an early period to use a grape not fit for their purposes;—and therefore the wine produced was a very inferior kind.

Of the fruits which grow in the colony, there is a very great variety. Besides the grape, which is certainly a most delicious fruit, and found in abundance, there are the melon, (rock and water), the orange, the fig, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the apple, the pear, the guava, the nectarine, the loquat, the lemon, the mulberry, the apricot, the banana, the egg fruit, the pine-apple, the cherry, and the raspberry.

The melons are delicious; and, on a hot Australian day, it is a great treat to secure a good large rock or water melon, and sit down with a friend in an easy way to enjoy it. It is a fruit only properly to be relished in a warm climate, and may there be ate in any quantity.

The vegetables are good, but there is considerable difficulty here in raising them; in the interior, for whole summers we have seen none, not even a potatoe, a cabbage, or a turnip,—for without rain what can you do? There is at Sydney an annual show of vegetables and flowers: and here we have seen most admirable specimens of cabbages, turnips, carrots, cauliflowers, and other kitchen garden produce. The vegetables had the appearance of overgrowth, but still were tender and of a remarkably delicate flavour. It is most unfortunate that potatoes, the best and most useful of all vegetables, do not grow well in New South Wales. We hardly ever tasted a good potatoe in the colony; and those, which are generally eaten, are the potatoes of Van Dieman's Land.

There are very few native wild fruits of any consequence. The prickly pear is the best. It is less than an ordinary pear, grows on a low green vegetable bush, and may be converted

into a pleasant jelly, the acid of which is very agreeable. The native cherry is chiefly remarkable from the fact of the stone's growing *outside* the cherry, instead of in the centre, as in England.

The pumpkin grows in great perfection here, and may be used either as a vegetable, or as soup, or for pies. We have seen them of such a size, that it was quite a load to carry one. Ships leaving Australia generally take a great many of them, to use as vegetables on the voyage. They are said to be excellent, to cure, or to prevent, scurvy among the crew.

Wool, after all, is the chief and principal export. The others are as yet very insignificant. A sheep will produce about 3 lbs. of wool, and as there are about 7,000,000 of sheep in the colony, the quantity of wool annually exported is little less than twenty millions of pounds. This is a very large supply, and of course employs a vast number of ships in conveying it to England. Wool varies in price, and has of late years been very low, selling from 10*d.* to 15*d.* a pound,—the best not fetching more that 19*d.* In former years its average price was 3*s.* 6*d.*

As it is impossible to overstock the wool market in England, —inasmuch as any increase of wool would only drive away the foreign supply,—the colonists need never fear carrying on their sheep-farming to any extent they please. There are certainly at present many difficulties to contend with; but it is encouraging to know, that there is a market at home ready to take all that can be sent.

From the great distress of the times, tallow became a large export. The settlers, when they found they could not procure almost any price for their sheep, began *to boil them down;* by which means the whole sheep, with the exception of the hind legs, was converted into tallow and was then worth from 6 to 8 shillings, a price nearly three times as much as they could get for the living sheep, when sold in the market. It was certainly a very wholesale method of disposing of flocks, and one which could only be resorted to by desperate men in desperate circumstances. Boiling down establishments became common all over the country; and as every thing was managed at these establishments, with great expedition, all that a settler had to do, was to order his shepherd to drive his flock to one of them, and, in the course of a week, his sheep were boiled down, the tallow made, packed in casks, transmitted to Sydney, and shipped for England. The tallow, when it reached London, brought £42 a ton, or about 4½ per lb.. Hind legs of mutton were consequently very cheap, from the number thus suddenly thrown into

the market. They were sold at 9*d.* each; and many thousands were made into mutton hams, which, when well cured, were very good.

A considerable quantity of oil is brought to Sydney by the South Sea whalers, and afterwards shipped to England. Wool ships generally take several tons of oil, which, being placed in the lowest hold, serve as ballast as well as freight. It is not a pleasant cargo, as from the extreme heat of the weather in the voyage home, the casks generally leak,—and the oil, mixing with the bilge water of the ship, is apt to cause an unpleasant smell. The French and Americans are very active with their vessels on the whaling ground.

Salted meat has likewise of late become an article of export. A company was established in Sydney in 1843 to kill, salt down, and ship to England, whole herds of fat bullocks, upon the same plan as that of boiling down the sheep. A considerable quantity of beef has been salted down, and sent to England: but although the beef is very good, and may do well for the use of ships leaving the colony for England, it cannot compete with the Irish beef. For, even if it were equally good, and equally well cured, yet it has this great disadvantage, that it must be nearly six months longer than the Irish beef in a salted condition. It is not therefore likely that ship owners and others interested, will take beef which has already been half round the world, in preference to that which, a few weeks before, was ranging on the fresh hills of Ireland, and was cured, only a week or two before it was wanted.

The cedar is fast disappearing. It is not shipped in any quantities to England, and is, now at least, in every respect so inferior to the wood of Spanish America, or the Baltic, that it is surprizing it ever became an article of export. Considerable quantities of bones are exported, and, from the late salting of beef, they are now cheap and plentiful. But, we repeat it, wool is the chief, almost the only article of export. Let that flourish, and everything goes well; but when it is depressed, either by the lowness of the price, or by the expense of producing it, then the colony must fall back. Wool is its main stay, and principal support.

ART. III.—*The Revelations of an Orderly, by Paunchkouri Khan. Being an attempt to expose the abuses of administration, by the relation of every-day occurrences in the Mofussil Courts. Benares: Printed at the Recorder Press:* 1848.

THIS little volume of a hundred closely printed pages in stitched covers is not likely to have the circulation it deserves, in its present humble form. It is a reprint of a series of letters, which recently appeared in a Mofussil journal, whose author was, and still is, unknown; but, like Mr. Shore's now celebrated "Notes on Indian affairs" which first appeared in a similar manner, we think it is destined to make a lively impression on the public mind. In form it is a work of fiction, and reminds us of Hajji Baba and Anastasius, in which are illustrated political systems in connection with individual and general traits of character and manners of classes and races of men, under the fiction of a narrative told by one of themselves. So here, our unknown author, in an official native character and as a native mahomedan, relates his own observations. For us, in all respects except one, our author's work has superior attractions: it wants the adornments which taste genius and learning have so richly shed over the pages of those celebrated productions. To these, our author makes no pretensions; he was not ambitious of displaying them: but he gives us many fine gleams here and there of rich talent, and there is a reality, a truth in fact, in every page, which absorbs attention. At each pause, we ask, can such things be? and the interest rises higher and higher to the end of the volume, in the conviction that it is history, more romantic than fiction, that we are reading. Our present purpose is to give our readers a connected tale; to make an abridgment of our hero's life, with a running commentary of our own upon some of his more remarkable revelations.

Paunchkouri Khan, the assumed name under which our author makes his revelations, began life, in the humble post of an *Oomedwar* at the magistrate's cutcherry: his employ was, as we should say, to wait at the door, receive cards, or announce persons who called to see his master. Paunchkouri had a friend, who, like himself, had been originally a poor *Oomedwar*, but had the good luck, by backstairs' influence, to get appointed orderly of the Huzúr * magistrate bahadúr.† To this friend he

* *Huzúr.* Presence. A term of reverence or adulation: like highness, excellency.

† *Bahadúr.* A term applied to persons of rank: meaning, the powerful.

made a visit, and found him, bearing, indeed, a sort of resemblance to his old acquaintance, but at the same time, with such a new air of grandeur and so altered, that he was afraid to address him. Involuntarily, says our hero, "I joined my hands and salamed; but no notice was vouchsafed to me; until, happening to enquire whether my friend *Suntokhea* were in existence, one of the party told me that *Suntokhea Singh* was indeed before me." Apologizing for his rudeness, our hero tried to make himself agreeable; and, every body else having left, his friend at length deigned to notice him, and to enquire as to his adventures. He first satisfies his friend's curiosity; and taking advantage of his complaisant mood, begs him to enlighten him, as to the ways and means by which he, once a poor *Kúnbre*,* had acquired so much substance.

It will be observed that the manner, in which these characters are cast, is particularly favorable to mutual confidentiality: and the reader has the great benefit of it, in hearing, in a conversational and rapid stile, and with equal truth and air of verisimilitude, the origin and history of some of the greatest social and political corruptions, which prevail in the police, revenue, and judicial branches of the public service.

SUNTOKHEA SINGH EXPLAINS TO HIS FRIEND THE CAUSES OF HIS PROSPERITY.

"What a silly fool you must be, my friend, to suppose I could have saved aught from my pay. As an orderly, I receive four rupees† a month. I am expected to be smartly dressed, and to be in constant attendance on the Huzúr; I must have something to eat during the day, and I cannot come home to my wife for my meals. How then can I keep myself in decent clothing, and feed myself, wife and children, on four rupees a month?"

Paunchkourí replies, that he was only the more puzzled to find out the secret of his system, "as he could do nothing for any suitor for justice; nor could he bar access to the Huzúr; how then could he make money?"

Suntokhea explains the mystery:

"A great man's Múktyar‡ or Karinda§ is sent by his master 'to wait on the Huzúr. He is admitted into the entrance 'hall, where he remains unnoticed for a couple of hours. To 'all his prayers, to give intimation to the Huzúr of his pre-

* A cultivator, of a caste famous for its industry.

† A rupee is intrinsically worth about 1 shilling and ten pence.

‡ *Múktyar.* Agent. § *Karinda.* Messenger.

' sence, a deaf ear is turned, until fairly exhausted, the Karin-
' da offers me a rupee. This is spurned, and I ask him whe-
' ther he thinks I *could* possibly take *one* rupee ? The poor man,
' driven to desperation, offers me five rupees. On this I pocket
' the affront, put on my sweetest smile, declare that he is a per-
' fect *ushraf, (nob),* and intimate to my master, that such an one
' craves an interview. Five rupees, you will say, is but a small
' morsel. I allow it; but then these delicate bits come frequently.

" Again, every rich native gentleman, who is in the habit of
' visiting the " *Saheban Alíshan,*"* fees us orderlies on every
' festival. Suppose my gentleman becomes a non-conformist to
' our rules, or is in any way inclined to be bumptious; he
' finds that, in the next visit he pays the Huzúr, his suwarí† re-
' mains unnoticed in the compound;‡ or, if he enters the entrance
' room, no one will so much as give him a chair to sit upon.
' If he becomes impatient, we recommend his going away, as the
' Huzúr is busy, and has positively prohibited intrusion. My
' gentleman finds himself at a non-plus,—and is glad to compro-
' mise, by paying us all double fees, and giving a solemn promise
' of good behaviour for the future.

Paunchkourí, though a very great rogue, is a sensible fellow, and sees danger in such conduct. He therefore asks his friend, how he would get out of the scrape, if one of those gentlemen should inform the Huzúr of his tricks.

Why, replied he, nothing is easier. No man will dare to inform, because he would criminate himself. He can merely complain of useless detention; and if the Huzúr gives us a wigging for that, the next people that call are at once ushered into the presence, whether the Huzúr be busy or not. The end is, that his patience becomes exhausted; he scolds at indiscriminate admission being given; the servants reply that they had the Huzúr's own orders; he despairs of managing them,—and again they have their own way.

Let us here pause to make a remark, before we proceed with our hero's story. That such abuses exist, and are even common, is certain. It appears to us that the degree only, in which they are found, is remarkable: and *that* we take to be a great reproach to the ability and character of the heads of departments and of Government. Paunchkourí's solution of the manner in which they have risen to such a height is probable. But can it be, that officials, such as thanadars,§ when they come to the magis-

* *Sahiban Alishan.* Lord. † *Suwarí.* Carriage, conveyance, &c.

‡ *Compound.* The inclosure of land appertaining to the house.

§ *Thanadar.* The officer in charge of a thana, or police district.

trate on duty, are under the same necessity of bribing these "jacks" of the kacheri? It would seem they are: and Suntokhea explains this singular thraldom, as it respects them, in the following manner:—

"Suppose a thanadar does not purchase our favour; nothing 'is easier than getting him turned out. Of course we dare not 'meddle directly; but we watch our opportunity, and when we 'find the saheb idle, we talk in stage-whispers, and invent some 'scandal or lie against the thanadar, which one tells to another 'by way of news. A second states, that he also has heard such 'a story of the thanadar, and mentions it. A third says, that the 'thanadar is a *nimuk-haram*, (unfaithful to salt, an ingrate,) for 'he abuses the magistrate saheb bahadur, and says, he does not 'care for him, so long as he does his duty. These whispers are 'overheard, and operate like slow poison; and, on the occasion 'of the first irregularity occurring, our stories are (perhaps un-'consciously) remembered against the unfortunate thanadar, and 'he is suspended, *sine die*—which is in fact a dismissal."

Here Paunchkourí takes leave of Suntokhea in admiration of his inventive talents. He resolves to fee him for his interest in getting a berth, as a burra saheb's orderly, for himself, when, as he says, he shall be able to withdraw the curtain which hides other mysteries. He soon succeeds,—becomes Paunchkourí Khan, late "*Oomedwar*," and gives us revelations henceforward from his own rich experience. By promising two months' pay, he first gets a chuprass, (badge,) which denotes his being on the regular and permanent establishment; and, soon after, is recommended to the "Dipty Saheb," (Deputy Magistrate*) whose orderly, in due course, he becomes. Several weeks pass, and still he pockets nothing, because, as he supposes, none but petty matters are tried by his master. In despair, he consults his friend Suntokhea once more, who calls him a simpleton to be in a "fix" about such a trifle. The Deputy Saheb has the *Surasúree* Department (for decision of cases between landlord and tenant); and Suntokhea delivers the following discourse on the advantages which it throws open to his friend:—"Where 'two parties contest a case, one must lose. The gainer, as an 'established *dustúr*, (custom), pays for the decision in his 'favor. It is an undoubted prerogative of the Huzúr's orderly to 'receive a fee, as also that of the mohurir, (clerk). Thus a dou-'ble object is gained. You will get a fee of at least four or 'eight annas,† and, by and bye, become the agent between the

* Deputy Magistrate: the uncovenanted grade of the magistracy.

† An *anna* is the sixteenth part of a rupee, consequently less than three half-pence.

' decree-holder and the clerk (mohurir) ; you will have the latter ' under your thumb, and can compel him to improve your pros- ' pects."

Paunchkourí doubts and fears,—the natural consequence of his inexperience: but his more knowing friend assures him, that his saheb (master) is as blind a mole as the rest of them. How is he to discover anything ? The decree-holders,* for their own sake, will not tell tales; and one leaves the presence on so many occasions, that, so long as somebody is within hail, the absence for a few minutes of an orderly is unnoticed. " Ask boldly," says Suntokhea; " I am confident of the result, and,— ' do not fail to give me part of your earnings."

Paunchkourí proves an apt scholar. The next day, as soon as a case was decided, he quietly sneaked out of the room, and, following the successful suitor, significantly held out his palm. " To my joy and surprise," says Paunchkourí, " he slipped a rupee ' into it, and whispered me to give the múnshí (the Persian ' clerk) his share. I thought that bad luck would come of a ' division of such spoils, so I uttered an *ulhumdúlillahi* (thanks- ' giving, praise to God,) and, stroking my beard, entered the ' presence with increased gravity." He adds, that the same experiment was repeatedly tried with varied success as to the amount; but in no case was he utterly disappointed.

After a few days, the múnshí, a person of very superior grade to these understrappers, sent for Paunchkourí, to inquire if he had made any money : he calls the prophet to witness, that nobody thought of offering him a kowrí. Friend, said the múnshí, have I not seen thee follow out the decree-holders ? surely it was not without a purpose, and without some result. So help me Allah, replies Paunchkourí, I received nothing but scurrilous abuse. The múnshí then told him, that it was established as an ancient rule, that whosoever gained a cause, should give a douceur to the umlah (officers): that in future he must demand fees in the múnshíjí's name, and retain one-fourth for himself and fellow-chuprassís, and give him (the múnshí) three-fourths, for himself and his friends.

HOW MUNSHIJI SCHOOLS PAUNCHKOURI AS TO THE MODE OF PROCEEDING.

" Suppose an order is passed, calling for a *kyfeut*, (report) ' or record, from the sheristah.† Nobody ever thinks of exe-

* *Decreedar.* Decree-holder. † *Sheristah.* Native registry.

'cuting the order before the lapse of a week at least. If the 'plaintiff be importunate, and the saheb desire you to ascertain 'why the *kyfeut* has not been written, you take the complainant 'out with you, and ask him what he will give, if you get the *ky-* '*feut* written at once? The poor wretch, tired of waiting for days, 'gladly offers a rupee. You pocket it,—go to the Muhafiz-duftur, '(record-keeper), and say that the saheb has sent word, that, if the 'order is not at once executed, he will be fined roundly. The 'matter is ended at once, and we divide the spoil. If the party 'will not pay, you go and enquire, why the *kyfeut* is not written? 'The answer is, that some important papers are called for by a 'superior authority, and the Muhafiz-duftur begs that the Huzúr 'will give him a few days' grace. The harassed litigant finds it 'cheaper to pay a rupee, than to be kept cooling his heels 'at the court for weeks, and gives in at last, paying his fees with 'interest.

"Again, it is the established practice for a zumíndar* to pay a 'fee of one rupee for every jummabundí† that is filed in the 'office. This is taken by the Muhafiz-duftur and Qanúngos.‡ 'But, friend Paunchkourí, it is cruelly hard that you and I 'should not partake of the spoil. So look sharp; and whenever 'you hear a zumíndar complain to the Huzúr, that his jumma- 'bundí, although given in, has not been filed, try and make a 'bargain; go and bully the Qanúngo and Muhafiz-duftur, as if 'with the saheb's *húkúm* (order). The zumíndar will fee 'you, and we will divide like good friends."

Paunchkourí turned the lesson to proper account; made lots of money, and generally contrived to keep the lion's share of the prey to himself: but not satisfied with such small game, he resolves on the first opportunity to change his service, for one of greater emolument and higher station. He soon succeeds in doing this, and, in the next phase of his career, we meet him on the staff of the Nazir (native sheriff). This official is the chief of the executive; and his chuprassís share in the prestige of his name, as well as in the emoluments of his office. Our hero derived great advantages from this promotion: we cannot do better than quote his own description of them. Being a stranger, he had at first the fag, and none of the profits. "But," says he, "I was becoming quite a man of the world and a practical 'philosopher; so I consoled myself with the reflection, that 'when my *kismut* (fate) ordained it, I should become as great 'a man as Suntokhea Singh. Most diligently did I do the

* *Zumindar.* Landholder paying revenue to Government.

† *Jummabundi.* Rent-roll. ‡ Fiscal officers.

' Nazir saheb's bidding. Most assiduous was I in filling his ' chillum (native pipe); bringing him water; running after his ' palkí or garí (carriage),—until I fairly won his confidence, ' and was looked upon by all persons as his especial favorite."

HOW PAUNCHKOURI MAKES MONEY, WHILE A SHERIFF'S OFFICER, OR PROCESS SERVER.

" I found that a deal of money was to be made, and by the ' simplest process in the world. The Dipty Saheb issues a ' summons for the appearance of a petty defaulter of revenue. ' The *tullubana* * is paid by the plaintiff; but, if he does not ' make a *moamlah* † with us, the process is never served. ' Several of these writs are entrusted to one man; but the ma- ' jority of them are never out of the *kummurbund* ‡ of the chup- ' rassí. When the period allowed for serving them has elapsed, ' a *kyfeut* is given in, to the effect, that 'the plaintiff would not ' indicate the party named, and that, therefore, the serving of ' the process was impossible.' Perhaps the plaintiff protests ' that no chuprassí ever went to the village. The Nazir is ' summoned. On being spoken to, he sends for me, and sharply ' asks, whether the summons was served or not? I call the ' prophet to witness, that the plaintiff's allegation is a lie; that ' I did go for three several days, but that the plaintiff would not ' indicate the defendant. Upon this, the saheb issues a warrant ' of apprehension, which is entrusted to me to execute; and the ' plaintiff not only pays the *tullubana* a second time, but pays ' the piper besides, by feeing me roundly to apprehend the ' defaulter."

Paunchkourí gives us a detailed account of the manner in which an auction purchaser of a nominal, and perhaps fictitious, possessory right, at the collector's sale, may manage eventually to supplant the true zumíndar, (if he is a small one), and get possession of his property. We can vouch for the probability of this story, but shall pass it by, for the present, as rather illustrative of the faults of the revenue and judicial part of the system, than of the character of the executive officers. Paunchkourí soon gives us another example of exceedingly complicated villainy; he himself makes fifty rupees " by the job," and, under color of a decree for rent, is the instrument to eject the poor cultivator. Having a mere summons to serve, he is feed, by the zumíndar or decree-holder, not to serve it. Accordingly he makes a return, that the defendant will not come out of his house, to receive the summons; in

* *Tullubana.* Fee for serving a process.

† *Moamlah.* Compromise. ‡ *Kummurbund.* Waist-band.

short, that he is rúposh (keeping out of the way, or concealing himself). Thereupon the unfortunate cultivator is ordered to be dispossessed of his fields for his contumacy, and "I," says Paunchkouri, "go out, with a force of peons (followers), and 'uproot every thing already grown by the cultivator, and aid the 'landlord in reploughing the fields."

If, on the other hand, the zumíndar refuses to fee the staff of the Nazir, they will do nothing for him.

"Should the landlord imagine that he can carry out the col-'lector saheb's order without giving us fees,—it gives us no 'concern. We make a bargain with the other party, and, if the 'worst comes to the worst, on going out to put the landlord in 'possession, we, instead of doing so, pretend scruples of con-'science as to uprooting crops about to ripen, and report to 'the saheb, in a well got-up *kyfeut*, that the *decreedar* is a '*zalim** and a *múfsid*,†—that Bulbhuddur Singh's repu-'tation is so well known to the Huzúr, that it does not need 'for the slave to represent, &c. &c., and so the *asami*‡ keeps 'possession of his field."

HOW PAUNCHKOURI GETS ON TO THE PAY LIST OF A WEALTHY NATIVE.

Paunchkourí explains, in the following case, how he succeeded in getting on to the pay-list of a wealthy zumindar. "I was," says he, "directed by the Nazir (native sheriff) one day, to 'apprehend a revenue defaulter, or to bring his principal Karin-'dah (Agent) before the Huzúr. The defaulter was a Nawab-'zadeh, and the apprehension of even his steward would be 'looked upon as a disgrace. However the Collector Saheb 'Bahadúr passed the order to the Nazir, and it was my pro-'vince to obey orders. I proceeded at once to the Nawab 'Saheb's house, with two other chuprassís, and, presenting the 'warrant, desired them to accompany us to the Nazir. We 'had a broad hint to quit, for the warrant was thrown back 'to us, and a cry of "*mar* (beat) *mar*" raised, that induced 'us to bolt in double-quick time. Next day, a formidable '*kyfeut* (report) was given in to the Huzúr. I had heard that 'the Karindah was wont to come daily to the kacherí (office) 'to consult the sherishtadar (register). I was on the look 'out; and, the moment he appeared, I ran and informed the 'Huzúr, who at once ordered his apprehension. He was in 'quod for three days; and his master soon paid the amount

* *Zalim.* Tyrant. † *Múfsid.* A fellow that makes rows.

‡ *Asami.* Defendant.

'due by him, for his man's release. This was a grand moral 'lesson for the Nawab Saheb; and the next time he took care 'not to insult people in power. When I went to make my 'salam, I was gratified with a fee, and promises for the future."

To us it appears, that this narrative affords not only a racy, graphic, and amusing illustration of character, but is also pregnant with instruction. It shows how quick and expert those are, in turning the slightest opportunities to account, who make their fortunes at the public expence by bribery and venality. Paunchkourí, accidentally, and in the most easy manner, as may many a time in fact have happened to many others, was brought to the notice of the Nawabzadeh, who had committed an offence of a very common and profitable kind,—default in payment of revenue,—but probably relied for temporary impunity, as ordinarily he might do, on the connivance of the sheristadar (native registrar), or other umlahs. But Paunchkourí was a new man, who had yet a position to gain: so, being independent, he makes the unusual move of going direct to the Huzúr, to inform him of the approach of the great man's múktyar. This intercepts or baffles the influence of the sherishtadar; and leaves, by a rare chance, the magistrate to his free and independent impulses. Consequently, the law is vindicated; but the Nawabzadeh becomes justly sensible, that such a result is an anomaly. He therefore gives our hero a present fee, notwithstanding his *honesty*, and promises for the future, not that he may act the like part again, we may be sure, but that he may have a motive for acting very differently.

Our hero gives some curious illustrations of the practical working of what he calls the abkarí system, or system established for raising a revenue from the consumption of spirits, ganjah, bhang, and other intoxicating drugs and liquors. Raw spirits, such as toddy, and some of the drugs alluded to, are pretty nearly spontaneous productions in many parts of India: and taxing them may be likened, in many of its consequences, to what would result from an excise on wheat, or barley, or such consumables, in the countries of Europe. It would necessarily open opportunities for all sorts of oppressions, the actual amount of which, would of course, in degree, depend on the character of the people, and of the servants employed to realize such a revenue. A worse or more oppressive method could not be devised, for such a population as that of India, than to farm out such a revenue: it would involve a delegation of fiscal power to persons, who would be sure to abuse it without mercy or moderation. Our hero bears valuable testimony on this subject.

"A fruitful field (says he) is the abkarí system, and the 'license granted to opium and drug farmers to oppress the 'people, and screw money out of them. I say license given, 'because they make use of their farming license to be guilty 'of all kinds of villainy. I was directed one day to execute a 'search warrant for contraband opium. The *thikadar* (farmer) 'sent for me, made much of me, and put five rupees into my 'hand. I asked no questions, but knew very well that I was 'expected to do something for my fee. Several of the farmer's 'people accompanied me to the house which was to be searched. 'I authoritatively called out to the owner of the house to 'admit me to search for contraband opium. The man was a 'wealthy Bunneah*; and, appearing to be conscious of his inno-'cence, at once opened the door, and admitted us. I saw one 'of the farmer's men quietly deposit a bundle of something 'under some rubbish; and, after rummaging about, he ferretted 'out his own bundle, which he held up in triumph to us, as '*the* contraband opium we had been desired to search for. The 'poor Bunneah was horror-stricken, and appealed to me; but, 'having received a retainer, I dared not to defend the poor 'man. I swore he was a liar; and called out to the witnesses, 'before whom the opium was taken out of the Bunneah's house, 'to remember what they had seen, and to depose to that effect 'before the Huzúr. The Bunneah in desperation offered me 'fifty rupees to release him. But as I could not do so, after 'having proceeded so far, I abused him; called all persons 'to witness that he had offered a bribe; and bundled him off 'to the Saheb Bahadur. He was fined 100 rupees, of which 'one-fourth was carried to the account of Government; one-'half was given to the farmer's people; and the remaining fourth 'was bestowed on me."

But it is as easy under such a system to screen the guilty, as to convict the innocent; and, to corrupt officials it is indifferent which they lend, or rather sell, themselves to do. Our hero thought this an admirable plan of making money: and characteristically resolved to try whether he could not make more by siding against the *thikadar* (farmer), rather than with him. "I had not long to wait," says he, "when an order was passed by the 'Dipty Saheb, to search the house of a well-known courtezan. 'The thikadar sent for me; but I would not go; and during 'the night I paid a visit to *Madame Dilfureb*. She received me 'haughtily; but I soon convinced her of my power to molest 'or protect her; and I was not only treated to 'every delicacy

* *Bunneah.* Shopkeeper.

'of the season,' but to her blandest smiles. I ascertained that 'she had a quantity of opium in the house, which her servants 'made up into *mudduk*, or little pellets for smoking. This we 'carefully hid; and next morning I accompanied the thika-'dar's men to the house of *Madame Dilfureb*. I insisted upon 'the people being searched, in the presence of a police burkun-'daz, previous to entering the lady's house. One fellow had 'a large bundle of *kuffu*, which was boned by the police, and 'the search proceeded; of course nothing was found. I duly 'reported the delinquency of the thikadars' people, who were 'roundly fined; and I not only received a handsome fee from '*Dilfureb*, but additional marks of respect and esteem."

Our author sometimes drops his assumed character: a dramatic impropriety we confess: but we gladly listen to the real opinions of a man of such varied and extensive experience. The system of farming he condemns;—and for evils, as we conceive, which are inseparable from it.

"The farmers of the Abkarí make large profits, not by the 'sale of drugs, but by holding a threat of searching honest 'people's houses in *terrorem* over them. They seize contraband 'articles; and extort money from the contrabandists, who are too 'glad to compromise with them, rather than be sent up to the 'collector saheb. And the farmer is glad to let them off for what 'he can screw out of them, because he gets the *whole*, and has 'neither the onus nor trouble of furnishing proof of the guilt 'of the parties. It is *only* in cases of public seizure, when the 'farmer dares not suppress the case, that rich contrabandists 'are sent up for punishment; or, where the parties are too poor 'to be squeezed, and the farmer's interest requires him to cram 'the maw of the penal law with a few victims."

To these objections we may add, that the Abkarí tax creates a numerous body of persons directly interested in demoralizing and corrupting the habits of the people. It gives legal establishment to a band of apostles and priests of intemperance among a simple rural sober population; and, we are sorry to believe, they carry on a too successful mission, and are rapidly extending the taste for intoxicating excitement.

It is natural that, with such opportunities as he has already described, Paunchkourí should feel a contempt for the legitimate pay and *dustúr* (customary fees) of office, and look about him for the more lucrative, but equally well established, profits, which corruption offers. He describes in animated strains the condition of his comrades. On comparing notes with them, he discovered that even his friend Suntokhea was but a "gudgeon" in comparison with several, who might, he observes, be not inapt-

ly styled the "sharks and alligators of our legal sea." Every man of them had one pukka house, (house built with masonry and timber), or more; and ranges of shops in the bazars, which they had contrived to convert into their own property; and Paunchkouri's eyes glistened at the prospect, which shewed that his own fortune, which he already deemed so rich, was but begun. Such truth, as this, explains, why government employment, of every kind and degree, is so universally and eagerly sought after, though the pay be ever so inadequate. The recipient of a few rupees per month, by the magic of office, becomes the master of elephants, rides like a prince on holidays in a howdah, and is a man of substance. Native society is thus put as it were topsy turvy: the great are those who should be the least, and the entire mass presents nothing but disorganization and chaos.

In the character of *Jubbur Khán*, our author personifies the prosperous police man, who with a miserable pittance of pay, of some four rupees per month, soon gets the command of every kind of comfort, and comes to the possession of pecuniary means, which might be envied by persons of considerable grade and importance in native society.

A PORTRAIT OF A PROSPEROUS POLICEMAN.

"I was connected," says Paunchkouri, "with *Jubbur Khan*, ' by marriage; and we saw each other frequently. *Jubbur* ' *Khan* was confidential orderly to *Nimaz Khán*, one of the ' officials of police; and he had played his cards so cleverly, ' that he had a considerable sum of money in cash, besides ' jewels, with which his wife and children were bedecked. Some ' five years ago, my friend was a poor devil of a *burkundaz*;* ' his own clothes were ragged, and his appearance was meagre. ' His wife and children were in rags, and half-starved. Whereas ' now he is as unctuous-looking a man, as ever lived upon a ' *pòw* of *ghee*† per diem. Of course we frequently compared ' notes; and this is the marrow of his story.

"When a suitor goes to the thanah, it is the duty of *Jubbur* ' *Khan* to take him aside, and enquire how much he will give for ' settling the case in his favor? A bargain is driven, and the ' utmost squeezed out of the party that can possibly be obtain- ' ed. Even a pair of shoes, a *topee* (hat), or a *kummurbund* ' (waist sash), are accepted, in the absence of anything more ' preferable. Of course, *Jubbur Khan* swears to his patron that ' he takes nothing for himself, and is content, like a well-be- ' haved jackal, to feast on the lion's leavings; but not a day

* Policeman of the lowest grade. † About half a pound of clarified butter.

'passes without his pocketing something handsome; and many 'is the time that the lion's share has fallen to his lot. He told 'me that his cue was to get up a *moamlah** against some 'rich *Mahajun*, or other wealthy person. For then, if the rich 'man would not fork out handsomely, nothing was easier than 'to word the *kyfeut* of the police report, so as to induce the '*Hakim* (judge) to issue an order for a *tuhkeekat* (criminal 'process): and then a golden harvest was reaped. For in-'stance—a man well-dressed (as every swindling black-guard 'may be) appears in the thanah, and gives in a formal complaint 'against a *nouputtee* (newly come) *Mahajun*, for the abduction 'of his sister, or daughter, or wife. Now such a charge is not 'cognizable; but, like an artful dodger, *Jubbur Khan* tells the 'complainant to state that the woman had 500 rupees worth of 'jewels on her person, which the defendant has also robbed 'him of. The complainant takes the hint, and depones accord-'ingly; and, as he expects to get a handsome sum of money 'from the *Mahajun*, for giving in a *razeenama* (charge), he gives 'a fee of 25 rupees to *Nimaz Khan*; and *Jubbur* is sent to the '*Mahajun's* house with a warrant. *Jubbur Khan* blusters and 'bullies the unfortunate *Mahajun*, and, producing his warrant, 'declares that, although much against his wish, he must take '*Dumree Lall* to the thanah. The *Mahajun* gives 100 rupees 'for a day's respite, and *Jubbur Khan* returns to the thanah. 'Next day he goes again to the *Mahajun*, who sends his 'confidential man with another 100 rupees to *Nimaz Khan*. 'At first the *Karindah* (messenger) is well bullied, his mas-'ter abused, and a threat held out that every mother's 'son shall be *chalan'd* (put in the report). At length *Jubbur* 'Khan folds his hands before *Nimaz Khan*, and, after lauding 'him to the skies, as the soul of honour and peerless amongst 'the undaunted, entreats that the thanadar would reflect for a 'moment, whether it be possible for a man of such respec-'tability, as *Dumree Lall Sahoo*, to have committed such an 'act as the prosecutor charges him with: that *Dumree Lall* is a '*nouputtee Mahajun*, and a man of reputed munificence; 'whereas he had heard from several people, that the prosecutor 'is a *Dullal* (broker) and a *budmash* (bad fellow) &c. Here the '*Mohurir* (native writer) and *Jumedar* edge in a word, in praise 'of *Dumree Lall*, and in abuse of the prosecutor. *Nimaz Khan* 'relaxes the austerity of his countenance, and acknowledges 'that he *had* heard of *the housilah*, (circumstances) of *Dum-'ree Sahoo*, &c. He takes the *Karindah* into a private apart-

* *Moamlah*. Case.

'ment, and after a short while dismisses him. The prosecutor 'is sent for, abused most heartily, and threatened with all the 'most unheard of severities, if he again presumes to make such 'a false complaint against people of respectability. The *Dullal* 'respectfully enquires, whether the small sum of 25 rupees had 'been received by the thanadar, or not. He appeals to *Jubbur* '*Khan;* but one and all turn upon him; call him a liar and 'scoundrel; and he is summarily kicked out. A report goes 'up to the Saheb Magistrate, simply intimating that a charge 'of abduction had been brought by a *Dullal* against *Dumree* '*Lall Sahoo;* that the *Huzúr* knows well the character of '*Dullals*, and that, as the charge was not cognisable by the 'police, the prosecutor was referred to the '*Adalut-ool-alea.*' 'And thus ends the farce."

Another source of wealth to the police is the abstraction of part of the stolen property, after it has been recovered by them: "no one ever thinks of suspecting the police: and if 'suspicion be excited, (kyá faidah) what matters it? where is 'the proof?"

Jubbur Khan was desired one day to apprehend a suspected coiner, who had been circulating a quantity of base coin. "Such is the cleverness," says our author, "of these fellows, that 'it is asserted as a fact, that the very day the new Company's 'rupee was circulated, a supply of the base coin was simulta-'neously sent into the bazar. *Jubbur* proceeded boldly to the 'house of *Jalea Purshad*, the suspected party, and, calling out to 'him, declared he had come to intimate the Huzur's orders. He 'was desired to remain outside, until the women were put out 'of the way; and, after a quarter of an hour's delay, he was 'ushered in, with extreme civility, into the presence of *Jalea* '*Purshad. Jubbur* produced his warrant, and told him, that he 'must accompany him at once to *Nimaz Khan;* and bullied him 'roundly, for keeping him for so long a time at the door. *Jalea* '*Purshad* begged of him to be pacified; declared his readiness 'to accompany him at once; and, before leaving his house, put 'a gold-mohur into *Jubbur Khan's* hand, and begged of him to 'mention nothing of the detention out-side *Jalea's* house. The '*Sahoo* took a bag of a hundred *inducements* with him, in case 'of need, and departed with *Jubbur Khan.*

"On reaching the thana (police office), the first order given 'is to put *Jalea Purshad* in the stocks. He is taken away for 'the purpose; but whispers to *Jubbur Khan*, to tell *Nimaz Khan* 'that he has brought a *nuzzur* (present) for his worship. The 'thanadar receives the inducements, and finds them sufficiently

'weighty to remove the prisoner's feet from the stocks. He is 'introduced into a decent room apart from the others, and his 'people are permitted to bring in his *bistur* (carpet), and to 'make him as comfortable as circumstances will permit. Of 'course *Jalea Purshad* gets off, minus the *inducements*, for there 'is no proof against him; and *Jubbur Khan* swears that, not 'only did he not see any thing suspicious in *Jalea's* house, but 'that he was at once admitted therein. In short, by *Jubbur* '*Khan's* statement, the execution of a search warrant, or a war-'rant of apprehension, may be always evaded, *if* the delinquent 'is able to *oil palms*. For, as he candidly confessed, the *Sirkar* '*Buhadur* gives me four rupees a month, and the offer of a 'sum equivalent to six months' pay, whether often, or occasion-'ally, ought not to be resisted by an orderly."

The revelations of our hero are not confined within the wide circle of the umlahs of the Courts, and the class of policemen. He presents us with a lively portraiture, from a class, whom he designates as "a set of miscreants that infest the Courts,"—meaning the *Muktyars* (a sort of Attorneys). "Without any pretence," he says, "to education. without any legal knowledge, they de-'rive a maintenance, by fomenting quarrels, by mystifying their 'clients, and by misquotations of the Qanun-i-Sircar (Govern-'ment regulations), the 'circular chitties' (Circular orders), and 'the 'contractions' (Constructions of the Nizamut Adawlut). 'Noisy declamation and lying are their talent; and extreme 'impudence is their privilege. Rebuked, fined, turned out, as 'they have been, they contrive to creep in again, as soon as there 'is a change of administration. Many an amusing scene have I 'seen," says our hero, "and many *a rise do* they take out of the '*Hakims* (judges)." Such is our author's description: but we do not quite agree with the spirit of the criticism, and we doubt the wisdom or justice of holding this class up to official vengeance. They are paid agents, selected for required services, and open to the influence of mutual rivalry and competition. If depravity is characteristic of them, we may be sure it is owing to the dirty work which is necessary to be done to serve their principals. The fault lies in the tribunals. Practising in the very hot bed of corruption, men, with such aptitudes, such manners, and such depravity, are the proper retinue of the Augean stable. We have endeavoured to find in our hero's illustrations of the múkytar tribe, by what qualities he characterizes them, in relation more particularly to the judges. He appears to have chosen deceit and adulation, two vices which commonly are united; and the portrait is natural.

THE MUKTYAR TRIBE ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES.

" A clever *Múktyar*, one *Lallah Door-undesh*, once played off ' a fine trick on a *raythar* soft Joint Saheb. There had been a ' serious affray in the country, and two men died of *lathee (club)* ' wounds. *A consideration was given to the thanadar*, who ' ordered the corpses to be burned and thrown into the river; ' and a report was sent up to the *Huzur* to the effect, that a slight ' *mar-pit** had taken place; but that the *fidwi*† had himself ' proceeded to the spot, and satisfied himself that the ' affray had been so trifling as to be unworthy of notice:—that ' *Jhút Bhur*, Goraet, had indeed informed him, that two men ' had died, who were concerned in the affray; but, having made ' due enquiry, he, the *fidwi*, had ascertained that the de- ' ceased had been laid up with fever for three months, and ' that they must have died of natural disease:—that in the ' *ukhil-nakhis*'‡ of the thanadar, no further investigation was ' needed; and that he recommended, that *Jhút Bhur* be dis- ' missed." Thus far, all we have is a very ingenious con- spiracy between the múktyar and the thanadar to screen a murder. Reader, observe the details! Respecting them, singly and collectively, if you have any Indian experience, you will attest, as we do, the verisimilitude of the picture. Now let us follow up the conspiracy. " While the Joint Saheb ' was in deep meditation, puzzled what to do, up walks ' *Lallah Door-undesh*, and, salaming profoundly, offers a peti- ' tion, purporting that his client, who was son and heir to one of ' the deceased, declared that the deceased did really die of ' disease, and that the heir prayed that the ' *razínamah*,' ' be accepted. The *Huzur's* countenance gleamed with satis- ' faction at this untying of the Gordian knot; and, turning ' approvingly to *Lallah Door-undesh*, he enquired whether the ' petitioner were present? An answer was given in the affirma- ' tive, and a lad of twelve years produced. The Saheb then ' asked the *Múktyar*, whether the boy was really and in truth ' the heir to the deceased? To which *Door-undesh* replied, ' with a becoming smirking humility, 'Can the *Huzur* imagine ' that any one would presume to think that the *Huzur could* be ' deceived? *Jenab-i-allee* (His Lordship) knows that such ' a thing is impossible, and that he, the ' *doulut-i-khwah*' ' (slave), is incapable of deception.' The Saheb entirely satisfied, ' cocks his hat, and tells the Múnshí (Persian clerk)—' *Buhot* ' *khúb; razínamah munzúr; misl dakhil duftur.*' (' Very well:

* *Mar-pit.* Assault. † *Fidwi.* Slave. ‡ *Ukkil nakhis.* Office.

' the razínamah is admitted; let it be filed in the office).' " Thus, the conspiracy succeeds; but not without a previous suggestion of a doubt on the part of the múnshi, who, in the end, only gets wigged, for venturing to ruffle the even path of the magistrate.

" The poor Múnshí endeavours to remind the Saheb, that there ' are strong presumptions of homicide having been committed; ' that there is no proof that the boy, who gave the *razínamah*, is ' not a fictitious personage, &c. When *Lallah Door-undesh* ' breaks in with—' Thus it is, sir, that the *Umlah* try to warp ' your impartial judgment, for their own base purposes, even ' after your honour has passed a final order, which is equal in ' discrimination to the judgment of Solomon.' The Múnshí gets wigged for presuming to dictate to the *Huzúr;* and ' the parties leave the *kacheri* (office), in triumph.

" *Lallah Door-undesh* not only benefits by fees from the ' thanadar, and the parties concerned in the affray, but his character rises to the culminating point in the regions of public ' opinion. People at once perceive how well he can tickle the ' Saheb; and client after client comes with his retaining fee to ' entreat the services of *Lallah Door-undesh.* He walks consequentially towards his *ekha* (*anglice,* Hack-cab); and, ' meeting the Múnshíjí in the way, jostles him, and passes on, ' inflated with vanity and consequence."

Our hero discourses instructively on the want of a uniform practice, or procedure, in the magistrate's offices. It was his lot, he tells us, to serve under several hakims (masters). Their power and propensity to enforce each his own personal and peculiar rule and mode of practice, appear particularly to have struck his attention. " One," says our hero, " has a *shoukh* (pas- ' sion or propensity) of turning every thing *últa-púlta* (topsy- ' turvy). Nothing, that has been proposed or done by his predecessor, can be right. One objects to time-honored usage, and ' asks the spectacled Sheristadar, *Keon? koun ayeen ba moojib* ' (why? according to what regulation is that done)? The old ' man, almost old enough to be his grandfather, stands before ' the *Huzúr,* and with folded hands replies, *Zabiteh yih hye,* ' *khodabund, sudamut* (*kadamut*) *se,* (according to custom, Sir, ' from a long time ago).

" *Zabiteh be d—d; ayeen dekhao* (Custom—nonsense; look ' at the regulation). Other hakims, says our hero, there are, ' who are content to look only through the spectacles, and to ' hear only through the ears, of their umlahs. To every remon- ' strance they reply, Never make any enquiries yourself, or you

'will ruin the case. With such an official, an unanswerable 'argument is *Zabiteh yih hye* (that is the custom here). He 'respects every thing which he finds established. Every thing 'goes to rack and ruin from this man's easy yielding temper. He 'shews too much, while the opposite character shews too little, 'deference to the opinions of his officers." But, as our hero observes, the fault is in the system, or want of system, as we should say, "which allows officials, in so great a degree, to 'influence the rules of practice, and the conduct of the officers. 'The fault of the administration is, that officials have it in 'their power to alter the rules of practice as they please; and, 'instead of every zillah being governed on uniform principles, 'the modes of procedure of no two zillahs are similar."

Great evils, these, without doubt; but our author has not shewn the root of them; which we take to be the want, in the magistrate, of nearly all qualifications for the office, when he enters upon his functions. First, he is a mere lad. Secondly, he is of a privileged class, therefore puffed up in a manner unfavorable to the best developements. Thirdly, for three or four of the first years of his official life, and often much longer, he is not possessed of a colloquial familiarity with the language of the people; yet he hears, and is allowed to use, no other; and fourthly, as a consequence, he is dependent, in all he does, on the umlahs and police. They are his teachers; his mind is a blank, which receives just the impressions which they give him; and when matured by years, he is, we should say, all but spoiled,—ruined; and all the examples, which our author gives, are but the proper results of such an establishment.

Our author points out another evil.

"Where so much depends upon the *mizaj** of a functionary, 'and he has it in his power to do evil, or to do good, with but 'little control over his own actions; of course, the necessary su- 'pervision over subordinates must be considered as a contingency 'depending on chance. In some districts it is so *overdone*, that 'the services of the subordinate officials are lost to the State; 'in others, it is so imperfectly and weakly exercised, that the 'subordinate officials, in every department, are the *de facto* 'rulers."

Evils these are justly called; but they are not the radical or primary evils. In the latter class, the superior confesses his own incompetency; in the former, he accuses his subordinate officials; but, in both cases, the fault of the magistrate is essentially the same,—the want of qualifications for managing his establishment.

* *Mizaj*. Temper, humour.

Our hero has enriched his revelations with portraits of many of his companions, and narratives of cases in which they were concerned.

ZUBBURDUST MISR AND LALLA RAMBALUK; AND HOW THEY ROSE BY ACCUSING THE INNOCENT WHEN THEY COULD NOT FIND THE GUILTY PERSONS.

"*Zubburdust Misr* was a strong, black, middle-aged man, 'with an 'oily-gammonish' kind of look about him, that de-'ceived every body. He was a burkundaz,* in the receipt of 4 'Rs. per mensem, and had been on the staff of the well known 'thief catcher, *Lalla Rambaluk*, thanadar of Zalimgunje, dis-'trict of Beinsafpúr. A set of miscreants, whom nobody could 'trace, were going about the country, poisoning and robbing the 'lieges. Parties used to be found, lying dead, or dying, near 'wells, or in the suráees,† stripped of every thing, and without 'any marks of violence. The Civil Surgeon, on making a 'post-mortem examination, could only affirm that they had been 'poisoned, he presumed, with *dhutúra*.‡ The men "died, and 'their corpses presented no outward sign of violence" The 'greatest consternation prevailed. The Magistrate reported 'the circumstance to Government, and got a wigging for his 'pains; and he, in consequence, issued an order to "stop the 'pay of all the thanadars," until the delinquents were discover-'ed. Upon this *Rambaluk* was sent for, and directed to pro-'duce the poisoners, under penalty of the Huzúr's severe 'displeasure. Every thing that man could do was done, but 'we could make nothing of the case; so, like Lord Burleigh, we 'solemnly shook our heads, and pronounced the affair a mystery!

"Again, it was reported that four travellers had been poison-'ed, and robbed. Two died, but two recovered after a deal of 'trouble. The survivors deposed, that they had made a long 'march, and, about noon day, having come to a shady peepul 'tree on the road side, close by which there was a well of sweet 'water, they sat down to refresh themselves. They had no-'thing to eat but a little *chubenah*;§ which humble fare 'appearing to excite the compassion of a party of travellers, 'who were also seated under the peepul,‖ they offered them 'some *suttoo*,¶ which having eaten, they suddenly became insen-

* *Burkundaz.* Constable.

† *Suráces.* Houses at the road side for the shelter and use of travellers.

‡ *Dhutúra.* A strong poisonous fruit, called thorn apple.

§ *Chubenah.* Parched grain.

‖ *Peepul.* A tree sacred among Hindús.

¶ *Suttoo.* Prepared oatmeal.

'sible. They stated that sundry articles of silver, such as 'bangles, armlets, &c. were in their bundles, the whole of which 'had been taken by the poisoners."

A sufficiently alarming state of things this,—and not to be cured by "Acts for the punishment of wandering gangs of thieves and robbers," or any other merely legislative measures. The magistrate thinks it to be a state of things demanding the attention of the highest authorities; but all he gets, when he reports it to head-quarters, is, "a wigging for his pains." And what is the consequence? He must do the best he can; he must put in motion the police myrmidons. "Again," says our hero, "the most thundering orders were fulminated to the police. 'The kotwal (keeper of the jail) and all the thanadars (people 'in charge of district police offices) were sent out to hunt for 'the poisoners. But nobody could give any information as to 'their whereabouts. *At last, Rambaluk sent for Zubburdust 'Misr!*" And these two worthies availed themselves of the intense anxiety of the magistrate, as an occasion to enhance and extend their extortions, and to save their own credit and places by sacrificing innocent persons.

HOW RAMBALUK INSTRUCTS ZUBBURDUST MISR TO PROCEED IN THE EMERGENCY.

"Brother *Zubberdust Misr*, said he, you know that *Bhow-'anee Pershad Sahoo* is a notorious *thangeedar* (receiver of 'stolen property), and that of late he has not given us any but 'the smallest fees. Go at once to his house, search it, and 'produce the silver articles, according to the Huzúr's orders. 'I at once twigged his meaning; but, wishing to gammon him, 'I insinuated, that "*Lallah Saheb*, the *Sahoo*, must have in his '*dokan** scores of bangles and armlets: how then am I to know 'which are the ones that the poisoned traveller owned?" To 'this *Rambaluk* replied, You and I should understand one 'another by this time, *Zubberdust Misr*. Ask no silly ques-'tions, but go and produce the articles from *Bhowanee Pershad's* 'house, and there will be no difficulty in identifying them. 'I went, as directed; and, producing my warrant, proceeded to 'business. The *Sahoo* asked me, if I were mad to be searching 'the house of an old friend? He denied having any of the 'stolen property; and talked very much about his "*izzut.*"† 'Friend *Sahoo*, I enquired, how will you account for having 'such a variety of silver and golden ornaments as yonder 'chest contains? (Here I pointed towards an old acquaint-

* *Dokan.* Shop. † *Izzut.* Character: honour: known respectability.

'ance, which was carefully concealed). He understood me, 'and offered me a hundred rupees, which I at once pocketed. 'I was afraid, however, to return to *Lallah Rambaluk* without '*any* silver ornaments; so I took from the *Sahoo* sundry bits 'of silver that *had* been bangles and armlets; and, after *sum-* '*jhaoing** him,in the presence of witnesses,asked him whence 'he had procured them? He replied, that a woman, called '*Lutchmineah*, by caste a Brahminí, had sold them to him two 'days previous. I took *Bhowanee Pershad* and the bits of 'silver to *Lallah Rambaluk*, who, after cogitating for a few 'moments, uttered a devout "*Sree—Sree—Sree*," and, looking 'at me triumphantly, exclaimed that the whole plot was unra- 'velled, and in two days our faces should be made white before 'the Huzúr. The *Sahoo* paid the thanadar another fifty rupees, 'and was released on bail.

"We then apprehended *Lutchminea*, and asked her to con- 'fess. But she persisted in denying all knowledge of the bits 'of silver, or of the gang of poisoners. Give her a remem- 'brancer, *Zubburdust Misr!* said *Rambaluk*. I took a large 'loose bag, containing decayed and dried chillies, and put it 'over her head, with a few shakes. In a few moments she was 'nearly suffocated, and, when she recovered her senses, she said 'she would confess to whatever we bid her. Her confession 'was taken in the thana before three witnesses; and, according 'to her statement, we proceeded to seize *Debi Misr* and *Singha* '*Ram*. Both these worthies denied the charge; but they were 'old offenders, and required a little *sumjhaoing*. They were 'kept out exposed to the fierce rays of a vertical sun for a cou- 'ple of hours, and, when fainting from heat and thirst, they were 'treated to the chilly bag. They readily confessed before wit- 'nesses. Now here was a beautiful case for the magistrate. 'The surviving travellers had sworn to having received *suttoo* 'from a party, consisting of a woman and two men, who called 'themselves Brahmins. Two men and a woman had confessed 'to the crimes of poisoning and robbing. The bits of silver 'they allowed to be part of the property robbed from the travel- 'lers. What booted it, that the travellers could not identify the 'robbers or the bits of silver? They had barely seen the rob- 'bers for a moment, and the bangles, &c., had been broken up. 'But the robbers freely confessed; and all was right."

We must here pause and ponder over this statement, and admire how naturally the plot grows. This is no figment of the imagination. The extortion, followed by silent submission; the

* *Sumjhao*. To cause to understand.

false accusation; the confession made in open day and before witnesses, but under the influence of torture, previously inflicted in secret, on poor creatures who had no one to look to for protection;—such horrors are but too real. What follows? The case, thus concocted and refined by the police, is taken before the magistrate, who was delighted at their success. "The 'Huzur was delighted at our success; promised great 'things to *Rambaluk Lallah*, and *made me a Jumedar of* 'police at once. The defendants confessed before the magistrate. 'They had been imprisoned previously for mal-practice; and they 'were committed for trial by the Sessions Judge. The *Sahoo* got 'off, on the pretext, that he was ignorant of the silver having been 'stolen property; that he had voluntarily given it up to me; 'and, named *Lutchminea* as the party from whom he had 'purchased it. Here *Zubburdust Misr* paused to enjoy my astonishment.

"Friend, I said, what you have just related gives me the 'highest respect for your abilities. But surely the Sahebs are 'not gulled so readily? I also have played a few tricks, but had 'no notion of such wholesale consummate art as you mention. 'How were the alleged poisoners punished by the Judge 'Saheb?

"*Zubburdust Misr* sighed deeply, or affected to do so, and 'continued thus:—I had disbelieved that 'Ram Jee'* interfered directly in the matters of this world; but the issue of 'the case I have related gave me serious matter for reflection. 'You shall judge for yourself. Two days remained for the 'trial of the poisoners before the Junab Saheb Judge, when a '*rúbakari*† was received by the Magistrate, from the officiating 'Joint Magistrate of a neighbouring district, (a young, headstrong, opinionative boy,—one that *would* do everything himself, 'and not trust to his *Umlah;* one can never depend upon '*what* they do) purporting that a gang of poisoners, consisting 'of two men and a woman, had been taken by the police, just 'as they were rifling some travellers, to whom they had administered *dhutúra:* that they had a very miscellaneous collection 'of all kinds of silver and golden ornaments; that, finding 'denial of no avail, as they had been caught in the act of robbing, they had confessed to having poisoned and robbed sundry people at different times; and that they had heard, that some 'innocent persons had been apprehended, and were committed 'for trial by the Sessions Judge, in the zillah of Beinsafpore. 'They pointed out the property taken from the travellers, which,

* *Ram Jee.* A Hindú idol. † *Rubakari.* Proceeding.

'together with a copy of their confession, was sent to the Magis
'trate of Beinsafpore."

"Here was a go! The Saheb Magistrate raved, and swore at the
'whole of the police. The men and woman, who had confessed,
'were asked, why they had confessed? and out came the whole
'story. This would have gone for nothing; but the travellers
'swore to the identity of the property sent by the boy Joint,
'and there could be no doubt as to the innocence of the parties
'we had apprehended. The upshot was, that the Kotwal, *Lalla*
'*Rambaluk*, and two other thanadars, were turned out, and I
'was reduced to a burkundaz, in which place I have continued
'ever since."

A case, invested with more than common tragic interest, is told by our hero, of a man convicted, on his own confession, of murdering his own nephew; when the fact was, that there had been no murder at all, but the supposed murdered man had absconded, to avoid the consequences of a criminal intercourse, which he had had in his brother's family. The story is well worth following, step by step, in all its details. The case comes before the magistrate, first, in a true and probable report by the thanadar, of a man's being missing, and that nobody could give any account of him: but it was known that he had a criminal intercourse with his own brother's wife, the brother being absent; and, the intrigue having come to the knowledge of an uncle named *Zalim*, the missing party, it was supposed, had fled, no body knew whither.

Upon this state of facts, how does the magistrate act? Upon this "the Magistrate suspended *Gudha Purshad* thana-
'dar; recorded his conviction, that *Lootcha Singh* had been mur-
'dered by his own relations, in revenge for the intrigue with
'his brother's wife; that the thanadar of *Bewuqoofpoor* had
'been bribed to send up a false statement of the case. Fur-
'ther he ordered that the Kotwal of the city be directed to go at
'once to the village of *Fussadgunj*; and, within a fortnight, to
'produce the murderers of *Lootcha Singh*, with the neces-
'sary proofs, under penalty of dismissal."

Now suppose this case not a real one: even as fictitious, it shows what our author deemed both possible and probable. Aided by no light of jurisprudence, the magistrate yields to the first surmise which crosses his mind, and sets his myrmidons to chase after his own phantom. Hear the sequel:—

"Within the fortnight, the Kotwal reported to the magistrate
'that "*ba ikbul Huzúr*" (according to his command) he had
'apprehended the murderer of *Lootcha Singh*, who proved
'to be his uncle, *Zalim Singh*; and that the murderer not

'only confessed his crime, but that strong circumstantial evi-
'dence went to criminate him, &c. &c. The defendant *Zalim*
'made a free confession before the magistrate. He deponed,
'that a criminal connection had existed between *Lootcha Singh*
'and *Phooljhurea*, wife of his own brother, who was absent:
'that, fearing loss of caste, should the intercourse be fruit-
'ful, he had first remonstrated with *Lootcha Singh;* but
'finding him deaf to reproof, he murdered him one night, and
'threw his body, the same night, into the Ganges. No ques-
'tion was asked the prisoner: and the confession, having been
'written in a corner of the room, out of ear-shot of the Saheb,
'was attested by him and three witnesses, as a free and unex-
'torted confession of murder.

"Sundry witnesses deponed, to having heard of the existence
'of a criminal intimacy between the deceased, and his brother's
'wife *Phooljhurea*. They heard defendant reprove the
'deceased; and certain witnesses heard defendant threaten
'to kill him. But nobody saw the deed done. No body was
'found. There was no bloody weapon—no marks of a strug-
'gle, or other indication of violence. The magistrate commit-
'ted *Zalim Singh* to take his trial before the Sessions Judge, for
'the wilful murder of his nephew *Lootcha Singh*.

"The prisoner confessed before the judge. The witnesses
'corroborated what they had previously deponed to. The law
'officer gave a *futwa** of '*kissas;*' the judge referred the
'*misl*† of the case to the Sudder Nizamut Adalut, and recom-
'mended that *Zalim Singh* should be hanged."

But sentence of death cannot be executed without the confirmation of the highest Criminal Court, the Nizamut Adalut: and, out of the three judges of which it is composed, there luckily was one, more acute, and legally tinctured, than his brethren. His doubts led to a mitigation of the sentence: the man is ordered to be imprisoned for life (which generally is transportation), and to be branded on the forehead as a felon. This is done, and, on the real truth coming out, remains indelible, and makes life intolerable. But let our hero tell the tale:—

"In due course of time, the file of papers was laid before
'their Worships, the Judges of the Court of Nizamut Adalut.
'One judge concurred in opinion with the Sessions Judge, and
'was for hanging *Zalim Singh*. But, for the credit of the '*Sa-*
'*heban Alishan,*' the second judge Mr. ——, differed entirely
'from all the other Sahebs. He observed, that *Zalim* had
'himself gone to the thanah of *Bewuqoofpoor*, and reported

* *Futwa.* Sentence. † *Misl.* Record.

'that *Lootcha Singh* was missing: that the magistrate had 'merely attested his deposition, without putting a single ques- 'tion to him: that the wording of the confessions, as record- 'ed before the Kotwal, the Magistrate, and Sessions Judge, 'was almost similar, *verbatim:* that although the evidence 'went to prove that a family dispute had occurred, and that 'the prisoner *Zalim* had been heard to threaten *Lootcha Singh*, '—yet, that there was no proof of the murder having been com- 'mitted at all, as the '*corpus delicti*,' the only positive proof, 'was wanting. He, therefore, voted against capital punishment, 'and recommended that the prisoner be confined for life,—or 'until *Lootcha Singh* turned up.

"The whole of the judges concurred with Mr. ——, and *Za- 'lim Singh*, branded on the forehead as a felon, was trans- 'ported to Goruckpore. *Gudha Purshad* was turned out, and 'declared to be incapable of again serving Government; and 'the Kotwal received a very oily purwanah of good-conduct, 'and a reward of 500 rupees."

The truth afterwards came to light, by the return of the sup- posed murdered man, who came back, in consequence of hearing of his uncle's conviction; he had fled, for the reasons already mentioned, and enlisted in a sepoy regiment.

The sequel is not less interesting.

"The Saheb did not lose a day in sending for *Zalim Singh* 'from Goruckpore; and, when he was questioned, I made it a 'point to be present. The Saheb told him that he was free, 'as his nephew was proved to be alive. The poor victim of 'the law burst into tears, threw himself at the Saheb's feet, and 'pointing to his branded brow, asked the joint magistrate, of what 'use would freedom be to him, when he bore the mark of Cain 'for life? He was asked, why he had confessed three several 'times? He submitted, that the Saheb himself would have 'done so under similar circumstances: that he was kept in a 'privy, with putrid ordure up to his knees all night, and ex- 'posed to the influence of a burning sun all day,—until, mad- 'dened by the treatment, and wishing for death, or, at any rate, a 'release from his intolerable torture, he confessed just as he 'had been tutored to do by the Kotwal. He stated that not a 'question had been put to him by the magistrate or judge; and 'that, on attempting to speak, he was rebuked. He said that 'his release was a matter of indifference, as he was broken- 'hearted, and could not shew his face again in the company of 'honest men, owing to his branded brow.

"The Saheb Joint sent up a strong representation to the 'Nizamut Adalut. He recommended that the Kotwal should

'be dismissed, made to refund the reward he had received, and 'tried criminally, for having trumped up a false case of murder; 'that *Gudha Purshad* should be employed again, and receive a 'reward from Government; and that poor *Zalim Singh* be sup- 'ported at the expense of the state for life. This was asking 'only what was due from the Government. But what was the 'result?

"Poor *Zalim* was, of course, released; but no provision was 'made for him, nor any recompence awarded for his branded 'forehead. *Gudha Purshad* remained unnoticed. And as for 'the Kotwal, not only did he *not* disgorge the reward of 500 'rupees given him for his iniquity, but he was retained in pos- 'session of his appointments; and for aught I know, is still 'a "Jack in office."

"I saw that the *Saheb* was very greatly disgusted at all this; 'but he was helpless, and was obliged to swallow his indigna- 'tion. I could not help reflecting, however, on the cruelty of 'the punishment of branding, or '*Godna*.' Government has 'always objected to mutilation of a limb, because the culprit 'is thereby rendered helpless for life. But a branded felon, if 'ever released, is punished even more severely than by mutila- 'tion. He is morally degraded, and rendered an outcast from 'the society of men. The mark has mutilated his moral cha- 'racter, and disqualified him from resuming a reputation, of 'which he was innocently deprived; and he ought no longer to 'be made liable for raising his hands against those who point 'to that mark* as a disgrace and a reproach. It were well if 'our legislators gave the subject the reflection it merits, and 'repealed the damning law. But I forget that I am a poor, 'ignorant orderly, and must not presume to give a hint even to 'my betters."

That the harrowing case, here related, may be a real one, we should not doubt, if we had the author's assertion; but he may intend it only as a representation of incidents, which, though never, to his knowledge, found combined as he has related them, are often occurring. First, we have a case of mere suspi- cion that a crime has been committed, worked up unto a charge, —contrary to the police report in the first instance, and with- out the essential fact, the corpus delicti, to raise a reason- able presumption. The magistrate was the author of the suspicion; and, following it up by the dismissal of the thanadar, whose version of the case was the correct and most probable one, he prevented evidence of the truth coming to him.

* Our legislators have, since this was written, given this subject their consideration, and, by an act just passed, have abolished the punishment of branding.

Then the requisition, that within a fortnight the murderers should be produced, obliged the police to commit in self-defence the atrocities which happened. Finally, "no question was asked the prisoner:"—probably because the magistrate was unable to ask a question, and the evidence was taken in a corner of the room.

The story, on the other hand, does justice to the humanity and feeling of our countryman. His error discovered, he instantly addresses, to his superiors in authority, the proper recommendations: not one of which, (except what respected the discharge of the poor innocent convict, and which cost no money and little trouble,) received any attention. We pass by the cruelty of sending the branded man back to his home, an outcast, without some provision for his subsistence. In money matters, this is sometimes the greediest and shabbiest of all governments; lavish towards favorites; denying what is just to all out of the privileged circle. But this we pass by, to note and point out the double impolicy, here illustrated,—of leaving unpunished, and continuing in employment the wicked Kotwal, and refusing the fair redress of taking the thanadar back into employment. One servant, who had committed no fault, and did only his duty, was treated as a criminal: while another, who had committed a great crime, was continued in public employment. The punishment of corrupt umlahs has often been pressed upon Government. The guilt of specified individuals is often confessed, but the hydra is also confessed to be a case beyond punishment.

We cannot think it, (nor will our readers,) a misemployment of these pages to multiply illustrations. A single one might deserve to make no lasting impression: but, from such a number, and such a variety, as our author has given, we can have no hesitation in drawing conclusions. "On occasions of suspicious death, burglaries and robberies," says our author, "the police are in their glory:" and he gives us the following illustration:

"A dead child is found lying in the middle of a cross road. 'The *Goraet** (called *go-right*, because he always *goes wrong*) 'proceeds to the *thana*, and informs the *Thanadar* that a '*laash*' is found! that the umbilical cord has not been cut, 'and that the child must have been purposely and wantonly 'exposed to meet a fatal end. The *Darogaji* cross-questions 'the *Goraet*, and ascertains, that a suspicion of an intrigue 'between *Kulloo Kulwar*, only son of the rich *Sahoo, Bhowanee Kulwar*, and *Mosummat Lutchminea*, a young widow, had 'for some time been current in the village of ——. The

* Headman of a village.

'*Goraet* declared that he was positive the child was their's. 'How far is the house of the *Sahu* from the place where the 'child was found? Only five koss,* *Darogahjí!* Is *Bhowa-'nee Sahu* rich? *Lakho rupea ka doulut hye, Khodawund* '(He has laks of rupees, my lord!). The very man, says the '*Darogah Saheb*. Here, *Jubbur Khan*, go and bring me *Kulloo 'Kulwar* and *Lutchminea*, while I send a report to the Magis-'trate Buhadúr. While *Jubbur Khan* is going on his errand, 'the *Thanadar* sends the putrid *fœtus* to the Magistrate, and 'intimates, 'that the practice of infanticide is daily increasing '—that the *Huzur* is aware that 'the *turúkkí khwa'* has not 'the power to investigate such charges without an order from 'the *Huzur*—that the *Goraet* had given such information as to 'induce the *fidwí* (servant) to believe that he could trace the 'parties, &c. &c.' To this the Magistrate replies,—Make the 'investigations *husb-i-zabiteh* (according to custom).

"*Jubbur Khan* brings over *Kulloo Kulwar* and his reputed 'Dulcinea, and they are at once put into the stocks, as proved 'malefactors. But they have not come to the *thana* alone. A '*Chumarin*, an old withered hag, who deals in drugs and 'philtres, is also brought as a witness against the parties. She 'swears that, some nine months back, she was sent for to the 'house of *Lutchminea*, who asked her whether she could admi-'nister any potion to hide the effects of love? and that she, the 'witness, did give her a powder, for which she received one rupee. 'But the prisoner, *Lutchminea*, flatly denied that she ever had 'a child, and alleged her readiness to undergo an examination 'by midwives. The *Thanadar* has his wits about him, however, 'and does not think proper to permit an examination. Next 'morning, the old *Sahu*, *Bhowanee Kulwar*, comes over to the 'thana, to bespeak the *Darogahjí's* good offices; and he ven-'tures to hint that his son is innocent. 'What have I to do with 'that, *Sahují?* The *Goraet* swears to your son's guilt, and the '*Dai* (nurse) swears that *Lutchminea* bought a powder from her' 'I have the Magistrate Buhadúr's *hukum* (order) to apprehend anp '*chalan*† the parties,—and go they shall. The *Kacherí* is only 'twenty miles off, and, if your son and *Lutchhminea* are inno-'cent, of course the *Saheb Buhadur*, whose justice is as famed 'as that of the renowned *Nousherwan*, will release them.' The '*Sahu* finds that he must bleed, and pour out the contents of 'some of his beloved money bags. He accordingly makes a bar-'gain with the *Darogah*, to release his son at once for one hun-'dred rupees cash. Very good, says his worship, release *Kulloo*.

* A koss is about two miles.

† *Chalan*. Send on.

'But Mr. *Kulloo* refuses to budge a foot, unless his beloved 'Lutchminea is permitted to accompany him, and old *Bhowa-* 'nee is forced by his son to pay fifty rupees in addition for 'her release. They are released, and go their way rejoicingly; 'while the *Thanadar* orders a *kullian*,* and whiffs away in 'delight, uttering an occasional *Ulhum-dool-illahi* (thanksgiving 'praise to god!) Of course a report is made to the Saheb Magis- 'trate Buhadur, that there is no proof against the accused 'parties—that the *Goraet* is a liar, and a *múfsid*, for having 'implicated *Kulloo* and *Lutchminea;* and that, in the *fidwi's* 'ukkil-nakis,† the *Goraet* is deserving of punishment. The 'unfortunate wretch is suspended by orders of the Magistrate, 'and is eventually dismissed from service, and imprisoned."

It has been seen, that we cannot always give an unqualified assent to our author's criticisms. In one of the most interesting and graphic of his revelations, he describes the practices of certain classes of Hindus, as public nuisances, and, among others, those of the *dullals*, at Benares, a species of native brokers. One of their customs is described to be, to dodge after people who go into the bazars to make purchases, forcing their opinions upon them to their great annoyance, and levying a *huq*, the difference between the fair market price of an article, and the price which the broker's practice raises it to. The huq thus begins in a nuisance, but becomes established as a custom, and, though described by our author as illegal, is evidently regarded by him as necessary to be endured. But if illegal customs, which never took root at Calcutta, or have been eradicated, exist in Benares, it can only be by reason of some difference in the law, magistracy, or police of the two places; and therefore must be the result of bad government. Such in fact, it is shewn by our author, to be

THE NUISANCE OF THE DULLALS.

"Go into the *chouk*,‡ and attempt to purchase the most trivial 'article. Take up a pair of shoes, or a shawl, and you will find 'a *Dullal* at your elbow. The man praises one thing, abuses 'another; beats down the price of the vender authoritatively; 'and you are surprised, that such disinterested officiousness 'should be shown to a stranger in a crowded *chouk*. The man 'civilly offers to take you whithersoever you please, and to 'assist you in purchasing whatever you may require. You re- 'turn home wondering what was the man's inducement to 'waste his own time in chaffering for you?—I lift the curtain

* *Kullian*. Hookah. † The servant's poor opinion. ‡ *Chouk*. Market.

'to shew you, that the venders and your *chaperon* are in 'league; and that your complaisant friend is a *dullal*, who takes 'very good care to lower the vender's price only so much, as to 'admit of his coming in for a handsome *dusturi*. The dif- 'ference between the bazar price, and the amount price of the 'article sold, is the '*huq*' of the *Dullal!* You will ask, whe- 'ther the vender may not himself pocket the whole of the 'money? I answer, that he dares not. The whole of the *Dullals* 'would cabal against him; would cry down his wares; would 'thrash him within an inch of his life; would by force prevent 'purchasers from attending his shop. Can such things be, you 'ask? Can the authorities submit tamely to such outrages? 'Why do not the parties, who are cheated or bullied, complain 'to the Magistrate? They *have* tried the experiment, and, al- 'though in a few instances successful, they have generally failed 'in obtaining redress, from want of judicial proof. Moral convic- 'tion is one thing, and judicial proof another. And were a 'Magistrate to punish on moral conviction alone, his judgment 'would, in all probability, be reversed by the Judge in appeal; 'who, having to form *his* judgment by the *written evidence*, 'must be guided by *judicial proof alone*."

Now here our hero refers the inveteracy of the nuisance to the vicious action of the appellate system. Thus, it appears that a common street nuisance, which a common policeman ought to be qualified to prevent, cannot even be dealt with summarily by a magistrate; but an appeal lies, in case of a conviction. We will venture to say, that on no just theory is a right of appeal in such cases given. Why then is it given? Because the police, the magistracy, the entire judicial service of the country, have not been found worthy of public confidence. The government dares not trust them without supervision at every step, and a check, in the minutest details, on independent action. But in its arrangements to prevent the apprehended mischief, it paralyzes what is good. And the policy of the government, in this respect, is the policy of nearly every covenanted civil servant, who has subordinates under him. Distrust, suspicion, all the most hateful dissonances which chaos might admire in a world just emerging from its sway, or about to fall under it, naturally arise under the present system. To prevent misdecison in a lower, an appeal lies to a higher tribunal; but then the mischief becomes only aggravated, for the appellate is not better qualified, and, proceeding merely on the written evidence, is less likely to form a correct opinion. And, as our author observes, the moral considerations which sway the judge below, are lost on the appeal against his decision.

THE DULLALS FALSELY PERSONATE THE GRAIN DEALERS.

The great supply of grain to Benares comes, by way of *Burna Sungum ghat*, to the *Trilochun bazar*, and, if unmolested in its course, would be laid down without intermediate charge of any kind, beyond carriage. It is the interest of the trade and of the public that it should be so; but our author represents the *dullals*, as setting up a right to act as a sort of middlemen or brokers, and to take a *huq* or custom at the ghat, or landing stairs, for which they render no service, and to which they have no just claim whatever. This nuisance is felt to be such by the grain dealers, and is prohibited by the authorities; in fact it has been put down: but, at each change of magistrate, the dullals make an attempt to re-establish it. The means, which they employ for this purpose, are singularly curious, and characteristic. The dullals, concealing their true character, petition in great numbers as grain dealers, and bring complaints of oppression, and of the levy of illegal imposts, against the owner of the grain market. They reason thus: if we succeed, the disgrace and discomfiture of our adversary will revive our power, and alter our relation to the police and magistrate; if we fail, we are only as we were; the fraud, and perjury, will go unpunished. Our author represents the trick as eventually unsuccessful; but the story is pregnant with instruction, as it respects the character of the people, as well as their opinion, and our author's opinion, of the state of the magistracy and police, in permitting such experiments. It shews, what is unhappily too true, the entire want of virtue in great masses of the population. They have no right sense of religion; no avenging conscience, to avert the designing thought of any kind of wrong; and police and law, which are therefore so much the more needed, serve as auxiliaries to the vices of the people. Such tricks, as our author has brought to light, spring from the opinion, and the experience, that it is easy to enlist the police in the service of crime, and to deceive the tribunals. Sometimes they succeed; sometimes they fail: but, failing and detected, still they go unpunished, and that, as our author represents, mainly by reason of the vicious action of the appellate system. We will, however, give the case in the words of our author, and leave the reader to his own reflections:—

"The largest, if not the only, wholesale grain market in Benares is the *Trilochun bazar*, between the city and the *Burna Sungum ghat*. Here, as elsewhere, the *Dullals* have established their sway. One of the principal of these was *Bisheshur Singh*, who contrived, by some means or other, to eke out a comfortable subsistence by his iniquitous practices. If a boat

'put to at the ghat, and any transaction with the grain market 'was negotiated, *Bisheshur* claimed his *huq*. If the grain were 'attempted to be sold directly to the owner of the *Gunje* (market,) '*Bisheshur Sing* gathered his band of *Dullals* together, got up a 'scrimmage, and himself lodged the first complaint in the thana; 'but the proprietor of the Gunje, *Sheikh Chalah*, was a cautious 'and canny cove, and managed always to escape, being saddled 'with the onus of these rows. *Bisheshur Sing* waited patient- 'ly, until there was a change in the administration; and no 'sooner was a new Magistrate appointed, than he presented a 'thundering petition to the *Huzur*, purporting that the *Gunje* 'was public property—that the former *Hakims* had removed 'all taxes and cesses, and had declared every person at liberty 'to land and sell his grain at will—that *Beoparis* (merchants) 'brought large fleets of boats, laden with grain for the use of the 'city,—but that owing to the great oppression of *Sheikh Chalah*, 'they could not land the grain—that a tax of so much per boat 'was taken by the *Sheikh* from every *Beopari*—that the grain 'was forcibly stacked in the granaries of the *Trilochun*—and 'that the *Sheikh* took a fixed sum per maund, for selling the 'grain, &c. Scores of similar petitions were filed, by parties 'calling themselves *Beoparis*.

"To these charges *Sheikh Chalah* merely replied, that he 'was owner of the grain market at *Trilochun*—that he made 'large advances to *Beoparis* in distant provinces, who brought 'or sent the grain to his market—that he provided *choukedars* 'for the protection of the boats—that he afforded accommoda- 'tion to the *Beoparis* for their grain in his ample store-houses, 'where it remained, until sold—that he supplied money to the '*Beoparis* on the hypothecation of their grain—that, in short, 'he was merely a *broker* on a large scale, and received from 'the *Beoparis* only that brokerage, which mutual convenience, 'and long usage, had established. The Saheb Magistrate desir- 'ed his Assistant to go the next morning, and make enquiries 'on the spot; and I accompanied him, as his orderly. When 'the Assistant reached the bazar, there was a great crowd, crying 'out '*Cumpani ka dohai! Saheb Shistunt* (Assistant) *ka dohai!*'* 'The *Chota* (Junior) *Saheb* seemed quite perplexed, and asked the 'people, what they had to say? '*Dohai! Dohai! Sheikh Chalah* 'has ruined us and cheated us,' was all he heard. Upon this, 'turning round to me, he sagaciously asked, 'PAUNCH KOURI, 'are these poor people very ill, that they want *dowai* (medicine)? 'Why do not they go to the Doctor?' I humbly submitted that

* *Dohai.* A cry for help, or justice.

'they were not ill, but cried for justice, or *dohai*. But, said 'the Saheb, *dowai* or *dohai*, it is all one; for the poor men 'appear to be grievously oppressed. Here Múnshi! *sowal* '*purho*.* Some fifty petitions were read: the petitioners an-'swered to their names; and the puzzled *Saheb Shistunt* looked 'at one, and then at another, and yawned from the sheer fatigue 'of thinking so profoundly. I whispered in his ear, 'May it 'please the *Jenáb-i-ali* (Lordship) to enquire, whether the peti-'tioners, and the crowd present, are real *Beoparis*, or not? Your 'slave recognises them as *Budmashus* (scoundrels of) *Dullals*.' 'The hint was taken, and the Saheb himself put the question to 'every petitioner, '*Tum koun?*' (What are you)? '*Dullal* '*hye, Khodawund,*' was the invariable answer. 'Very strange,' 'said the *Saheb Shistunt*, 'where are the oppressed and 'aggrieved *Beoparis?* Turn out the rascals, *darogah*, and 'bring me the *Beoparis*, from the bazar and the boats.' 'Several *Beoparis* presented themselves, who denied that they 'had any cause of complaint against *Sheikh Chalah*. They said 'that they paid him brokerage by the custom of the country; 'but that they *had* to complain against *Bisheshur Sing* and 'his rascally *Dullals*, who, by abuse and cajolery, cheated them 'out of small sums of money daily. The *Saheb Shistunt* repre-'sented matters truly to the Magistrate, who '*dakhil duftur'd*' 'the case (ordered it to be refered to the proper office).

"Why was not the principal, *Bisheshur Singh*, punished, 'you ask? For a plain reason. He would have appealed to the '*Saheb Alishah*, the Judge. He would have proved by the 'evidence of fifty witnesses, that he had received, as his father 'had done before him from time out of mind, a fixed rate for 'every boat that arrived at the ghat—that the owner of the 'bazar was the oppressor, &c. &c., and the Magistrate's order 'would have been reversed. It is true, justice is a grand thing; 'but who can expect it without *judicial proof?*"

The descriptions which our hero gives, of various classes in the city of Kashi (Benares), are in every point of view highly important and interesting. Regarding them in a political point of view, they strikingly shew, how impotent in fact, how nearly a nonentity, British civil authority is for the purposes of Go-vernment, in the crowded cities of Hinduism. It will be seen, that many of the practices, described by our author, are entirely contrary to the feelings of mankind in general. Wherefore we hold that Government might safely use special means to sup-press them: and, though it would require time, it is surely due to humanity, that each succeeding decad should record some new systematic attack, or prohibition, on the part of civilization against

* Read their petitions.

some one or other ancient cruelty of a degenerated superstition. The abolition of suttee and sitting dhurna, ought not to have remained the sole triumphs of humanity for twenty years.

"It is not, perhaps, generally known, that in the ancient and 'holy city of *Kashi*, there have existed from time immemorial, 'and do exist at the present moment, several classes of men, 'who live by extorting, from the citizens and devout pilgrims, 'more than is sufficient to maintain them in the most reckless-'ly profligate careers. They levy a regular and systematic '*'black mail'* upon high and low, rich and poor. No rank or 'station is above their reach; and no person is so poor, as to be 'unable to afford these gentry profit, either by payments in 'coin, or by some kind of service. The wealthy *Babu*, the '*nouputti Mahajun*, the *Vakils*, the *Umlah*, the very *Munsiffs* 'and *Sudder Amins*, are subjected to their influence. For 'either by direct violence, or by a veneration for '*dustur*,' 'these worthies are coerced. I allude to the *Pundahs*, the '*Gunga Putras*, the *Ghatias*, the *Bhururias*, the *Dullals;* and 'to the whole tribe of carrion-crows, with which the city is infest-'ed, and under whose domination it groans. In attempting 'to expose the villainy and oppression of a class, I shall not 'stop to delineate individuals; for the law can reach them, when 'known. But my object is to show the public a body of mis-'creants, who, by their combination and the force of circum-'stances, defy all law; which, as an orderly, I am able to do 'from personal experience."

THE PUNDAHS, THE PRELATICAL ORDER OF BRAHMINISM.

"The '*Pundahs*,' in the holy city of *Kashi*, are the *prelates* 'of their priesthood; and, like every other calling in India, the 'sacred offices even are hereditary. They are not bound to 'celibacy. Their wealth is enormous. Their lives are a tissue 'of profligacy, arrogance, fraud and deceit; and as for morals, ''*they never had any.*' Like the Papal pretensions of univer-'sal supremacy, they arrogate to themselves privileges, and 'superiority over the laity; and assert them with a haughtiness, 'exceeding that of *Thomas-a-Becket*. The daily offerings, 'at the celebrated temples and the shrines they contain, are 'collected by officiating priests, who account to the *Pundahs*. 'The annual income of the temples is enormous; for, like the 'Papal church, the Hindu system of religion allows of the 'compounding of every sin—from a peccadillo to homicide—'for a consideration: and, the greater the amount of guilt, the 'larger, of course, is the propitiatory offering, and the greater 'the profit of the priests. The ordinary ceremonials and sacra-'ficial rites are performed by the '*Pújáris*.' The *Pundah*

'officiates only on grand occasions, when some wealthy *Rajah*, 'or *Babu*, makes his advent in *Kashi*, and offers to propitiate 'the gods by an offering, in proportion to the enormity of his 'sins. Then, indeed, the satellites of the '*Sri Pundah Ji*' 'are on the alert; and desperate becomes the conflict of wits, 'between cupidity on one side, and superstition mixed with ava-'rice on the other.

"When His Highness, the Ex-Paishwa came to *Kashi*, after 'the death of his father, and solicited the *Pundah* of the great 'temple of *Vishiwur* to assist him in the fulfilment of his 'vows, he refused to do so, until the Maharajah should fill with 'coined silver the *houz*, or font of the temple. This was acced-'ed to; and it was found that one lakh and twenty-five thousand 'rupees were required for the purpose. A goodly breakfast, I 'ween, and sufficient for a time to stay the cravings of a morbid 'sacerdotal appetite! On other occasions, he is induced to 'attend the temple, when some zealous votary lures him thither, 'with the promise of an after-recreation, in which the choicest 'specimens of the sweet songstresses of Ind enrapture the senses, 'by their voluptuous song and dance. The *Pundahs*, like the 'elders of old, are connoisseurs of beauty; and those, who cannot 'afford the lure of wealth, make use of the lure of beauty, to in-'sure the honor of the *Pundah's* presence.

"The office of *Pundah* is hereditary; and, where the family 'has increased, a division of the profits of the temple proceeds 'is always made. Fierce contentions take place among the bro-'therhood for their shares; and then the-easily-gotten wealth of 'the *Pundahs* finds a channel for itself into the pockets of the 'Civil Courts. Tact and ability, however, render one of the 'parties superior to the others; and he becomes, in fact, *the* 'Pundah Jí.

"Many a dark deed has been done, and is done, in the exten-'sive houses of these *Pundahs* and *Pujaris*. While the gong 'is loudly sounding, and scores of athletic priests are blowing '*sunkhs* in the numerous temples that are dotted about and 'around the houses, the last expiring shriek of some victim is, 'perhaps, suppressed by the noise. Disobedient '*chelas*,'* 'victims of jealousy, and unnatural crimes, die by slow torture, 'or poison, or famine. No intimation is, or can be, given to 'the police; for none but the initiated and privileged may enter 'these houses, sanctified by the numerous temples. And who, 'but the most devoted and trust-worthy, are ever permitted to see 'the dark places where crime is committed? It is believed gene-'rally, but I speak not from experience, (for being of the faith

* Domestic slaves; or sometimes, pupils.

'of *Islam*, I am not permitted to approach such places) that, in 'the innermost recesses of several temples, is a shrine dedicated 'to '*Devi*,' or '*Bhowani*,'—those infernal deities, whose 'delight is in blood,—where children of tender age are enticed, 'and offered upon certain occasions. Frequent are the reports 'made to the police, that children are missing: the informants 'suspect nobody, and no trace of the innocents is ever found. 'Can it be, that they are the victims of the horrible suspicion I 'have alluded to?

"A *Pundah* consulted some learned Brahmins about the horo-'scope of his infant son, his first-born. It was foretold, that the 'shadow of the child would press heavily upon the fortunes, and 'life of the father. The *Pundah* took the infant in his arms, and 'fondled it with apparent delight. On returning it to the mo-'ther's arms, it was a breathless corpse. He had squeezed 'the nape of the neck, to prevent the fulfilment of the horo-'scope! Some person, inimical to him, lodged a formal com-'plaint before the Magistrate: the Magistrate, after taking the 'deposition of the informant, summoned the *Pundah* to appear 'in person, and answer to the charge of infanticide. He evaded 'process for a long while; but, at last, was forced to appear 'before the *Huzúr*. But what can simple honesty of purpose 'in a Magistrate do against the combinations of wealth and 'venality? The *Pundah* was acquitted 'from want of judical 'proof.'"

THE GHATIAHS.

"I said that the '*Pundahs*' of the temples in '*Kashi*' are 'a curse to the city. How then shall I describe the '*Gungapu-'tras*' and '*Ghatiahs*' who, like a foul ulcer, are daily increas-'ing, and eroding the vitals of their deluded victims? From 'the *Burna Sungum ghat* to the *Assi*, a distance of some 'five miles, the bank of the Ganges is besprinkled with 'temples, *kutcha chubutras*, (raised earthen platforms) or 'wooden platforms, called *tukht-poshes*, that overlook the 'brink of the holy stream; and scarcely a cubit's length is 'left for a landing place, for boats and travellers. Every one 'of these *chubutras*, or *tukht-poshes*, is occupied by its proprie-'tor, who sits cross-legged, in the simple dignity of nudity, with 'his '*chundun*'* and flowers, mumbling out, in a measured and 'monotonous voice, the names of his favorite divinities. Every 'orthordox Hindu, as he comes out of the broad bosom of '*Gunga-mai*, makes an offering to the *Ghatiah;* who, in 'return, marks his forehead with *chundun*, and pronounces a

* *Chundun.* An odoriferous dust of sandal wood.

'blessing on him. But when the bathers are foreigners, they 'are not permitted even to approach the stream, in places 'occupied by the *Ghatiahs*, until they pay down the sum 'demanded from them. Numerous are the petitions, given in to 'the Saheb Magistrate Buhadur, against these *Ghatiahs;* and 'frequently an order is passed to the police, to see that the com-'plainants are not prevented from taking a dip. In such cases, 'the *Ghatiahs* commence a volley of curses, the most foul and 'blasphemous that can be imagined. And what Hindu can 'stand out against the curses of a *Brahmin* and *a Ghatiah?* The 'bathers appeal to the police burkundazes; but they coolly say, '"We have no orders to prevent the *Ghatiahs* from speaking." 'If a small *douceur* be offered, it is indignantly rejected; and the 'bathers reflect, that, if a considerable gratuity is to be given, 'they had better conform to the '*dustur*,' and give it to the '*Ghatiahs*, as '*pun*.'"

But if, by Brahiminical curses, the Ghatiah prevents the devotee from bathing, he as much contravenes the order of the magistrate, as if he used personal violence: and it is a false gloss of the police to say, they "have no orders to prevent the Ghatiahs from speaking,"—the object of the order being to secure to the people the unmolested exercise of the sacred rite of bathing. The practice of the Ghatiahs, as described by our hero, is a common nuisance. The advantage, which they take of foreigners, is an oppression, against which Government ought to give protection, for the sake of peace and order, of its own authority, and even of civilization. This is not a question of tenets or belief, but of the right of the Hindu public, to perform the ablutions required by their own religion, in spite of impostors who tyrannize over them. Our author says, they appeal to the magistrate; and this proves, that the tyranny of the Ghatiahs is not sacred in popular estimation.

Our hero describes another curious method which the Ghatiahs have of exercising extortion, somewhat analogous to the sitting *Dhurna*, which Lord William Bentinck had the sagacity to see might safely be prohibited. It was accordingly enacted to be a crime, and is consequently now, we believe, become nearly obsolete. And this therefore affords one proof more, how much evil may be prevented, and how much good done, by authority, under the impulse and direction of an enlightened, liberal, and energetic mind. Yet after all, for what is it, in the cases alluded to, that the public feel such admiration and gratitude? For mere sagacity and good common sense, applied to the business of Government;—for measures of no marvellous kind, but simply springing from good general principles, and a real faith in

them. But to the old twenty-four, Hinduism is a bugbear, which frightens away the perception of the broad line, which separates the essential superstition, from mere abuses, which no religion can consecrate, among a people a single step advanced in civilization. But to our text, the Ghatiahs again.

"Some of these *Ghatiahs* go to the most distant provinces, 'and join a troop of pilgrims coming to Benares. Or they 'follow in the wake of some Rajah, or Babu, who has vowed to 'perform a tour of pilgrimages. The whole of the party are 'then dubbed his '*jijmans*' by the *Ghatiah*. He considers 'them under his special protection. No one else may take a 'fraction from them; and the *Ghatiah* and *his* partners alone 'reap the harvest. If other *Ghatiahs* interfere, serious affrays 'ensue; and the Magistrate is bewildered with their mutual 'complaints and recriminations. Suppose that the rich pilgrims 'choose to assert independence of will, and to make presents to 'other *Ghatiahs*, then the parties, who think themselves ag-'grieved, threaten to stab themselves in the presence of the pil-'grims; and, rather than be responsible for shedding the blood 'of a *Ghatiah*, they are fain to give in on any conditions."

THE GUNGAPUTRAS.

"The '*Gungaputras*' are sons of the Ganges, and exercise 'despotic sway in their domain of the '*Munkurnika*.' Their 'numbers are considerable; and, in the division of spoil, despe-'rate conflicts occur. But they know that union is strength; 'and consequently always combine to hunt the common prey— 'the Hindu public. The '*Munkurnika*' is a reservoir lined 'with flags of hewn stone, on the bank of the Ganges. During 'the rise of the river, it is filled with the sacred stream. Be-'sides which, a puny springlet dribbles into this basin from the 'landside, and, during the hottest season of the year, suffices 'to keep up a filthy puddle, rendered more and more impure by 'the daily immersion of hundreds: but nevertheless this filthy 'semi-fluid matter is looked upon by the Hindu as the purest 'of the pure,—the cleanser from sin and moral impurity. The '*Kundh*' (holy pool) is thronged every morning by votaries, each 'with his silver in hand, to bestow upon his *Gungaputra*, and 'eager to plunge into the basin of holy water. And who dares 'venture to take a dip in it without first obtaining the permis-'sion of the *Gungaputras*? He would run the risk of being 'beaten to death; or, of being found '*suffocated by accident*,' 'as he dipped into the *Kundh*."

* * * * * *

"These *Gungaputras* and *Ghatiahs* are generally the greatest

'*budmashus*' (rascals) in the place. There is not a crime, or enormity, of which they are not suspected, and of which they are supposed to be incapable. Violent assaults on women and boys, with criminal intent, are common; but very few such cases are ever reported by the police; or, if reported, they are slurred over, and represented as '*tukrar-i-khufeef*' (trifling disturbances.) The assailants are protected by their wealth, and their position; and, unless the complainants can afford to pay more largely than the *Ghatiahs*, they are not likely to obtain redress. A common practice, among the more disreputable of these *Ghatiahs*, is to jostle a well-dressed woman, and to snatch from her nose or ears the golden jewel she wears. In dense crowds of thousands, cooped up in narrow thoroughfares, it is not easy to catch these miscreants; and if caught, they easily evade proof by giving the robbed jewel to their companions, who pass it from one to another, with the rapidity of thought."

There is nothing sacred in all this. It is repugnant to all the interests of the population. The authorities have no pretence for winking at it, on the principle of non-interference, or toleration. It is extortion, robbery, assassination, practised on boys and women, the most helpless and innocent of the population. Yet such is the state of things, connived at by the police, and unpunished by the tribunals.

THE AGHORPUNTS.

"The most loathsome sight at the *ghats* are the '*Aghorpunt fukeers*' (Anglice, Ogres);—practical philosophers, who affect to disbelieve that there is any difference between things, and who avow that any difference depends upon the imagination. A cuff, or a kick, is as immaterial to them as a blessing. They go about in *puris naturalibus*, with a fresh human skull in their hands, (off which they had previously eaten the putrid flesh, and from which afterwards, they had, with their fingers, scooped out the brain and eyes) into which is poured whatsoever is given them to drink. They pretend to be indifferent, whether it be ardent spirits, or milk, or foul water. Their food is the first thing that offers, whether it be a putrid corpse, cooked food, or ordure. With matted hair, blood-red eyes, and body covered with filth and vermin, the *Aghorpunt* is an object of terror and disgust to every body. He looks rather a wolf, ready to destroy and then devour his prey, than a human being. I once saw a wretch of this fraternity, eating the head of a putrid corpse; and, as I passed by, he howled and pointed to me; and then scooped out the eyes, and ate them before me! I had my matchlock in my hand,

'and was within an ace of putting a ball into his head, for I 'deemed him a wolf;—and, in fact, he was a brute.

"A Magistrate took up a monster of this sort, drinking liquor 'out of a bloody human skull. He was in a fearful state of 'intoxication, and had a kind of Malay Krís, a spiral dagger, 'about a cubit long,—a blow from which would have been death. 'The Magistrate had him taken up at once. On referring to the 'records of the office, it was ascertained that this wretch had 'been thrice imprisoned in jail, for rape, for assault amounting 'almost to homicide, and for being a vagrant. The Magistrate 'ordered him to furnish heavy security for his good behaviour, 'or, in default, to be imprisoned for three years. In all such 'cases, the Magistrate is bound to make a report to the Judge; 'who sent for the *misl* of the case, and released the *Aghorpunt*."

Here we have again the authority of the magistrate set aside by the next superior jurisdiction: through what influence is not suggested, but we may surmise, by that of the Umlahs, who profit by the debasement of the people. What were the grounds for this decision we know not; but, from the sequel, which we shall presently quote, it may be inferred, that they rested on the sacred character of the *Aghorpunt*. Our hero himself represents the tribe, as objects of popular veneration. Be it so; it by no means concludes the question of exercising a penal jurisdiction over them. Are not their habits, those of brutal savages, unfit to be tolerated in cities crowded with men, women, and children, the busy and the idle, of all ranks and classes, from all parts of Hindustan? Are not the acts imputed to them essentially criminal, and such as ought to be deemed so, by every civilized Government? Where is the plea of religion and toleration to stop, if it is to protect the Aghorpunts? But, as a fact, is it not true, as our author states, that they have been taken up, arraigned, tried, convicted, and imprisoned as criminals, without exciting any resentment on the part of the people? It may then safely be done: and, this point conceded, it is impossible to deny that it is expedient to be done; and, if the law gives the magistrate such a jurisdiction, his decision ought to be final. Our hero concludes—

"Should not such monsters in human shape be incar- 'cerated for life as a disgrace to humanity? Or would the 'precepts of Islam not sanction the wholesale slaughter of such 'brutes? But the Hindus themselves look upon the *Aghor-* '*punts* with veneration; and none of them would dare to drive 'him away from their doors. Strange infatuation in a people,— 'to worship incarnations of the divinity in every bestial shape, 'and to respect men even lower than the brutes!"

If such be gods, let them keep to the divine form; but, if they

assume the human, let them be incarcerated; and, from a full persuasion of what human nature is, whether in Hindu, or Christian,—we mean, as respects the great body of the people, of all, in short, except the millionth fraction,—we feel convinced that the justice of such a measure will be felt and acquiesced in by all; and thus a step gained for civilization.

Our author conducts us from the police court to the city, from the city to the ghat, again to the law courts, to the collector's office, to the village, the mart, the raj-ghur, through such a diversity of scenes, places, incidents, and events, and all so amusing or instructive, that we find selection difficult. Turning from grave to gay, let a lively picture now compensate for our previous disquisitions.

BULBHUDDHUR SING PERSONATES A RAJAH: TAKES A GREAT HOUSE: GETS A TREASURER; AND DECAMPS AT NIGHT WITH HIS PLUNDER.

"A common mode of swindling in the city of *Kashi* (Benares), 'as practised by the clever *budmashes*, is, for one of the party to 'personate a Rajah, on a visit of ceremony to the holy city; 'while his companions pretend to precede him, and hire a stately '*huweli* (house) in '*Dal-ke-Munduvi*,' which they furnish for the 'nonce. *Bulbhuddur Singh* sits in state as *Rajah Guchpuch* '*Rae*, bedecked in false gems, and dressed in shawls and *kim-* '*khabs* (anglice, *kingcobs*). His retainers go about the city, and 'entice shawl-merchants and jewellers to the Rajah's house. 'They arrive with costly wares, and eagerly proceed to expose 'them: but the Rajah turns an indifferent eye upon them, and 'declares they are not sufficiently choice for *him*. The *Souda-* '*gurs* (traders) promise to return next day. In the mean time, 'the song and dance proceed with fierce rivalry. Six sets of the 'best dancing women exert their lungs and limbs, and go 'through every fascinating movement, to delight and amuse '*Rajah Guchpuch Rae*. Where is my treasurer? exclaims the 'Rajah; bid him bestow a largess of 100 *Ushrufis** on these 'soul-enslaving terrestrial houries. A retainer, after going 'through the farce of a search, respectfully approaches his 'Highness, and intimates that the treasurer has not yet arrived. 'The *nimukharam, beh-hyah!*† exclaims the Rajah. Here, 'fellows, see that a proper treasurer be in attendance on the 'morrow, to whom we shall deliver our treasure, and *tosheh-kha-* '*nah*.‡ The Rajah enjoys himself, until no longer able to sustain

* A gold coin, worth about 32 shillings.

† *Nimukharam, beh-hyah.* The shameless one, unfaithful to salt.

‡ Wardrobe, or furniture.

'excitement; and then the *gundrupias* retire, and the torches 'are extinguished.

"Next day, there are several candidates for the honor of the 'treasurer's office, who eagerly offer to serve. The salary is 200 'rupees a month, says the Rajah, and I hate accounts; constant 'attendance and implicit obedience are all I acquire. After 'rejecting some, His Highness fixes upon *Lalla Umbeka Suhai*, 'who receives a well-worn shawl as a *khillut*, and an immense 'key. He ventures to ask, where the treasury is? And is told 'to wait, until the *huzrut* has leisure to shew it to him. In the 'mean time, the Rajah suddenly recollects that he has immediate 'occasion for 1,000 rupees, and he shouts out: 'Here, Buha-'dur, take 1,000 rupees from *Lalla Umbeka Suhai*, and give 'it to *Bisheshur Singh;* and be sure to take a receipt for the 'money. Tell him it is the price of a ring, I bought of him, for 'my favorite *Gulbehar*.' *Buhadur* asks the treasurer for the 'money. The poor man looks aghast, and shews a huge key as 'all he has received of the Rajah's treasure. But *Buhadur* 'tells him, that *Rajah Guchpuch Rae* never fails to cut off the 'ears of a disobedient servant. So the hint is taken; and the '*Lalla* gives an order on his *shroff* in the city for the amount. 'Of course *Buhadur* at once proceeds to realise the money. As 'evening approaches, shawl-merchants and jewellers again ap-'pear, and press their wares on the Rajah. They see *Lalla Um-'beka Suhai*, figuring as treasurer. They are old acquaintances, 'and they ask him the amount of *Guchpuch Rae's* treasure. In 'reply to which, he simply shews *the* key, about a foot in length. 'The merchants open out their wares to entice the Rajah; but 'he says, he will wait until all his things arrive. They offer to 'leave their bundles for the Rajah and his ladies to choose from; 'which is agreed to with apparent indifference. The song and 'dance proceed as usual until midnight, when, as usual, the 'torches are extinguished.

"Next morning, what a change has taken place! One old man 'is seated at the doorway, dosing over a *chillum* of *ganjah*. 'No other sign of life is visible in *Rajah Guchpuch Rae's* 'palace. The treasurer arrives first, opens, and rubs his eyes, 'and asks the old man, where the Rajah and his people have 'gone. He replies, that they decamped before dawn. In due 'course, the *Mahajuns*, the jewellers, and the birds of song arrive; 'but nothing of the Rajah is to be found; and smoke-stain-'ed walls, and filth and litter about the rooms, alone betray that 'revelry *had been* there! The jewellers and *Mahajuns* turn in 'wrath upon *Lalla Umbeka Suhai*, and tax him with having 'aided to cheat them. They proceed first to abuse, and then

'to beat him. In vain the poor man shews the huge key, and 'laments his thousand rupees lost for ever. They drag him 'to the kotwal, and charge him with having cheated them; and 'the defrauded treasurer remains in durance vile for a week at 'least, and gets off at last, on proving himself to be one of the 'victims of this system of swindling, and after feeing the police 'myrmidons pretty roundly.

"Who is ever to find out what worthy personated *Rajah 'Guchpuch Rae,* when hundreds and thousands of travellers 'are daily passing to and fro the holy city?"

Long though it be, we cannot withhold from our readers the following animated picture of

THE GHATS AT BENARES, DURING AN ECLIPSE.

"Have any of my readers had the curiosity to visit the ghats, 'during the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun or moon? If 'not, I would urge them to go once on such an occasion. 'The living tide, that keeps pouring in from all the principal 'roads into the city some time before the event, is of itself an 'imposing and interesting spectacle. The human wave, as it 'rolls along the streets, gains accession from every lane and bye-'way, and is at once amassed upon the banks of the holy 'stream, the *ultima thule* of the grand struggle. The eternal 'hum,—the shout,—the struggles, as the strong push away the 'weak to open a passage for themselves, afford a vast field for 'study to the contemplative. Then again the variety of cos-'tume, and the draperies of every possible hue, captivate the atten-'tion of those, who delight in the philosophy of dress. But, above 'all, the enormous crowd brought to a stand still;—the living 'mass squeezed together in a small space,—at once conveys to 'the mind the enormous fecundity of the human species. Con-'template them closely, and, if you have been accustomed to 'read human nature, you will see in every face expressions of 'the feelings that are ruling within. Philosophers of every 'shade might, at such gatherings, find subjects for study and 'instruction. But let me now leave generalities, and enter into 'particulars.

"Look at the crowd: the struggle yonder shows that an 'official, and a rich native gentleman, are pushing forward. The 'one is mounted in a tonjon; the other is on horseback; the 'troop of people running with switches in their hands are their 'followers; they are striking the feet of the rabble, shouting '*'furuk, furuk,'** but still they cannot penetrate the crowd. The

* Be off! be off!

'horseman is obliged to stop, and the tonjon is forced up, from 'the shoulders of the bearers, upon the heads of the crowd, 'with the occupant, in a perilous position.

"Suppose you have managed to reach the *Munkurnika ghat* 'in safety. By all means have a boat ready there for your re- 'ception; hasten on board; take an elevated position, that 'you may compass as much of the spectacle on shore as pos- 'sible, and drop down the river leisurely. What do you see? 'A vast concourse of living heads upon the surface of the water, 'bobbing up and down in alternate succession; and, oh horror! 'among them, several loathsome corpses gyrating in the eddies 'made by the bather:—nor are they shunned, although the efflu- 'via from them is sufficiently powerful to kill a horse. There 'a young girl rises from her immersion, and finds a dead body 'in her arms; she transfers it without any sign of disgust to 'an octogenarian female neighbour, whose charms have long 'been veiled over by a net work of wrinkles, and who now sees 'an emblem of what she is soon likely to be; but she loathes 'it not;—she passes it on with becoming civility.* Now, you 'see a stout, upright man, the very figure head of a sepoy, with 'a mannikin, perhaps two years old, seated on his shoulder, 'holding on like grim death by the hair of his father's head, 'while the elderly gentleman gives him a dip to his great de- 'light, although not free from the chances of suffocation. 'Nor are the scenes along the ghats solemn, and purely cere- 'monial. Love has its dominion here also, but in its gro- 'tesque and primitive shape. Behold yonder are a group of 'beautiful nymphs, gracing the chocolate-coloured stream, like 'rich lotuses in full bloom. Mark that young man with a smooth 'brow and athletic frame; he has been viewing the nymphs for 'some time: he can no longer resist their charms; he dives; now 'he rises among them: he looks smilingly upon them all, and 'then gravely utters his apology, with mock solemnity—*usha- 'nan kea, pushanan kea, to nam lea permeshur ka,—bom, bom, 'bom.* (So! bathing, worshipping). One girl ventures to look 'at him, and seeing that he is a love of a man, returns his 'glance, and inadvertently drops a flower; he picks it up, 'and keeps it as a token. Now, for some fun:—the *che- 'valiers d'Industrie* are busy yonder. Do you see the group 'of females bedecked with costly jewels, bathing as if it were 'by themselves; see that girl taking a dip,—a nimble-fingered 'gentleman dives simultaneously: the nymph rises suddenly

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus!* Here our friend Paunchkouri nods. No Hindu will touch a dead body, unless compelled by necessity or irresistible force.

'*mayah! re mayah! mere nuthni gye* (Mother, mother, my nose-'ring is gone). This attracts attention; but the spoiler escapes. 'You hear another scream soon after, *dayah-re-dayah! mere* '*bali gye* (Nurse, nurse, my earrings are gone):—sure enough 'her pendants were gone: there stands one with a nose rent 'to the nostril, and the other with bleeding ears. But this 'is nothing—often has the female entire been carried off, for the 'sake of what she had on her person, and the *muggur* (alligator) 'gets credit for the abduction. The riflers are expert divers; and 'are sure to emerge in a crowd of bathers unperceived, roaring '*bom, bom, Mahadeo,* a sort of thanksgiving for the furtive success.

"Dropping down, you have a splendid panoramic view of the 'stone ghats and buildings, the minarets, observatory, musjids, 'and everything that renders Benares remarkable. You then 'proceed to *Burna Sungum*, where the crowd is, perhaps, most 'dense. Here the same farce of ceremonials is going on as else-'where, and the same plunder is as active as ever, under all man-'ner of ingenious contrivances; but this ghat is most remarkable 'for the scene which occurred there some years ago. The river 'had been insidiously undermining it for several years: on 'that occasion, the weight of the crowd was more than it could 'bear, and it suddenly gave way, carrying hundreds and hundreds 'of helpless beings into the jaws of death. Nor was this all, the 'alarmed multitude made a retrograde movement, and thousands 'were crushed under the tread of the panic struck crowd. The 'police reported that one thousand individuals had perished: 'but the officials like to deal with even and low numbers; it is a 'convenient way of stripping horror of its disgusting features.

"Such events furnish rare opportunities for the gentlemen, who 'live by their wits, to practice their dexterity, and earn their ut-'most. Bangles, earrings, armlets, and nose-rings, disappear, 'as well from the persons of the living as from the bodies of the 'dead; females generally are the victims. How the things are 'carried off, and by whom, is a profound mystery.

"One brawny fellow is carrying the body of a young woman, 'carefully wrapped from head to foot, bewailing the unfortu-'nate and untimely death of his sister. The crowd respectfully 'make way. He carries her to the nearest unfrequented spot, 'and lays her down. She is stone dead, and her nose, ears, 'arms, and feet, are all stripped of their ornaments. No longer 'useful to the dead, he leaves the corpse on that spot, and goes 'to seek for the living—a wife, or, perhaps, some other female 'relative; but where is she? alas, also gone; he becomes consci-'ous of another bereavement, and is plunged in the depths of 'misery, and perhaps, becomes the immediate victim of lacerated

'feelings. Alas, poor Hindu! had you no well of clear water 'in your vicinity, to purify yourself and family with?

"A curious story is yet told of a *dome*, who flourished and was '*finished*, in the days of '*Junab William Welburfurs Burrud 'Saheb Buhadur*.' He was a most expert diver. One day, 'while loitering for prey at the *Munkurnika ghat*, where the 'family of a rich *Mahajun* were bathing, he espyed among 'them a woman richly decorated with jewels. In a moment he 'contrived to get into the river, and, after playing about accord-'ing to his wont, he dived and disappeared: the jewelled lady 'also disappeared: neither the one, nor the other, was seen to 'rise again, and her friends were under the impression that 'some fierce alligator had taken a fancy to her, and perpetrated 'an elopement. Several days afterwards, a devout person, who 'cleansed himself of his sins in the river, and was just stepping 'out on shore, accidentally put his foot under a stone step, and 'there felt something soft. He was immediately filled with sus-'picions, and communicated his alarm to others. Some *domes* 'were sent for, and the body extricated from its cell: it was the 'remains of the *Mahajun's* lady, denuded of all her costly orna-'ments. Suspicion rested on no one; but the *dome* who had 'committed the horrid outrage, was, some months afterwards, 'detected offering the jewels for sale; they were recognised as 'the property of the deceased; the *dome* confessed, and ex-'piated his crime on the gallows."

Thus successfully does crime revel and riot on the holidays, and religious days of the people: and it does not appear that the magistrate much concerns himself about the matter. Our author next discourses on the *Ghat Majhis, ghat and ferry thikadars*, and the *Chouduris* of *hackeries*, whom he describes as "the heads of guilds and corporations:" "they are," he says "as 'great curses to the community as any other of the thousand 'ills under which it groans Frequently and anxiously the 'magistrates have tried to devise plans for the prevention of 'oppression; but the best concerted schemes have failed, from 'the extraordinary reverence for *the dustur* (custom), to which 'the natives of this country bow with as much reverence, as they 'do to their priests. Where proof of oppression can be pro-'duced by a complainant, punishment will necessarily follow. 'But I confess that no *preventive* measures occur to me." We will venture to suggest some, or rather some *principles*, which must form the basis of them. The chief object must be to break up these so-called "guilds and corporations;" and the first step obviously is, to withdraw all legal and public privileges from them: to open their business, as far as practicable, to

competition, and to protect the competitors: to substitute freedom of trade, in short, for monopoly, whether existing by the sanction of *dustur*, or of Government. Some of these classes have Government monopolies, as appears by our author's shewing; for example, in the case of the *ferry thikadars*, our author says, "the ferries of every large river are annually farmed to the 'highest bidder, on condition that he keep a sufficient number of 'good boats properly manned at every ferry:" and we are further told, that fixed rates are authorized by the magistrate; "never-'theless, it is a universal complaint that the farmers of the 'ferries are the greatest extortioners:" and their boats are often such, according to our hero's description, as no rat would stay in; yet we are told that if a complainant does come forward to expose a public abuse, he is worried in all sorts of ways, and exhausted for his pains, besides being out of pocket. Now, to us it appears, that so far from this evil being irremediable, there are half a dozen ways, by any one of which, probably, it might be corrected. One certainly is to protect and multiply the landing places, abolish the thikadar, free the ferry, and open the transit trade to competition. Another might be to keep up Government ferry boats, giving a free passage, and to establish a sufficient superintendence to secure the proper performance of the duty. With proper superintendence, the duty might be better performed, even under the present system. Correct the judicial system; according to our author, its habitual, invariable action is to screen the thikadar from punishment. By the evidence of our hero, the thikadar is always, and is known by the magistrate to be, a very great scoundrel; but, by the grace of law and police, he is always let off, and triumphs over the complainants. But we will give our hero's description of the state of things.

THE FERRIES, HOW THEY ANSWER AS A GOVERNMENT MONOPOLY.

"The ferries of every large river are annually farmed to the 'highest bidder, on condition that he keep a sufficient number 'of good boats properly manned at every ferry.....

"Some European recruits were crossing the river at Rajghat; 'and my master, the *Nazir Saheb*, was directed to be in atten-'dance, and to see that no useless delays occurred. I accompa-'nied him of course. We saw large boats, with about fifty 'Europeans on board, each worked across the river, merely by 'the swinging motion of the rudder. On landing the men, the 'boatman was pushing off, but the *Nazir* called out to me to 'seize him. I did so. 'Where are the three boatmen, you

'scoundrel, as directed in your pottah ?' said the enraged *Nazir*.
'The *Gorah log** so hurried us, that my two oars-men did not
'come up in time.' Upon this I was desired to give him some
'gentle admonitions, which I did, in the shape of sundry hard
'boxes on the face, and some kicks on his '*Western parts*.'
'We watched other boats as they came to the ghat, but, in almost
'all, there was a great deficiency of *danrís* (boatmen). 'Go,
'PAUNCHKOURI,' said the *Nazir* to me, 'and drag that fellow *Gun-*
'*put Singh* to me. I will take him before the *Huzur*, and get
'his *ijarah* (lease) cancelled, for thus endangering the safety of
'the *Kumpani Ka Gora*.' I joined in the virtuous indignation
'of the *Nazir*, and proceeded to *Gunput's* house. 'Come in,
'BHAI PAUNCHKOURI KHAN,' said the wily farmer, 'and take a
'*chillum* of delicious *ganjah*.' But I was not to be caught so
'easily, and I began to bluster and to threaten to collar the
'farmer. 'Oh! my friend,' he said, 'have a moment's pati-
'ence. I had forgot to repay you the five rupees, I owe you
'for a tulwar I bought from you. Here is the money.' I felt
'the full force of his persuasive rhetoric, and, pocketing the
'money, began smoking the *chillum* pleasantly. After a time,
'*Gunput* asked me, why he had been sent for ? I explained.
''Is that all ?' he said, 'I will settle it at once.' He accompanied
'me to the *Nazir*, and most obsequiously salámed him The
'*Nazir* commenced a volley of abuse, in which kind mention
'of the farmer's sister and daughter was made. But the farmer
'of the ferries, without moving a muscle of his countenance,
'put a little *chit* into the *Nazir's* hand ; and it was wonderful to
'observe the sedative influence of that slip of paper. The
'*Nazir* and the *Ijaradar* went away from the ghat, I following
'in astonishment; and a report was made to the *Huzur*, that
'the *Gora log* had crossed over without accident.

"It was during the height of the floods, in the month of
'August, that a ferry boat was observed, rushing down the
'river with frightful rapidity. There were about seventy-
'five human beings on board ; and the water was scarce-
'ly six inches from the edge of the boat. There were but
'two boatmen, one at the helm, and the other at an oar. The
'boat got into an eddy, and the strength of the boatmen was
'unequal to extricate her. She went round once, canted
'over, head foremost, and not a vestige of boat, or of the passen-
'gers, was there! The farmer of the ferries was fined for his
'neglect, in not seeing to the efficiency of his boats. But was
'that punishment at all sufficient for the loss of so many lives ?

* White people, European soldiers.

'Surely a case of this kind may be construed into *homicide* '*from neglect*, and should be punishable by several years' im-'prisonment."

Thus, then, we see that, in the case of the farmers of ferries, the reverence of the natives for *dustur* is not the cause of the evil. Though the natives have the feeling, that custom is a law, and a safeguard to them; yet any particular dustur of commerce has no essential hold on them. Prove it to be an evil; perhaps they may not know how, or, may not have the energy, to emancipate themselves;—but set the choice before them, and we will answer for present interest being preferred to all other things. If then *dustur* has its monopoly ghat (we now allude to the alleged privileges of the *ghat manji*); near it establish another, where the manji's *dustur* shall be prohibited. It would then soon be seen, whether the so-called *dustur* be really an extortion and abuse, or the just reward of useful service and labour. For ourselves, we take its character from our author, but we entirely dissent from his opinion, that such abuses must last for ever. What must always be, must always have been: but, what ought not to be, cannot be of nature, but is arbitrary or accidental.

We cannot forbear extracting our hero's account of the *choudhuris* of hackeries. Like the *ghat manjis*, they are a class, who seem to have established an exclusive command, or monopoly, of hackeries for the purpose of commerce. The choudhuris are not hackery drivers themselves, but the procurers of hackeries. Is the tone, in which our hero speaks of them, an error or prejudice? or are these agencies, *choudhuris*, *ghat manjis*, *churandahs*, the natural, or ordinary contrivances, or results, of freedom, in the employment of the different kinds of labour? Our own belief to the contrary notwithstanding, we commend enquiry on this point to the political economist and social philosopher. Meanwhile hear what our hero says:—

"The *choudhuris of hackeries* are great men in their way, and 'are the occasion of much annoyance to the lieges. At every '*'uddah'* (stand), and in every market square, an emissary 'of the *choudhuri* attends, to look after his master's interests. 'When hackeries are required by *soudagurs* and *mahajuns*, 'these *choudhuris* are the parties who provide them They are 'rather moderate in their requisitions from the proprietors of 'carts, and limit their *dusturi* to only two annas in the rupee— 'being *one-eighth!* When hackeries are required for the public 'service, and an order for impressing them is passed by the 'Magistrate and Commissariat, *then* is the *choudhuri* in his 'glory. Travellers, with their wives and children, are summarily

'dismounted, and, with their property, lodged under the first 'convenient tree; strings of carts laden with grain are taken 'possession of, and the contents lodged on the road-side. No 'complaints are listened to; and, unless *oil of palms* is freely 'used to slip out of the clutches of the press-gang, escape 'is impossible. For every ten carts ordered for the public service, 'a hundred at least are pressed. Why? you ask in your inno-'cence. Oh! happy ignorance! Suppose you have ten good 'carts, with three bullocks to each: the feed of thirty bullocks 'cannot be less than four rupees a day. Or, we will suppose that 'servants and all come to five rupees a day. Now suppose the 'owner to be a bumptious fellow, that will not fork out. He is 'trotted backwards and forwards, first to the Kotwali; then to 'the Sudder bazar; then to the *Saheb Kumusuriut*. He is not 'paid a fraction, until the troops march; and he may be a fort-'night or three weeks, feeding his cattle and his servants, '*bey 'khyr khwah-i-kumpani*, (without the company's favour, or pay).' 'Now the moment he was pressed, had he had the sense to 'have slipped twenty rupees into the *choudhuri's* hand, or half 'that sum into the hand of the *burkundazes*, he would, I 'conceive, have been a considerable gainer. Do you twig?"

The important facts to be observed here are, first, what the *soudaghurs* and *mahajuns* (traders and merchants) pay; and secondly, the oppressions practiced in obtaining a supply of carriage for Government. From the statement, it may be inferred, first, that capital has not yet been applied to the establishment of the regular business of carriers; therefore, secondly, carriage for commerce can only be obtained by withdrawing it from agriculture, which appears to be a great oppression to the tiller of the land; and, thirdly, that when Government has a demand for carriage, it employs an agency of the most atrociously oppressive character; which our author likens to the English "press-gang," but, in so doing, libels, we must say, that service. The Company's press-gang impresses many hundred per cent. more than is authorized.

Our hero relates, with considerable minuteness, the circumstances of a conspiracy to overturn the British Government, which ended in a State trial, and an acquittal of the suspected (guilty) parties. His reflections on this result, and the imputed motives of it, appear to us suggestive of much, that no eye is permitted to see, nor ear to hear, of smothered discontents and dangers, known only to Government.

"However, the knowing ones were of opinion, that the ac-'quittal of the prisoners was a political dodge: and, under the 'circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

' To have brought conviction home to the prisoners, would have ' been to shew the people of Hindustan, that the Sirdars and ' Zemindars, who were fostered by the *Kumpani*, were eager ' for a change of rulers ; that the police officials and the sepoys ' of the *jungi pultuns* (war regiments) were unfaithful to their ' *salt ;* and that *Moulvi Rahut Ali,* and others like him, who had ' been honored with important revenue and judicial trusts, were ' ready to turn upon the *Kumpani's* Government. It was sufficient ' that the conspiracy had been suppressed in the bud, and that the ' parties implicated were known. And it was good policy to let ' the world know, that the *Kumpani Buhadur* did not doubt ' the fidelity of her army."

Our hero having concluded his revelations respecting the police, magistracy and criminal courts, proceeds to the revenue department : and opens this interesting and important subject with the following introduction :—

" I have ' said my say' as to matters in *Fouzdari* (the police ;) ' and shall now give my readers a few revelations in the *revenue* ' department of the state. This, as well as the police, comes home to ' every man's door. The *Putwari** (collecting) system; the *Muhuk-* ' *ma-Commissioner-kurk ;*† the *Quanungos ;*‡ the *Suzáwuls ;*§ the ' *Tuhsildars,*‖ and *Peshkars ;*¶ the *Sheristadar* and his satellites ' are all deserving of notice. The *revenue settlements*, and the ' ordinary and extraordinary ways and means, whereby the offi- ' cials make money, and the Zemindars and *puttids* (holders of ' leases) lose their estates ; all these are worthy of prominent men- ' tion. I have been myself a humble ryot, and have felt the inso- ' lence and oppression of the ' Jacks in office.' I have had the ' produce of my little field, which, with the labor of my wife and ' little ones, I had matured, and expected to reap, attached and ' sold, despite my complaints to the *Hakims.* But my office ' of ' *Nazir's Orderly*' has shewn me strange scenes, which it ' shall be my business to describe faithfully to my fellow-ryots, ' as a beacon to prevent them from suffering from the oppres- ' sions carried on under the sanction of the law ; and as a duty ' to my present employers, the *Saheb Kumpani Buhadur,* whose ' *nimuk-purwurdah* (salt-eater) I am, to prevent them from sanc- ' tioning such under false coloring. The *Saheban Alishan* little ' dream of the hundreds of ways, in which grinding oppression is ' practised under their very noses. Be they ever so vigilant, they

* *Putwari system.* The system under which the land rents of the villagers are collected.

† *Muhukma-Commissioner-kurk.* Land Commissioner who makes seizures.

‡ *Quanungo.* Accountant. § *Suzawul.* The Government native collector.

‖ *Tuhsildar.* Petty collector. ¶ *Peshkar.* Inferior registrar.

'are deceived by the native officials; and, it is only by some 'lucky chance, that they stumble upon the practices, which per- 'vert the intentions of justice. If they be ever so clear-sighted, 'they are made to see through the eyes of others. How is this 'possible? you indignantly ask—are not the Civil Servants of 'the Government, the elite of England? Are they not, some of 'them, acknowledged to be the most talented men of the coun- 'try? Has not this class furnished some of the ablest statesmen 'in the world? All this I acknowledge. But what can they 'do? I have stood behind the chair of the *Collector Saheb*, 'and I have seen him absolutely unable to go through the 'official drudgery of the day. I have seen him defer a case, day 'after day, in the vain hope that he would find time for inves- 'tigating it thoroughly. But, alas! such leisure could not be 'found. I have seen his subordinate European officials simi- 'larly puzzled with work. How then can you be surprised, 'that these gentlemen are obliged frequently to let their deci- 'sions, pass under the force of circumstances they cannot 'overcome, in order to shew a good *nuksa* to the Board? Hence, 'I say, they require promptings, from people who are behind the 'scenes."

The first case decribed by our hero is that of himself, when a poor ryot. He had had possession of five bigahs (about two acres) of land for upwards of fifteen years, and his progenitors had had possession of the same for upwards of half a century. They had never paid more than two rupees per bigah, or ten rupees per annum, to the old Zemindar, and they were of a class of tenants (khoodkust) not liable to have their rent raised: but *Bulbhuddhur Singh* had purchased the village by private sale, and had served all the *asamis* (tenants) with a notice to quit, or to pay four rupees per bigah. "I went," says our hero, "to the *Dipty Saheb*, and gave in an *uzudari*, (petition), and after hearing both sides, the *Dipty Saheb* ruled that *Bulbhuddur Singh* was merely *kubáladar* (a purchaser;) that, as such, he was merely a *kaemmukam* (locum tenens) of the Zemindar, and could not legally demand enhancement of rent from a *khoodkust ryot*, and that even were he a *nilamdar* (auction purchaser) under the revenue sale law, he was debarred by Reg. 5, 1812, and Act 1 of 1845, which expressly declares "that no auction purchaser shall have the power to enhance the rate of *khoodkust chupperbund asamis*."

Without doubt the khoodkust ryot has by right a valuable and unalterable tenure: and this exposition of it by the *Dipty Saheb* assured our hero of safety. "But lo!" says he "no sooner was my field ripe for the sickle, than a fellow put into

my hands a dirty bit of paper, with unintelligible Nagri characters written therein, which he verbally told me was the *Putwari's wasil-baki* (rent collector's rent bill), shewing that I owed *Bulbhuddur Singh* the sum of ten rupees! I could not read, so I took the paper in great dismay to a *Lallah* (writer) in the next village, and he read it for me."

Recollecting the prompt justice rendered to him before, our hero again resorted to the *Dipty Saheb* and loudly demanded justice: *Dohai! dohai! Dipty Saheb.* "'Fool,' said the Dipty, 'what are you bawling yourself hoarse for? I can listen to nothing unless you present a petition on stamped paper.' 'But, Sir,' I urged, 'my crops are distrained; my wife and children will starve, unless speedy justice be rendered. And from whence shall I get funds to purchase a stamp, and pay for engrossing the petition?' All that I could get for my pains was, to be turned out of the room for my importunity."

The poor ryot (our hero) sells his *pugri* (turban) to buy a stamped paper, and get a petition written on it; and, fondly conceiving it would have melted a heart of stone, he presented it next day. "The *Dipty Saheb* at once passed an order to 'this effect:—The petitioner is at liberty to give security to the 'Kubáladar for the amount of distress; or deposit the money 'in the treasury, and then to institute a *bejah korki* suit (a suit 'for wrongful seizure). Ordered, that the petition be *dakhil* 'duftur (put into the office).

"'But, *Junab-i-alí!*' I entreated, 'I sold my very pugri to 'enable me to present a petition on stamped paper to your honor, 'and do you call this redress? I ask the prophet to witness 'that the demand is unjust and illegal; and you desire me to 'deposit fifteen rupees. Where, in the name of the prophet, 'shall I get that sum?' But the *Dipty Saheb* plainly told me 'that he was helpless, and, that unless I did as he directed, he 'could give me no redress. Finding myself *lachar* (helpless), 'I borrowed fifteen rupees from the village *Mahajun*, at the 'rate of four pice per mensem interest, upon each rupee, or '75 *per cent. per annum!* (read this, ye ghosts of usurers; 'and learn a lesson from the unsophisticated, mild Hindu!) and 'deposited the money, and had my crops released for the nonce 'from the *distress.*"

Here we find a combination of real causes, all having the same tendency to destroy the ryot's rights of tenure; and not one countervailing check in his favor. First, we have the exposition of right, and in the ryot's favor; but, being given without expence, nugatory. On the other hand, we have the Zemindar, armed with the power to enforce his own views, without a pre-

vious decree in his favor. Then when the ryot comes for justice, he finds it can be had only on conditions as cruel as his merciless Zemindar. He submits: he institutes a suit for an illegal distress: let our hero describe the further progress of the case. He has a very moving petition drawn out; and it is decided, as a summary suit, by the *Dipty Saheb* in his favor.

"But lo!" says he "a month afterwards, I was served with a 'notice from the *Munsiff's* Court, intimating that *Bulbhudder* 'Singh had complained against me for the amount of annual 'malguzari, (rent) praying the court to authorize his charging me 'four rupees a bigah, or twenty rupees for my *jot* (cultivation) per 'annum. I went to *Situl Purshad*, and asked him to write a petition 'for me; but he told me that this was a *lumburi moqudduma* '(tedious case), and that I must consent to undergo considerable 'expense, and to employ a regular *Vakil* (pleader). I was in des-'pair. I had not a rupee in the world; so I was obliged to pledge 'my pair of oxen to the village *mahajun*, to raise funds for the de-'fence of this suit. But I rested my hopes on the blessed pro-'phet, and the *insaf* (justice) of the *Hakiman-i-Adalut*."

"My *vakil* recapitulated the arguments used by the *Dipty* 'Saheb, and quoted a host of regulations and *kantractions*. 'But the *Munsiff* merely asked the *Putwari*, whether the *itila-'namah* (notice) had been served upon PAUNCHKOWRI agreeably 'to Regulation V. of 1812? To this, the *Putwari* replied in 'the affirmative. I myself did not deny it, but produced a copy 'of the *Dipty's rubukari*, in which the notice itself was pro-'nounced illegal. But the *Munsiff* threw away the *rubukari* 'with contempt—'*Koun Dipty Kulluctur? our koun Hakim-i-'Adalut Dewani?*' (Oh ye Gods! Does he pretend to com-'pare the *Dipty's* contemptible intellects with mine?) The 'Munsiff then asked the *Putwari*, whether the lands of my *jot* 'were capable of paying four rupees a bigah, and what were 'the general rates of the district? The *Putwari* submited 'that my *jot* was worth five rupees a bigah; that was the 'average rate of the village. The *Munsiff* decreed for *Bulbhud-'der*,—casting me, and declaring me liable to pay four rupees 'a bigah in future. My *vakil* advised me to appeal; but I 'stared stupidly in his face. 'Do not you understand me, 'friend?' he said; 'appeal to the *Saheb Judge Buhadur*, and you 'will be righted. The *Munsiff* has warped the law from fear of '*Bulbhudder*; and the Judge Saheb will reverse his decree.' '"Oh *vakil*,' I answered, 'where, in the name of the prophet, 'am I to get more money to fight with *Bulbhudder?* I have 'sold my oxen; I have lost my cause; I shall be ousted out of 'house and home,—and you tell me to appeal! Could appeals

'be heard without putting us poor *ryots* to ruinous expense, 'they would be salutary; but as matters are, the *long purse* '*will always carry the day against a poor man.*'"

When the next *kist* (instalment) became due, *Bulbhudder* brought a summary suit for it at the enhanced rate, before the *Dipty Saheb*. "When," says our hero,

"I appeared in person, and confessed that the *Munsiff* had 'decreed against me, and that *Bulbhudder's* cause was a good 'one this time. 'Do you intend appealing,' quoth the *Saheb?* '"No, sir,' I replied; 'I give in, and only pray that my *jot* may 'be given to any one else. If *Bulbhudder* will release me of 'all claims, I will resign my *jot.*' God and the prophet know, 'that the *Saheban Alishan* have a peculiar mode of adminis-'tering their own laws. One *Hakim* passes an order to a 'certain effect, and another passes one diametrically opposite to 'it. Both fancy themselves to be right; either the laws are 'enigmas, or the administrators are over-instructed in them. 'God help us poor *ryots.*"

The statement of this case discloses several facts which deserve to be noted. First, the want of all special means to secure to the ryot class, the many valuable tenures belonging to them, which are repeatedly recognized in the Government Regulations. This is a great and just impeachment of the humanity, and, perhaps we might add, of the honesty of Government; for it must be recollected, that Government is the chief Lord of the soil, and participates in the profit arising from the oppressions of the Zemindar, and the confiscation of the rights of the ryots. This is not the place to discuss remedies. We advert to the subject only to note our opinion, which perhaps is not the prevailing one, that some remedies of greater or less efficacy are practicable, and that the will only is wanted. This we think must be apparent from this simple proposition, which we believe to be incontrovertible; namely, that the rights of the ryots are precisely of the same nature as the permanent settlement; they are *the* ancient *settlement* of the rates payable to the original owner of the soil by the cultivator of it, but evidenced only by custom. All that is wanted is, what Government has known how to make for itself,—pre-appointed evidence. It would be as easy to register the khoodkust tenure, as the law and custom of a certain district, as to register the Government settlement.

But, secondly, let us note the peculiarities, indicated by our hero, in the course of the litigation. There is the Deputy Magistrate's exposition of the law, which, though correct, is nugatory. There is the imposition of a stamp duty, which either bars justice to the poor man, or lays the foundation of his ruin. Then there is the

conflict of decisions, between that of the Deputy Magistrate, which is right, and that of the Munsiff, which our hero ascribes either to corruption, prejudice, or ignorance; and he only speaks the prevailing opinion, in holding these up as characteristic of the East India Company's Courts of every denomination. Lastly, there is the Munsiff's contempt for the *Dipty Saheb;*—a feature well worth noting, because it is not merely an individual feeling, which may be ascribed to a bad man, but is not likely to be entertained by men in general. On the contrary, it is the necessary consequence of the established relation of this valuable class of public officers toward the covenanted civil service. Instead of being equal and independent, they are in a state of degradation and subordination, which deprives them of all deference and respect from other officials. Law and authority are as respectable in a constable as in a king; and no grades of service ought to destroy this species of equality.

As the same species of agency is employed in the Revenue Department, as in the Civil and Fouzdarí (Criminal), the same vices may easily be believed to prevail in it, and similar consequences to follow. We rise from this portion of our hero's revelations with the most painful impression of the utter insecurity of all rights of property. It was on the occasion of Paunchkowries losing his land, in the manner already described, that he resorted to his friend Suntokhea. From being a victim of oppression, he wished to become an agent of the Law, and in his turn to be the oppressor. He now relates, how his fortune throve, by joining in all the corrupt practices of the Collector's umlahs. Under the Company's system, the ancient *Z*emindars have shared the same fate as the ancient ryots: and our hero illustrates in some degree how this has been accomplished.

"During," says he, "my incumbency as an '*Orderly*,' I have 'witnessed scenes that, if described with ordinary rhetoric, would 'induce my readers to think that I am not dealing with facts, 'but endeavouring to harrow their feelings with imaginary tales 'of distress. I will leave such matters for the ingenuity of 'romance-mongers, and give you the naked truth, which requires 'no high coloring to render it interesting. There lived 'in the village of *Tandah* an opulent cultivator, by name '*Bhuwani Singh*. His ancestors had been the *Zemindars* 'of the village; but during the first revenue settlements, 'by *Junatin Dunkin Buhadur*, his father had refused to 'enter into the necessary engagements, alleging that the assessments were too heavy; so that, at the time of my story, '*Bhuwani Singh* was cultivator of fifty *bigahs* of as fine 'land as you would desire to see for miles around. The

'*malguzari* (rent) on these lands was 1 rupee 8 annas a *bigah*, 'or seventy-five rupees per annum. The *Zemindars* of *Tandah* 'were also opulent men, and were never a day behind the fixed 'time for payment of the '*kists*' due to the *Sircar*. But the '*taluk* (estate) was known to be profitable, and was coveted by 'the *Vakil* and *Umlah;* and a plot was entered into between 'them, to force it to be sold, when they would pounce upon it as 'legal prey, and appropriate it as their own."

The plan resorted to was not to serve the usual *dustuck* (summons) out of the Collector's Office; to bring the zemindars into default by this means; and in the end to induce a sale of the property for arrears of revenue. The taluk was sold, and purchased by Lalla Munshi and Mouhori Vakil, two persons in the Collector's office; the Zemindars appealed, but could get no redress, as the papers were right; and the auction purchasers got possession.

This case, as respects the Zemindars, is the true type of a million. Never, before or since, did law or policy, war or rapine, effect so many and such extensive changes of property, as the East India Company's revenue system in the early days of its establishment. In Europe the property of the church and of other corporations has undergone indiscriminate confiscation: but in India, the whole landed property of the country has been subjected to a system, the effect of which has been to sweep away the ancient proprietors, and to fill their places with the lowest of the Company's native officials. Our hero represents the ruin of the Zemindars, as having been followed by the subversion of the ancient rights of the ryots; and he illustrates it by the relation of what further happened to *Bhowani Singh,* in his new character of a cultivator. Bhowani was entitled by lineage, by intelligence, by capital, by the extent of his occupation, to be considered as of a very superior order, a sort of old Indian gentleman, who had lost his estate by the policy of Government, but, still cleaving to the soil, had turned farmer. He had, like the smaller ryots, a perpetual tenure, at a fixed rent; and, according to the custom of the country, it was an inheritance and a property. Such a man would of course be obnoxious to the new, revolutionary, *Sansculottes* tribe of zemindars who sprung up like mushrooms in the *Raj* of the East India Company, and, having no rights but what they acquired by fraud and rapine, had no respect for the principle of property. Mark now, the cruel steps by which Bhowani and his sons were utterly ruined by the new zemindars.

"No sooner was the sale of *Tandah* concluded, than *Moulvi*

'*Vakil* obtained a *kubalah* (bill of sale,) and *umuldustuk*, (writ of 'possession) and took formal possession. Notice for enhance-'ment of rent was served on every *ryot;* and, among others, '*Bhuwani Singh*, and his fifty *bigahs* of *mourusi jot*, (perpetual 'tenure) were not forgotten. He had always paid one rupee eight 'annas per *bigah*, and was now directed to pay five rupees. But 'he was a tough old *Rajput*, and merely laughed the notice to 'scorn. However *Moulvi Vakil* was not a man to give in, while 'a quirk or quibble was at hand, or a sheer face of brass could 'frown forth withering terrors; so as soon as the first *kist* 'became due, he instituted summary process against him. The 'case was prepared by the *Umlah*, and heard before the *Saheb* '*Shistunt*, who had recenty joined.

"There were, first, the *Putwari's wasil baki* (rent account); 'second, a copy of the notice served on defendant, declaring him 'liable to pay five rupees per *bigah;* third, the Collector's *kubalah* 'to the auction purchaser. In answer to all these, old *Bhuwani* '*Singh* simply referred to the fact, that he was a resident here-'ditary cultivator, from the cession of the province to the '*Sircar Kumpani Buhadur*—that he held a *puttah* signed by 'the *Saheb Kullan Junatin Dunkin*—that by the regulations 'of the *Sircar* he was exempt from enhancement of rent—and 'that, please *Ramji!* he would not pay a fraction more than 'he had done. While the *Saheb Shistunt* sate with a becoming 'gravity, with his beaver hat knowingly cocked on his head, '*Moulvi Vakil* eagerly said '*Jenab-i-ali!* did your honor 'ever hear such insolence, as has been uttered by that fellow? 'He says, he will not pay a pice more than the *malguzari* he 'has paid, even if your worship order it! He presumes to 'defy the *Hakim*!' 'Well, well,' pettishly said the *Saheb*, '*chup* '*ruho* (Silence). What are the sale regulations, *Munshi?*' 'Now the reader will remember that the *Munshi* was a joint 'proprietor with the *Vakil*, and his cue, therefore, was to mis-'lead; so he turned up Regulation 5 of 1812, Sec. 9. 'Here, sir, 'is the *kanun* (regulation). *Moulvi Vakil* did serve the notice 'for enhancement of *malguzari*, and is clearly entitled to a decree 'in the present suit.' Decree for plaintiff was given accord-'ingly. This is grand, thought old *Bhuwani Singh* '*diggrui* '*to pah, lekin rupia to morpas bah.*' (You may get the 'decree, but not the rupees). After a month, the decree was 'executed, and the usual process for apprehension of the person 'was issued. The *mushkuri*, that served the writ, was thrashed 'soundly by *Bhuwani's* three sons, who were taken up for the 'assault by the *Thanadar*, *chalaned*, and sentenced to six 'months' imprisonment each; and old *Bhuwani* himself, heart-

'broken and disconsolate, delivered himself up to the *Nazir*. 'The case was called, the decree read, and *Bhuwani* was asked, 'whether he would pay the amount? 'No, I will not,' was his re-'ply. 'For fifty years my father and I have never paid more 'than one rupee eight annas a *bigah*, and not a pie more shall I 'pay.' He was sent to jail. *Moulvi Vakil* next gave in a petition 'to the *Saheb Shistunt*, for the sale of *Bhuwani's* property. 'This was ordered of course; but it was strange that six fine 'cows, two stone sugar mills, and a stack of grain, were sold for 'only eighteen rupees. The sale was sanctioned; but, as the 'whole amount of decree was not paid, old *Bhuwani* was, there-'fore, allowed to rot in jail.

"When the next instalment became due to the auction pur-'chaser, a summary suit was again filed according to the usual 'processes; the return of the *Nazir* was '*ruposh*' (hiding.) But 'the defendant and his sons were in jail; how then could the suit 'be defended? The result was an *exparte* decree for *Moulvi* '*Vakil*. This decree was also executed; and the *Nazir's kyfeut* 'was, that the defendant was in jail, in a suit of the decree-'holder, *Moulvi Vakil*. He was sent for from the jail; but 'pleaded insolvency, and was released.

"*Bhuwani* was at large; his sons also were released: and 'they commenced ploughing their fields. Like men, they vowed 'that *Moulvi Vakil* should rue the day he ever thought of 'oppressing them. Old *Dowlut Singh* and his stalwart progeny 'were also paupers; and, in the whole village, a feeling of hatred 'and revenge was engendered against the *Nilamdar*. But the '*Moulvi* was not one, that would rashly venture his person 'within a village, the inhabitants of which were inimical to 'him; and he laughed at the deadly threats of the tribe of *Raj-'puts*.

"He sent his *Karindah*, however, to *tusil* (collect); and on 'the first night of his arrival at the *ch'howni*, (hut), it was fired; 'and he and his party were knocked down with lattees (clubs), as 'they ran out to escape the devouring flame.

"This was what the *Vakil* had longed for, and had anticipat-'ed. He smoothed down his beard with the hand of satis-'faction; and prepared to act. Meantime *Dowlut Singh* and his 'stalwart sons, and old *Bhuwani* and his sons, were so alarmed 'at their own violence, and frightened for the consequences, 'that they left their homes, and fled. A very exaggerated re-'port was made to the Magistrate, of a case, which required no 'coloring to heighten its enormity. The wounded men were 'sent into hospital; and weeks passed before they were declared 'to be convalescent. The defendants were not forthcoming,

'until they were proclaimed as out-laws, when they made necessity a virtue, and gave themselves up. They were tried, fully convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment for seven years. Thus *Moulvi Vakil* got possession of the entire *taluk* at the expence of a few broken bones to his retainers.

"This result made a serious impression on me. I reflected that my own case was not parallel in hardship. For here were zemindars, and old *istimraree puttidars* (holders of reclaimed land), turned out of their fields, and irretrievably ruined in purse and reputation, by the machinations of a man, who had risen from the dregs of the people to be a Vakil, by the sheer force of villany, aided by, it must be confessed, great talent. Here were the well-meaning regulations of a Government, that would be paternal, misconceived and distorted, to suit the views of interested parties. And the *Hakims*, what were they doing? Alas! I saw by my own practice that they were as children in our hands. Their various duties so interfered one with another, that a portion only could possibly be performed."

THE MOCKERY OF AN ADJUDICATION.

"Most of my readers are aware that "*summary suits*" for rent or replevin (known as *moquddumat surasuri*, or *bigah tulbi*) are heard and decided by a Covenanted Assistant to the Collector, or by the "*Dipty Saheb.*" But, perhaps, all are not aware, that the proof in such cases is based entirely upon the *Putwari's* (Rent Collector's) accounts. For any claim that is doubtful, the parties are referred to the civil courts. But as no witnesses may be examined, the *Putwari* has it entirely in his power to depone, for *zemindar*, or for *ryot*, exactly as his own interest may bias him. He produces a *Jummabundi* (rent-roll) and the village accounts, which are confessedly dictated by the *zemindar* himself. He asserts that the *ryot* owes the *zemindar* so much money, and has not paid it, *because it is not mentioned in his accounts!* The poor *ryot* calls his *debtas* (gods) to witness for him; names the *mahajun*, to whom he pledged his bullocks for the money to pay his rent; and the witnesses in whose presence the money was paid. But the inexorable *Dipty* merely asks him, '*Putwari yah zemindar ka ruseed rukhteh ho*' (Do you hold a receipt from the Putwari, or zemindar)? *Nuhee, ryot purwur* (No; Protector of ryots!) A decree for plaintiff is the certain result. But who shall blame the Assistant or Deputy, when they are so desired to do, and are forbidden to make aught approaching to judicial in-

'vestigation? The *jummabundi* itself, the principal, if not 'only, documentary evidence in suits for rent or replevin, is a tissue of falsehoods and errors. Pick out any one, 'or a dozen at random, and try and reconcile the discrepancies. 'You will find the same number of the field, the same *jumma*, 'and area, put down against two or three distinct *asamis*, in 'the same number of distinct entries. Why? you ask. Merely 'to enable the *zemindar* and *putwari* to charge one or the 'other party with the *malguzari*, according to the necessity 'of the occasion. But is there not an establishment of Deputy Collectors, *Tuhsildars*, *Qanungos*, and *Mohurirs*, to exa-'mine records, and to rectify errors, wilful or unintentional? 'True; but how can one man get through the work of four? 'The comparison is slurred over, and the people suffer."

The true economy would be not to have any such establishment at all: but a *sham* one, though useless for its proper objects, is a name, and may be referred to as a fact, by the sophist or sycophant, in defence of Government; while it blinds the Government itself.

"But to illustrate my allegations with a tale—there lived in 'the village of *Bhurturra*, one *Ramkishoon Koonbee*, who had 'a *jot* of seven *bigahs* of land, which had devolved on him 'as his inheritance. He was industrious and prosperous, and 'always paid his rent of twenty-one rupees per annum to *Bul 'bhudder Singh*, the *Nilamdar*. *Ramkishoon's* sons had grown 'up; and, leaving two of them to manage the fields, he, 'with one son, took service with the Rajah of Bettiah. 'They had been absent two years at the period of my tale. A '*bigah* of land, that had been left fallow, was about to be 'ploughed by *Ramkishoon's* sons for sugar cane; when *Debee 'Lalla*, with five strapping *latthials*, forcibly stopped them, and 'ploughed the field themselves. On the lads' remonstrance, '*Debee Lalla* told them, *that their father had been dispossessed 'two years ago!* They were too weak to fight; so went to 'another of their fields, and commenced tilling it vigorously. 'A year passed away; and *Ramkishoon Koonbee* returned to '*Bhurturrah*; his sons told him the story of their dispossession 'from part of the *jot*. The old fellow's blood was up, and he 'filed a petition in the *surasury* for *bey-dhukli* (ejectment). 'The *Putwari* was summoned, and deponed upon oath to the 'dispossession of *Ramkishoon* from his entire *jot, three years 'ago!* further, that *Ramkishoon* had fled from his village; and 'that the *Nilamdar* had made a *bundobust* (settlement) of the 'seven *bigahs* of land with *Ramdeehul Singh*, who had paid 'the *malguzari* regularly. Great was the horror of the poor

'*Koonbee.* He produced receipts given to his sons, for the 'money they had paid the *Karindah, Debee Lalla.* He swore 'that he was in possession of six *bigahs* of his old *jot*, and beg-'ged of the *Saheb* to look at the accounts. This was done, but 'lo! the last two *jummabundis* bore the name of *Ramdeehul* '*Singh*, as cultivator of the fields formerly held by *Ramkishoon* '*Koonbee.* What could the *Saheb* do? *Ramkishoon's* case was 'dismissed, and he was referred to the civil courts for redress.

"Here was a poor cultivator, resident and hereditary, dis-'possessed, first of one field by force; and then of all the rest 'by an unscrupulous *Nilamdar*, and a rascally *Putwari.* Had 'the *Quanungo* first reported to the *Huzur*, that an entry in 'the *Jummabundi* had been made, contrary to the preceding 'year's papers, an enquiry would have been ordered, and the 'false entry corrected. But the more inaccuracies there are in 'a *Jummabundi*, the greater is the fee demanded for filing it; 'and, if the *douceur* be sweet enough, there is never any diffi-'culty in getting the *Huzur's* signature affixed to it."

The filing of the jummabundi, or rent-roll, of a village annually, evidently appears to be commanded by the regulations, as a protection to the ryot. It is the duty of an officer, who is paid for the service by a special tax. Hear from our hero, how this duty is performed, and the office converted into a means of extortion:—

"The filing of the *Putwari's* papers is a tax to the entire 'district; and, when the *Saheban Borad* issue stringent orders 'to the Collectors to expedite the delivery of the papers, then 'comes a glorious harvest to us orderlies. The *Dipty* sends 'first one *dustuck* upon the *zemindar* and *Putwari*, then a 'second, and a third. They are at length brought before the 'man "in a little brief authority;" and the culprits tremble for 'the result. Has the *tullubana* been paid? No, your honor. 'Then put the *Putwari* in the *Nazir's* guard; and place an 'extra *peadah*, on the zemindar until the *tullubana* has 'been paid. The Zemindar alleges that the *peadah* only 'served him with the notice four days ago. But he is turned out 'summarily. He offers to pay whatever is demanded: the *peadah* 'coolly asks *ten rupees.* This is refused indignantly; but every 'day the bullying increases, and the extra day's *tullubana* is ad-'ded to the first demand, until the *Zemindar, lachar,* (helpless) 'gives the *peadah* all he demands, to get away to his quiet 'home, far from the harpies of the *Kacherie.* But what 'is the law? There is no penal law, by which the zemin-'dar may be coerced to file the *jummabundis.* The only pu-'nishment the law contemplates, is to debar any zemindar the

' privilege to sue for his rent in any court, if the *jummabundi* ' is not filed; and yet, each village is mulcted from five to ten ' rupees per annum; and a parcel of vagabonds called "*mush-* ' *kuri peadahs*" fatten illegally on the villagers. *In every* ' *district, where the Putwari's papers are filed regularly, and* ' *before the beginning of the year, a legion of these mushkooris* ' *is set loose upon the zemindars, to force them to do as the* ' *Saheban Alishan desire.*"

The law and the local administrations thus appear to be equally defective. All our hero's revelations conspire to shew that the European agency employed by Government is incompetent for the public service required from it; and this gives freedom to the natives to follow every corrupt impulse and motive of personal interest. Our hero next relates a case of the enhancement of the customary rents through the assistance of the Qanungo:—

" A *Mahajun* had purchased the village of *Buhadurpur*, and ' his *karindahs* suggested, that by doubling the rents of every ' cultivator, he would get a clear profit of a hundred rupees per ' mensem. How was this miracle to be effected? You shall see. ' A *jummabundi* was given to the *qanungo* to be filed in the ' Collector's office; but the increase shewn was so alarming, ' that he did not dare to attest it. He gave a *kyfeut* to the ' *huzur* to the effect, that ' there was an increase in the *jumma* ' certainly, but the *nilamdar* alleged that the *asamis* had agreed ' to the enhancement of rent, on his consenting to dig wells, &c. ' for them.' The *Saheb* ordered the *qanungo* to go out himself, ' to assemble the *asamis*, and to report faithfully whether they ' had really consented to the increase? And if so, to get the ' signatures of the majority affixed to the *jummabundi*. This ' was pretended to be carried out; and a month had not elapsed, ' when the *qanungo* again presented the *jummabundi* with his ' *kyfeut* to the *huzur*, asserting that the names of all the culti- ' vators had been affixed to the document, in the presence of ' himself and the *putwari*. What could the *Saheb* do? The ' *jummabundi* was signed and sealed, and ordered to the filed ' among the records."

" The *qanungo* fattens most when it is the misfortune of any ' village to be made " *kham tuhsil*," that is, where the *zemindar* ' becomes a defaulter, and no person offers to take a farming ' lease for a term of years, and pay the balance. The Collector ' appoints a manager on his own part, called a *Suzawul*, to ' collect the rents, and in most cases the *qanungo* is chosen to ' fill this office. The first thing done is to go to the village, ' assemble the inhabitants, and ask for the *nuzurana* (good-will

'offering) for the *Sircar*. Nothing but silver is ever taken from 'the majority, but the *Suzawul* is sometimes content to commute 'the cash payment for the offering of a fat sheep. As soon as 'the sheep has been digested, the *asamis* are again summoned 'to adjust the new *jummabundi ba-mujibhukum Saheban* 'Borad. The *Brahmuns* are let off lest they should curse the 'Lalla; but from every other caste, from four annas to eight 'annas a bigah is rigorously exacted. As these sums are in-'tended for the *Suzawul's* private purse, they are, from a mere 'infirmity in his memory, omitted in the village accounts. The 'zemindar's dues are always enforced by the *Sircar's* represen-'tative. The shepherds present the younglings of their flocks; 'the barbers shave him, and sooth him to rest, or gently arouse 'him by the delicious pressure of the limbs known as *shampuing*; 'sometimes the young *Nayins* (barberesses) take the place of 'their husbands to lull the *Suzawul* to rest; the *telis* furnish 'sufficient oil for a lamp to burn throughout the night; and 'thus a *Suzawul*, in charge of a large estate, is *the* picture of 'a happy man, in the enjoyment of rural felicity and rural affluence. Many a feast do his friends receive at the expense of 'the villagers; and who would not feast, "eat, drink, and be 'merry," when all the materials cost nothing? A case comes on 'before the Saheb Collector; the *qanungo* is ordered to attend. 'He cannot be found. Where is he? Nobody can tell. The 'nazir roars out to me, Go, PAUNCHKOURI, and bring that 'suhalinkar, that *nimukharam*, to the *Huzur*. Go to his 'house, and if not there, go to the village of *Sundaha* where 'he may be playing the *Suzawul*."

This accords with many native testimonies which we have heard on this subject. The zemindars are universally acknowledged tyrants; but in the case of *khas* lands (Company's lands, farmed through official agency), the tyranny of the Suzawuls and his assistant, is insupportable; just as a pack of wolves, by reason of their greater number, will carry off, devour, and destroy, more than one tiger.

THE KOMMISHNUR KURKI.

"But *the* great man, '*who plays fantastic tricks before high* 'heaven' is the *Kommishnur Kurki*, and *I* have watched his 'doings with much edification. He has his *sudder kacheri*, 'and writes his *rubukaris*, like a *Hakim*. As far as I could 'learn from the *muktiars* and *mohurrirs* of the Collector's 'office, the duties of this officer are simply those of an Ameen 'of distraint and sale, for which he is entitled to a com-'mission of ten per cent. *on the proceeds of sale*. And in the

'event of a compromise, or non-completion of the sale, from any 'cause whatsoever, he is entitled to five per cent. *on the valua-* 'tion of the property distrained. The resources from this com- 'mission *only*, would amount to about thirty-five or forty rupees 'per mensem. The *Kommishnur Saheb* has to pay the rent of 'a suitable *kacheri*. He has a *mohurrir* on seven rupees a 'month, and six *chuprassis* at least, to whom he must give three 'rupees each. Thus little enough, it would appear, is left for the 'provision of the great man himself. He has, generally, a wife 'and several children at home. He sports a horse or palki, 'keeps one or two servants, and a comely woman servant, who 'acts as his *khidmutgar*. Money must be found for these 'expenses; and, by the blessing of the *debtas*, who watch over 'the prosperity of the mysteries of chicanery, it is never want- 'ing. Without tiring my readers with all the minutiæ of 'trickery, I shall just give a few examples of extortion."

Of these examples we shall present only the last, and beg our reader to note in it, how unsafe capital, when applied to the soil, is rendered by such misgovernment. The produce of the soil at the present reduced prices will not bear the tax of such enormous corruption: and the tendency of the system has already become apparent in Lower Bengal, which is rapidly in the course of conversion into one vast rice-field. The rest of the country, which requires much tillage, labour and capital, especially for the more valuable crops, must go gradually out of cultivation.

"An *asami* has been allowed to cut his *khurrif* (harvest) crop 'without his rent being demanded. He is in debt, and has paid 'away the greater part of his produce to the village *Mahajun;* 'when he finds *two bigahs* of half-grown *sugar-cane* distrain- 'ed, and notice of sale advertised. If allowed to come to 'maturity, and the juice to be worked into *gur*, the two *bi-* 'gahs of cane would yield from 150 to 200 rupees; but the 'zemindar is resolved to ruin him. The poor *ryot* ruins to the 'Collector Saheb, or the *Saheb Dipty*, and petitions against this 'grinding oppression. He is told to give *malzamini* (security), 'and to institute *Bejah Kurki*. He hypothecates the standing 'crops to his *Mahajun*, who becomes his surety, and the case 'is instituted. After the usual forms, the case is heard. The 'ryot does not deny that the claim is just, but pleads that if 'he had time granted him, he would pay the demand, and still 'save himself from ruin. The *Saheb* says, *wajib hai* (it is reason- 'able. But the *Mukhtyars* ask, whether the zemindar is not 'entitled to receive the *malguzari* from the produce of the soil? 'They allege that the *khurrif* was cut and sold by the *ryot*, with- 'out paying the zemindar his dues; and that if the *Saheb Baha-*

'*dur* will now interfere, how is the zemindar to pay the revenue 'due to the *Sircar?* The *Munshiji* quietly folds his hands, to 'say his *iltimas* (prayers); and he urges, that the sale of stand-'ing crops is authorised by usage. The case is dismissed, and 'a sale ordered. And the poor *ryot* has the option of either 'permitting his half-grown crops to be purchased by the ze-'mindar (*ism furzi*) in a fictitious name at a twentieth of the 'value, or, of borrowing money from the *Mahajun*, on the hypo-'thecations of the crops, *at seventy-five per cent. per annum* '*interest.*

"Well, thought I, the *Kumpani ka Raj* is a paternal and 'fostering *Raj* for the poor ryots!"

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> "Where wealth accumulates, and *men* decay;
> "Princes and Lords may flourish, or may fade,
> "A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> "But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> "When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

In several chapters our hero describes, in an historical manner, the survey, and other operations in the N. W. Provinces many years ago, for making a revenue settlement. They are revelations rather of the past than the present; but are exceedingly curious and interesting, and pregnant we may add with instruction. Instead of making extensive extracts, we will endeavour to give an abridgment, in which our object, like our author's, will be not so much the amusement of our readers, as their instruction.

The whole of the ceded and conquered provinces laboured under the disadvantage of short leases for the revenue, for terms of five or ten years: and, as these terms expired, there was a constant struggle between Government and the Zemindars, on the one side to augment, on the other to reduce, the revenue assessments. The periodical revision of settlements rendered large establishments necessary, and burdened the Government with the expence of highly paid revenue boards, as well as their deputations over various parts of the country. To introduce a change, the first object was, to ascertain the precise limits of each estate, with a view to the measurement of the included area. "This led," says our author, "to the appointment of young gentlemen of the Civil Service" as *settlement officers*, and the employment of *Revenue Surveyors*. Their proper object was, (like that of every land-owner in appointing a land-steward and surveyor) to define the boundaries of the different farms, so that the tenants might have no pretence for encroaching on one another: to ascertain the quantity, more or less, in each farm

and Zemindari, and the kind and quality of the land, so that a fair rent might be exacted; and, on the other hand, to give the tenant a sufficiently long term, to give him an interest in improving the property. Such were the objects: but the operations, according to our author, were a complete failure. This he appears to assume as unquestionable fact and matter of notoriety; and he shews in detail how it came to be so. Reader, you have seen in the foregoing pages, how the Company's system of police, how its administration of justice, have become failures, or worse; now mark how similarly, this other great service, established by the state, became a failure, "The root of the evil" (that is the failure,) says our author, was the ignorance of the officers, to whom the work was entrusted, as to the exact nature of what they were required to perform. The young settlement officers had to learn the rudiments of the revenue system; and the surveyors were not instructed to prepare their papers, so as to tally in all points with the records of the collector's office. Thus, it appears, there was no competent head to direct the operations at starting. All sorts of discrepancies and confusion followed. In the essential point of the lists of estates, the returns of the survey and settlement officers materially differed. A confusion was made between *muhals* (estates) and *mouzahs* (villages). Here we have ignorance, alike of the language and of the customary territorial divisions of the country. They did not know such a difference, as that between an estate and a county: or between a manor and the hundred in which it might be situated. In many instances the collector, the settlement officer, and the surveyor were at open feud, or privately bent on playing at cross purposes, and thwarting each other; and officers of the same class entertained different ideas respecting what were their duties. Settlements, however, were made, and fixed by the fiat of authority: but they worked badly. Zemindars could not afford to pay yearly losses. They tried a desperate game, and neglected the cultivation, as our author says, to induce a remission of the revenue: but their estates were sold to recover the balances due to the *Sircar*. Thus, one set of proprietors was relentlessly swept away, to be succeeded by auction-purchasers. These rack-rented the cultivators; who fled, and affairs became worse than ever. The native officials, employed in the survey, had fine scope for their activity. A desperate struggle arose of bribery on a large scale to prevent the true arrears of villages being brought to light; and every native official, of whatever grade, not only was promoted by gigantic strides, but emulated the wealth of the Company.

Our author does full justice to the *principle* of these Revenue Settlements: it was, he says, excellent, and evinced the wisdom and practical (sed quære) skill of the legislature, and of the many able men who compose the Boards of Revenue.

He specifies several errors on the part of those who had the ordering of these Surveys. *The* great mistake, or, as we should prefer to say, *one* great mistake was, an order to go through with a fixed quantity of work within a definite time, and to make the assessments as high as the country could bear with reference to its means. When the consequences of this were seen, modifying orders were issued, to make the *bundobusts* (settlements) light, that the people might not be overburdened: but this, as our author wittily observes, was "like telling a cook to slaughter a calf, and then, out of superfluous humanity, to shed tears over the untimely fate of the unfortunate animal!" It may well be doubted indeed, whether the humanity and the tears were intended to be real; for, whenever *remission* was suggested, so many explanations were called for, that officials became wary and wise, and tried to square their course so as to save trouble.

From general remarks such as the above, which our author calls his *prolegomena*, he returns to the beginning of his subject, and shews how the work of the settlement proceeded. "A set of hungry *Amins* (native commissioners,) were let loose upon the district, whose duty it was to set up earthen *termini* at every angle of the boundary of each estate." These men are described as extorting by fair means or foul, large sums from the Zemindar: and, if he tried to break off, they reported him to the *Peshkar* (deputy registrar), and he to the settlement officers, and the settlement officers fined him roundly.

The boundaries being completed, the survey commenced; and, first and foremost, a fat *Tindal* (foreman) went to every large village, and, gathering the notables together, announced that the Parmash-ka-lushkur (Great man's attendants) would encamp therein; and, Mind friend, he would say, get ready ten thousand naiks (tent pins,) &c. This hint was always sufficient to induce the Zemindars to shell out handsomely, and to beg the Tindal to represent to the Saheb-i-Massah, that the village was not adapted for an encampment. The Tindal knew very well that the village was too much out of the way to be chosen by the surveyor; so he pocketed the rupees, went on his way to the next large village, and repeated his experiment of selecting an encampment with similar success.

The encamping ground being fixed upon, next the khulasis were sent out to prepare the villages for survey. They had to remove obstructions in a direct line: a rich crop of sugar cane,

or a fine old mangoe tree, or a peepul held in veneration by the villagers, *would* come into the direct line; if the Zemindars paid freely, the station was removed to one side: but, if they asserted independance, a report of opposition to the survey was made, and in most cases the villagers were mulcted by the settlement officer.

The lines being prepared for survey, parties of surveyors were sent out to measure the boundaries.

"This used to be carefully and satisfactorily done at first by 'European Assistants; but it was discovered in the course of 'time, that it was *cheaper* to use native agency, and to pay twen-'ty-five rupees a month to a boundary Surveyor, instead of '150 or 200 to an assistant. This notable discovery, however, 'did not answer its end. It took some time of course to train 'natives to their work; but it *was* at length accomplished; and 'the work then got on as rapidly as the projectors had antici-'pated. But the new *material* had odd notions of honesty, 'and of course adapted it, as it seemed to be most beneficial to 'individual interests. The *Tindals* nearly lost their monopoly, 'and the gathering of the harvest devolved on more influential 'hands. The *Lalla Saheb*, or, as he used sometimes to be 'styled, the *Kumpass-walla*, claimed, and took the lion's share of 'the perquisites. But, you ask, how were the perquisites ob-'tained? Why, a common trick was for the *Kumpass-walla* to 'adjust his theodolite, and to pretend surprise that the magne-'tic needle would not play. The *Tindal* would anxiously 'enquire what was wrong? The *khulasis* would do the same. 'The *Zemindars* present would thus have their curiosity excited, 'and would crowd round the theodolite with gaping mouths. At 'last the *Tindal* would venture to ask the *Lalla Saheb*, whether 'the usual morning *pûja* to the instrument had been performed? 'This acted as a flapper to the *Lalla*, and he asked his next 'neighbour, the *Zemindar*, to put a rupee on the glass of the 'needle. It was done; but deuce a bit would it move. The 'attraction is not sufficiently strong, he would say, try another! 'This was done until the patience of the villagers was exhaust-'ed, and they had put down as many as ten rupees. The *Lalla* 'gingerly touched the catch, and the needle swung round to 'the astonishment and edification of the villagers. The rupees 'were pocketed, and divided afterwards among the whole of the 'party. But the ordinary mode was to induce the *Zemindars* 'to believe, that the *Kumpass-walla* had it in his power to in-'crease or decrease the area of the village, by a single squint at 'the *Kumpass*.

"The boundary survey over, a party of detail measurers went

'out to measure the cultivation. If the *Zemindar* feed highly, 'a good portion of cultivated land was put in as fallow, or 'waste; and specifications of soil were noted so favorably, as to 'induce a belief, that the cultivation was not highly productive. 'The item of irrigation was exaggerated in the same manner. 'There were *no* wells, *no* ponds, *no* streamlets, to furnish an 'adequate supply of water. If the *Zemindar* did *not* pay, then 'a picture diametrically opposite was drawn and submitted. 'The cultivation was increased; every deserted field, on which 'the furrow of a plough was faintly visible, was included under 'the head of cultivation. The barren waste was entered as '' arable,' and even tracts of pure sand were represented as 'such: every field was highly irrigated; and the sources of 'irrigation multiplied.

"It was soon found that a detailed survey, such as I have at-'tempted to describe, was of little service to the settlement officer. 'There were, in the first place, no data for an *asamiwar* set-'tlement; and, secondly, the extent of cultivation was more than 'doubtful. Then was introduced the admirable mode of *khusrah* '(field-book) *surveys;* a most excellent mode of procedure if 'you can look sufficiently sharp after the *Amin*, to force him 'to be honest and correct. The mode of procedure was as 'follows."

We cannot follow our author in these details; but we refer to them, as demonstrative proof that he thoroughly understands the subject, and was conversant with the operations depicted. At the commencement of the khusrah surveys, the simple and unsophisticated mode of measurement with *ropes* of Indian hemp, or thongs of leather, was adopted; but the difference of measurement of the rope, when wet, and when dry, baffled all testing. Iron chains were substituted; but a link could be taken away, or a link added; and, according as the Zemindar paid, the chain was lengthened or shortened. "Where bribery," says our author, "took root to any extent, it went through the establish-'ment of the *testers*, and the *mohurirs* (clerks) and *munshis* 'of the survey and settlement office; and every return was '*fudged*, as school-boys term it." In the several matters of irrigation, soil, average of produce, name of the holder of the field, even his *caste*, the *Amins* reaped a rich harvest.

"The name of the holder was a most important point, and 'which the surveyors themselves did not understand rightly; 'and the changes under this head occasioned serious mischief. 'The distinction of *Sar lands* and *Sikhmi Asamis*, or here-'ditary cultivators, was not understood, or not regarded. When

'an opulent *Asami* of the Rajput or Brahmin caste asserted independence, and would not pay, he was recorded as a '*Chumar!*'* When the register of holdings was publicly tested, and *Phullanah Chumar* called, no answer was returned from sheer pride of caste: and the unfortunate wight was obliged to petition the settlement officer, and to fee the *Qanungo* and *Mohurirs* handsomely to get his name correctly entered. But what I have said was merely the light skirmishing of irregular troops—the real seat of war was the *Kacheri-i-paimash* (surveyor's office); and the chief plunderers were the *munshis* and their satellites in that department.

"When a *khusrah* was tested, and signed by the surveyor, it was sent into the *Munshi-khanah*. Now, the signature was confined to the leaf shewing the *total area*. Nightly durbars were held by the *Munshiji*, and large sums were paid to him, to *falsify the papers entirely!* The page shewing the total area, and bearing the surveyor's signature, was the same; but the *details* were entirely changed. This was proved to have occurred in the district of *Futtehpore;* and what guarantee is there, that similar tricks and deceptions were not, more or less, universal?"

The survey papers are at length prepared, and, such as they are, sent to the settlement office.

"Now came the actual responsibilities of the settlement officer's duties. He had to fix a rental upon each *muhal*. He had to apportion the *malguzari* of each *ryot* to the extent of his holding. He had to adduce reasons for the reduction or increase of the revenue. The proper mode would have been for the *Saheb mohtimim* to proceed into every village, and judge for himself, and *then* to decide this important point. But alas! few had the inclination to take so much trouble; and, even if they had, they were hampered by the orders of the superior authorities. They were expected to go through a certain quantity of work; and, to save their credit, they did so, but to the frustration of the object for which Government had appointed them. A common mode was to divide each *purgunnah* into a number of imaginary portions, assuming that each portion consisted of similar soil and facilities for irrigation.

"Thus, by assuming an arbitrary standard, a false valuation of the estates was (as a consequence) made. Scores of really profitable *muhals*, that were assessed at the *average*, were very greatly under-rated. While other estates, that were poor,

* Shoe-maker: a low caste among the Hindus.

'and whose productiveness fell *under* the average, by being 'lumped with their more profitable neighbours, were irretrieveably ruined. The reports of settlement were plausible enough, 'and read well; but the results of experience prove the falsity 'of the data, upon which the settlement operations were based. 'In calculating the means of a village, the ordinary mode was 'to take the average of the rates of *malguzari*, and thereby 'multiply the number of *bigahs* under cultivation; to deduct 'therefrom the ordinary village expences, and ten per cent. for 'the zemindar's *malikana*, (or dues for right of management); '—and the balance was the Government *jumma*. Suppose an 'estate with 1000 *bigahs* of cultivation, and the average *mal-'guzari* rate to be three rupees a *bigah*, the gross assets 'would be assumed at 3000 rupees. There are two *choukidars* '(watchmen) and one *goraet* at two rupees a month each, and a '*Putwari* at four rupees. The annual expence would be 120 'rupees. The *malikana* at ten per cent would be 300 rupees. 'The accounts would stand thus:—

Hal hasil (present assets).....Rs.	3,000
Deduct *malikana* at 10 per cent.	300
Rupees	2,700
Deduct wages of village servants.....	120
Balance, or Government revenue	2,580

'By the above calculation it will be seen that the Govern-'ment revenue bore the extraordinary proportion of 86 *per 'cent. on the gross returns! (quære,* rental?)

"But the duties of a *zemindar* do not consist only in receiv-'ing the rents from the *ryots*. He is obliged, or he *should* be 'obliged, to make advances to the needy villagers for seed, for the 'purchase of cattle, and for alleviating calamities of the seasons. 'He is obliged to renew old wells, to dig new ones, and to in-'cur a pretty considerable figure in nuzzurs to the *Qanungo*, 'the *Tahsildar*, and the *Darogah* of police. None of these 'items are ever taken into account; and, however much the 'notion of allowing, or conviving at, such fees may be repudiat-'ed, yet *they are extorted;* and, therefore, some allowances 'should be made for this *secret service* expence. Let any one 'that is doubtful purchase a pair of oxen and a plough, and 'cultivate one, or five, or ten *bigahs* of land. Let him set 'down carefully every item of expenditure, including the ex-'pence of irrigation. Let him add to all this the ground rent

'to the *zemindar*, and the interest on the money expended. 'Then take the current or average price of grain and bhusa, 'and set both calculations of expenditure and profit in juxta-'position, and he will then have some notion of the large pro-'fits of an agriculturist."

From the nature of many of the preceding revelations, it takes us by surprize, as it will our readers, to find that several chapters still remain, which are specially devoted to the Civil Courts. Judicial functions are largely distributed among the magistrates and collectors; but the Civil Courts form a separate department or system. These are composed, in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal, of Munsiffs, Sudder Amins, Principal Sudder Amins, Zillah Judges, and the highest court, (merely of appeal and superintendence,) the Sudder Dewani Adalut. We shall give a few extracts from our hero respecting this great department:—

"I have endeavoured to expose a few of the blemishes in the 'administration of the revenue and criminal departments, and 'I shall now notice the *Dewani Adalut*. My readers will not 'expect much legal knowledge from '*An Orderly;*' so I shall 'confine myself to noticing facts that have occurred, and which 'do occur every day, in these Courts, and the truth of which 'may be verified by any one, that choses to make enquiry of 'the *people*. With all the present extra machinery of Govern-'ment in this department, the several grades of *Munsiffs*, '*Sudder Amins*, *Principal Sudder Amins* and learned Judges, 'the system does not work to the satisfaction of the people. 'As in a piece of machinery having a multiplicity of wheels, 'the stoppage of a minor wheel will prevent the revolution of 'the larger ones, so in the machinery of the *Dewani* Courts 'the wheels are sometimes checked—now at the small end, pre-'sently at a medium one, and again at the main wheel, which 'appears to move all the rest,—and the whole will not go on 'smoothly, until they are sufficiently greased by the '*oil of* '*palms*' in the minor division. And here I would have it dis-'tinctly understood, that my remarks will apply not to any 'individual, or to any zillah, but to the whole system, as a 'machine, in which there are some screws loose.

"As in duty bound, let me begin at the lowest end, and shew 'how justice is done by a *Munsiff*. The son of a *Lalla* earn-'ing *ten rupees* a month, who from childhood is, of necessity, 'conversant with all the petty chicanery and fraud practised 'around him, becomes a *Mohurir*, or writer to a *Vakil*. He 'is brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, like Paul, to become

'a persecutor; and, as in Paul's case, a miracle must be worked 'for his conversion. After a few years the lad finds that he 'can aptly quote the regulation, or construction, or precedent, 'which gained such and such a case. He has a tenacious me-'mory, and is naturally sharp-witted, and aspires to become 'a *Munsiff*. He fees the *Serishtadar*, who certifies to his 'respectability to the Judge, who allows his name to be 'entered as a candidate; and he is permitted to stand an 'examination.

* * * * *

"No questions are put to test their having been well-grounded 'in jurisprudence; no attempt to ascertain the nature of their 'education, and the depth or shallowness of their understand-'ing. The lad passes his examination, receives his diploma, 'and, when a vacancy occurs, and fortune favors him, he is 'elevated to the rank and office of a *Munsiff*."

Our hero illustrates the action of this part of the judicial machine by a case, the main features of which are the same as have already been several times given, and therefore we need not repeat them. Our author blames the system, not the individuals. He insinuates that the Munsiffs are generally selected from the lowest classes of the people. Government probably could shew reams of foolscap fairly written, containing plans to purify and elevate them, but without effect,—we may say like most of the good intentions of Goverement. If an honorable man, who would refuse bribes, by chance, or by the exertions of friends who know his merit, gets into this class, the umlah and other native agents, by all sorts of conspiracy, will be sure to get rid of him. Cases of this kind have actually happened: and we fear that maxims, and habits, and interests, prevail at the India house, which entirely disqualify the body there, from effecting a reformation. They can shew fine plans; admirable correspondence; but no real fruits in performance.

"Between the *Munsiff*, and the superior grades to which he 'may rise, the only difference consists in their different salaries, 'and their degrees of power. The nature of the man continues 'the same, but his appetite is increased; and why should this 'surprise people? A *nuzzur* varies in proportion to the status 'of the party to whom it is offered; and an offering to a small 'deity, which will be held meet for his dignity, will be an insult 'to a bigger one, who has been used to hecatombs. In all 'these grades of office, as in most others, a great evil exists; I 'allude to the mode adopted of judging of an official's ability 'and efficiency by certain statements which are called for

'monthly by the superior courts. These forms are dry statistics of work done; they cannot shew *how* that work was done. Some of the most efficient and honest of our judicial officers, those who are most popular with the *people*, are those that are in bad repute with the *Sudder*."

How can a Government set up a standard of qualification, or character for native judges, when it has none for the European? Our author's picture of the latter, both as it respects past times and present, is instructive, though less satisfactory than most of his other Revelations: and we surmise that his own personal experience has chiefly been in the magisterial and revenue departments.

"'*In the good old days*,' when judges received the munificent salary of 300 *rupees* per mensem, the practice of the Courts was to extort in fees, from the plaintiff and defendant, so much as to enable the judges to live in splendour, and to retire with princely fortunes. The late Mr. Brooke used frequently to relate, how he was enabled to live up to ten thousand rupees a month, when his Honorable Masters paid him *three hundred!* Every petition, that was presented, was not filed until the party had given a fee to the *Huzur*, in proportion to the amount or value of the property contested. This was done, as a matter of course, until the final proceeding, when the party who gained the cause presented the judge with a *Shukranah*, (or thanksgiving-offering). Since those days, a very different system of payment has been adopted, and the fees are pocketed by Government, in the shape of proceeds of stamps. The restrictions on every class of public officers have produced a salutary effect; but every order may be evaded. Even the order lately passed, directing every judge to write the summing-up *(wujuhat)* in his own hand-writing, is practised in letter, but not in spirit. In many instances, the *Serishtadar* writes the *rubukari* as usual; the English writer translates the summing-up; and the judge corrects it, and re-writes it! Others again, who are men of talent, and quite capable of doing their duty have not leisure for the purpose! They are busy in playing at billiards, shooting, or horse-racing; so the work, for which they are paid, is left to be done by their native officials. But, generally speaking, these are solitary exceptions, and not the rule.

"There used to be a very common practice in former years, that gentlemen, who were found unqualified for the important duties of Collector of revenue, were promoted to judgeships. My readers will doubtless call to mind several such. There was

'one, very well known in this neighbourhood, who was notori-
'ously the puppet of his *Serishtadar*. This latter worthy used
'to wait in person on the *Huzur* every morning, with a list of
'the cases that would be called on that day; and the *Saheb*
'*Judge* wrote against each case, '*decree*' or '*dismiss*,' as he
'was prompted. In full *Kacheri*, after going through the farce
'of hearing all the pleadings and depositions, he would decide,
'as had been previously concerted. The *Serishtadar*, although
'very corrupt, was a very able officer; and the *Saheb* not only
'seldom had his orders reversed, but was accounted a *wise per-*
'*sonage* by the *Sudder*. This gentleman could not tolerate
'the idea of an European being in Court, as a party. One day,
'a respectable English planter, who had a case in Court, and
'who could not account for the delay, went in person into the
'court. The sapient judge in a blustering voice demanded his
'business. He submitted that he had business, and respect-
'fully enquired, whether the court was not an open one? No,
'sir, was the rejoinder; it is not. Go out, sir, and send your
'constituted *Vakil!*"

The dependence of the English judge on his native umlahs is repeatedly dwelt upon, and always as an unmixed evil; because the umlahs are entirely unworthy of confidence. The dependence is, we fear, necessary and inevitable; but it may be rendered, we believe, less fruitful of all kinds of mischief than at present. How? is the question. We can reply here only in general terms; by altering the constitution of the courts, and putting in the place of the present umlahs and judges, men of different qualifications, and in other mutual relations. The case of a judge turning an English suitor, or defendant, out of his court, as cited above, could scarcely happen a second time. But our countrymen are under every sort of disadvantage in Mofussil litigation. They are obliged to speak and to write the native language, that is, the language of their adversary, whether they are plaintiffs or defendants; and where both plaintiff and defendant are English, they must still use the language of the court, that is, the vernacular language of the district, though the judge be an Englishman. Thus, treated as natives, they are reduced to the necessity of employing the same agency as natives do; and thereby they become involved in the prevailing system. The only instance, in which the advantage of using his native language is given to an Englishman, is, when both parties agree to employ, for advocacy alone, English vakils or counsel. Native prejudices are supposed to be consulted in these arrangements;—and some native interests, besides public convenience;

and it is said, it would involve enhanced expence to the suitors, extensively to substitute the English language in law proceedings. But there is a medium in all things; as for expence to the suitors, a remission of the taxes on law proceedings would afford an ample pecuniary indemnification; and as for prejudices, if our rulers could renounce their own, those of the natives would soon give way, when it was found, that with the language of their rulers, was also introduced scientific jurisprudence, and that the foul harpies that now fill the courts had to give place to virtuous and educated men;—men, we mean, not only of our own race, but those to whom justice is not yet being done—men, who have learnt our language, and lost their own, and to whom Government has held out hitherto only hopes, but not opened any important public employments.

Our limits oblige us here to conclude our extracts and comments. But we must add a few words in answer to an objection which we anticipate may be made to them. It may be said that we have treated as history and matter of fact, what is really mere fiction. We reply the whole is essentially true; the form only is that of a work of fiction. This and other objections may come from various classes of persons, united only in a common feeling, unfavorable to our author, and perhaps to ourselves. Mere official pride will excite the resentment of some. But there are no less safe councillors and guides than *class-feelings*. The "revelations" are not the less true, though they must inevitably lower the Government and the Civil Service, in general estimation. We admit, and we regret this result; but at the same time, our regrets are the seed of our hopes; and we congratulate ourselves and mankind that the present is an age, when the love of truth is paramount, when all false worships are fast losing their holds, and men will not bow down, after the veil is drawn aside, and the objects behind it appear to be but golden calves and painted idols.

Others will demur from a feeling of real incredulity. They cannot believe in the possibility of such a state of things. There is a respectable sort of nationality in this feeling. They could believe it, of the French Government in Algeria, of the Pachâs in Egypt, of the Sultans in Turkey, or of any semi-barbarous oriental or Mahomedan domination. It is not an impossibility in the nature of governments, or of things; but they cannot believe it, where the chief moving powers are Englishmen. But only suppose, that the East India Company is behind the nation,—and it becomes credible. Power is in the hands, not only, of a few (for to that there may be no sound

practical objection); but of a few, who have peculiar objects, habits, and interests of their own, and barely catch a reflection of the light which shines on all other persons.

For many reasons these revelations are entitled to be regarded as real. They are intended to be a picture of actual experience. This is as certain, as that they are written by a real person. In the sport of fancy, the author desires to make a certain and true impression; and, in his preface and conclusion, he avows that his objects are to expose abuses, and bring about a reformation. These revelations then, are the testimonies of a well-informed individual, and really better, as evidence to guide the British statesman, than what the Company is likely to adduce before Committees of Parliament. Their key-note again will be, as it was in 1831, that of alarm at projected change; but they will not exhibit the actual present state of things.

As to the value of these revelations, not only are they intended to make true impressions, but the impressions, which they make, precisely accord with all the real testimonies which we have heard from residents in the Mofussil, and persons of much Indian experience, not being in complicity with the existing system. For the sake of British interests, and the interests of humanity, we desire this truth to be declared and known. By the bad state of the law and police, in short of all the local adminstrations, it is hardly possible for our countrymen to establish themselves beyond the presidency towns. For every one European, there would be 100 under a proper system. From the same causes, British capital is wasted in every operation. A lakh and a half, or £15,000 sterling, for instance, is required for an operation, which, but for mis-government, would require but a lakh, or £10,000. We name a sum but to illustrate proportions. In the actual results, for thousands, we must substitute millions. The merchant, the manufacturer, the political economist, can deduce from this, the true consequences;—to be found, as we apprehend, in enhanced prices, checked production, diminished exchanges, and a state of things, though prosperous, less so by fifty per cent. than it might be under a better government.

But native interests and native industry are still more seriously injured than European, except so far as they are mutually dependent. Property is without legal protection. Zemindar is pitted against Zemindar; law and justice have no real part in the struggle. The Zemindar indemnifies himself by oppressing the rural population; but the rights of the cultivator are

without protection. No man can tell what rights he has ; or when, or how, bribery, perjury, forgery, and all the vices illustrated by our hero, may not be brought to bear against him. Hence also monopolies in all directions, and all sorts of tyrannies and terrors on a large scale, every where prevail. For example hence arises the lattial (club) system of the indigo planter, whose rich produce enables him to pay armed bands, for aggression or for defence, it matters not which. This is one of the signs of mis-government. He resorts to force, because there is no justice to be had throughout the land. Hence again, for example, such monopolies as the coal monopoly in the great Burdwan coal field, where a Company, with possessions covering less than five square miles, has put down competition, though the coal strata extend through seven or eight hundreds of square miles. Entreaty, remonstrance, every sort of representation have been made over and over again by capitalists and adventurers, to Government:—but in vain. By this monopoly,—this mere fruit of cupidity, to which opportunity is given by mal-administration,—not only is a large district kept a howling wilderness, and its population in the habits of barbarism, where multiplied capital might and would produce its happiest transformations ; but we in Calcutta also sensibly feel the consequences, in the enhanced cost of steam power of all kinds, whether employed for carriage, or for production. And here again we ask the merchant and political economist to deduce the more remote consequences ; how it is as bad as a tax on our steam boats, without any profit to Government; and how it robs the proprietors of them, of the fair fruits of *their* enterprize and capital; how it is a tax on the sugar, which Lancashire takes in exchange for cotton fabrics; and a tax on these fabrics, when steam is employed in carrying them to the markets of consumption. Nothing is without its consequences; nothing stands alone: the consequences of Indian mis-government extend to the people of England; and the character, the honour, the power, the commercial greatness, the glory, the very life-blood of Great Britain, suffer by all the vices, so ably illustrated by our friend Paunchkouri Khan.

ART. IV.—1. *The Vishnu Purána, translated from the original Sanscrit, by H. H. Wilson, M. A. F. R. S.*, 1 *vol.* 4*to. London*, 1840.

2. *The Mahábhárata*, 4 *vols.* 4*to. Calcutta*, 1836-39.

3. *The Ramáyana*, 5 *vols.* 8*vo. Serampore*, 1802.

4. *Goladhyáya, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta*, 1842.

5. *Grahalaghava, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta*, 1843.

6. *Ganitadhyáya, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta*, 1842.

7. *Asiatic Researches*, 4*to. London and Calcutta*, 1799.

8. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta*, 1832.

IT is our object, in this article, to give a faithful picture of the state of living physical science amongst the higher and middle classes of orthodox Hindu society, and to record the monstrous physical errors, which, (in this city especially) forced into strange and unnatural juxta-position with the triumphs and discoveries of the 19th century, yet form the undoubting belief, not only of the multitude, but of nearly all learned and intelligent Hindus.*

To speak of physical errors in a religious system, appears, at first sight, a glaring contradiction in terms. But, with regard to Hinduism, this is more an apparent than a real contradiction; since it at once disappears, when we come fully to understand the nature and constitution of this grand system of religion.

It is a marked and peculiar feature in the character of Hinduism, that, instead of confining itself within the proper and lawful bounds prescribed to every theological system, it interferes with, and treats of, every department of secular knowledge, which human genius has ever invented; so, that gram-

* This paper is the production of a young native gentleman, entirely educated in the Free Church Institution, in which he is at present employed as a teacher.

In a slightly different form, it obtained a prize, given by the proprietor of the *Calcutta Review*, for the best account of the physical errors of Hinduism:—and hence its appearance is peculiarly appropriate in these pages. Its chief title to public notice however rests upon the fact, that the information, which it conveys, has not been obtained from books, but exclusively from the lips of learned and intelligent Pandits in Calcutta; and it may be relied on as a faithful and accurate account of the present state of science amongst them. The references to the Puránas, &c., are, so far as we have traced them, in every instance, correct; and, when it is remembered how much of the youthful author's time is occupied by a laborious and exhausting profession, it appears to us, that both the amount of information accumulated, and the manner in which it has been obtained, indicate remarkable sagacity and powers of observation, and high promise for the future. Several omissions and verbal corrections have been made; but otherwise the original is unaltered.—ED.

mar, geography, physics, law, medicine, metaphysics, &c., do each form as essential a part of Hinduism, as any religious topic with which it is concerned. Indeed a person, who has not studied Hinduism in all its parts, can scarcely form an adequate notion of the vastness of its extent. And those foreigners, who, after incredible labour and much expence, have acquired some knowledge of this religion, have been obliged to confess this truth by applying to it such titles as "huge," "gigantic," and the like.

It is indeed true that a system, professedly religious, may sometimes allude to, or incidentally take notice of, certain points belonging to any department of secular knowledge, for the sake of illustration, without incurring the charge of having transgressed its legitimate bounds. But in such cases, where any point of philosophy, or human science, is brought to illustrate religious doctrines or sentiments, it is always necessary to remember, that we take that point as a truth already established and universally known, and not as a new discovery, that is now going for the first time to be made known to the world. Indeed fables might be framed, or known fables introduced, for the same purpose; which serves to show, in a very strong manner, that whatever example is used, whether it be a point of philosophy, history, or an invented tale, to expound any truth or sentiment in a system of religion, must be viewed merely in the light of an illustration. All that we have to do with, is the purport, sense, meaning, or bearing of the illustration, and not its correctness or incorrectness in itself. But the case is quite different with the writers of the Hindu Shastras. In their religious works, they have treated of all the branches of secular knowledge known among them, in a regular, systematic manner; and have given them out to the world in a tone of absolute authority, from which there could be no appeal. Or rather, with a view to secure the universal belief of the people, they have sanctified with the name of religion, whatever they have been pleased to conjecture on any subject, secular or spiritual.

The Hindus accordingly, receive information on all subjects, historical, literary, scientific, or theological, from the mouths of the Brahmans alone; who, in their turn, have no other fountain of knowledge, than their own sacred writings. The Shastras are made the standards of all sorts of knowledge; and the disagreement of any opinion with them is regarded a sure proof of its fallaciousness. Whatever is contained in them, or whatever has passed by, and come down, under the sacred name of Shastra, *must* be received as true, without the faintest shadow of doubt:

and, whatever differs from them, must be rejected as spurious and false, simply on the ground of its not coinciding with the infallible doctrines of the holy writ. The act of doubting a point, which rests on the authority of the Shastras, is always followed by the severest anathemas;—the rejection of it is deemed nothing less than downright infidelity. Freedom of enquiry on any subject, the exercise of one's own mind, and thinking and judging for one's own self, are not only wholly unpractised, but are thought to amount to a crime. Accordingly there prevails, among the orthodox Hindus, such a mean and dastardly spirit, that it is ever ready to give its assent,—its amen,—to any thing and every thing, whether it be reasonable or unreasonable, wise or foolish, true or false, if it has only had the honor of having come out from the lips of the Brahman, the sole interpreter of the Shastras.

The genius of Hinduism imperatively requires, that every thing should be stereotyped. There is no word in the whole vocabulary of the Sanskrit language, expressing the idea of a new edition. We, who have the privilege of enjoying the benefits of western civilization, can scarcely be brought to feel the force of the strictures, laid upon freedom of thinking, by the narrow-minded and meanly jealous authors of our national religion. Even the Brahmans, who are said to be its guardians, are sternly required to listen to its dictates in all matters, as the only rule and guide of their conduct; and any deviation from it is threatened with heavy and dreadful penalties, both in the present world, and in the world to come. And the submission of the Brahmans to the injunctions of the Shastras is as complete, as the demands of the latter are broadly absurd and unreasonable.

Such is the despotic sway, with which these Shastras rule the consciences of their followers, and such is the slavish subjection which they exact from them, that gross absurdities and glaring contradictions, such as lie exposed even to the view of a child, are blindly passed by unnoticed. Or, if they inadvertently happen to perceive them, they immediately begin to suspect themselves of being guilty of blasphemy, and soothe their minds, and satisfy their consciences, by the ever-satisfactory argument, that "Whatever the Shastras say, can never be untrue." Such being the state of the native mind, we need no longer wonder, why the ancient Hindu writings should descend to us, through many centuries, untouched, unaltered, and unimproved. When two opposite theories on the same point,—as we shall have afterwards many occasions to see,—are *both* received as true, only because they have

both found a place in the Shastras, how can we reasonably expect, that any alteration in them could ever be thought of by such a credulous and cowardly people?

We need not wonder then, that the Hindu Shastras abound with physical errors of every kind and species. Science, we know, on the authority of universal history, has never been brought to perfection all at once, by the capacity, or efforts, of one single individual sage, or philosopher, however capacious his mind may have been, and how far soever he may have surpassed the people of his age, in point of genius, and acuteness of understanding; nor could even the united efforts of a body of philosophers, all living at the same time, accomplish the task. There is such a thing as the infancy of science, when, like the faculties of an infant child, or the properties of a rising bud, all its parts are not equally developed. Time matures the one, as the others; and this act of maturing is a gradual process in each case, with this difference only, that it is much slower in the former, than in the latter. Days mature a bud, and it blows into a flower: years bring a child to manhood, with the perfection of its faculties: but centuries are required, to make a science see its days of perfection. Truth never flows in profusion, like the waters of a fountain, or the drops of autumnal rain from the skies of Bengal; but comes out in sparks, like those that are struck out of the flint stone. Neither can you gather truth, like the flowers of a garden or wilderness, without labour or cost; but you must STRIKE, before you can expect to get the least spark. Universal nature is the great flint stone, and the genius of man, the steel; the one must be struck with the other, to bring out the sparks of truth.

Again the first efforts of the human mind, on scientific topics, as on every other, are crude and immature. Time, as we have already observed, perfects them, by the slow and gradual process of purging off the dross. No philosopher is known to have been altogether free from error. Whatever philosophers have given, especially those of ancient days, is found to be a mixture of truth and error. Out of this alloy, truth has been wrought, by continual and repeated processes of refinement, at the sacrifice of enormous sums of money, and incredible labour both of mind and body. Were such processes ever known among the sages of Hindustan? Would the philosophers of our country suffer their systems to be subjected to the scrutiny of others? And is there such boldness in the hearts of our countrymen, as to call in question, and subject to experiment, the statements of their

ancient teachers?—Neither our philosophers, on the one hand, who reckoned themselves to be infallible, would submit their opinions to the examination of those, whom they considered as little better than brutes; nor do the mass of our countrymen, on the other hand, possess such bravery and nobleness of mind, as to come forward, as improvers or reformers of the religion of their forefathers, and to subject to correction the writings of those, whom they either equal with the gods, or at least believe to be divinely inspired. What must then be the consequence of such presumption on the part of the one, and such slavish credulity on the part of the other? What else can it be, but that the theories, or conjectures, which have once been formed on scientific subjects by the ancient sages of India, exist in the same, crude, imperfect, and erroneous form, in which they were for the first time given to the world?

The Hindu Shastras are most copious on the subjects of geography and astronomy. Of the other physical sciences, we receive nothing but brief, dark and confused notices. The Indian sages of yore, handled, we read, such branches of knowledge, as natural philosophy, botany, anatomy, chemistry, &c.; but their knowledge of these subjects appears to have been peculiarly superficial, and extremely scanty. With regard to many of them we find nothing more than mere references made in the Shastras; and scarcely any one of them has been treated in a systematic or scientific form.

Again, limited as the knowledge of our countrymen is on scientific topics, that knowledge is remarkable only for extravagance of imagination, wildness of thought, and inaccuracy of description. The Hindu authors appear to have made their own imaginations, the only fountain of knowledge, and to have drawn from them information on every subject of human learning. Observation and experiment were not only wholly unused, but thought to be perfectly useless and unimportant. Truth had no charm in their sight. Nothing, but what was pompous, gaudy, splendid, brilliant, and marvellous, could find an admittance into their speculations. Nature, with her unfading and inexhaustible beauties, was a dead blank to their eyes. They strove to create for themselves imaginary worlds, filled with imaginary objects, and adorned with imaginary beauties. Whenever they stood in need of information, or wanted to account for any natural phenomenon, instead of applying to the real sources of knowledge, observation, experiment, intuition, &c., they adopted a very apt method of arriving at all knowledge, and solving every difficulty. They shut themselves into their respective closets, and there each

began to spin such a theory out, as might best suit his own liking. Hence, while the Hindu Shastras teem with wonders the most unnatural, and abound with errors the most ridiculous, they are equally distinguished for glaring contradictions, as we shall have afterwards many occasions to see.

Before proceeding further, we think it both necessary and advisable, to ascertain and enumerate what those works are, which, among the old Sanskrit writings of Hindustan, have come down as Shastras, that is, as authoritative writings, and which have always been honored, and are still respected, as the standards of the Hindu religion. This we do, partly for the purpose of corroborating the assertion, we have before made, that natural science, and other branches of secular knowledge, form as essential parts of Hinduism, as any purely theological subjects treated therein; and partly, because the upstart Vedantists of the present day, reckon every other Sanskrit work, as spurious and heretical, except the Vedas, and the commentaries upon them.

The Hindu Shastras are enumerated and classified, in the following manner, by the Hindus themselves:—

I. The four Vedas, viz. the Rik, Yayush, Sáma, and Atharva.

II. The Vedangas, or six Angas, or bodies of learning, (treatises subsidiary to the Vedas); comprehending, (1) Siksha, rules for reciting the Vedas; (2) Kalpa, treating of the ritual of the Vedas, and containing a detail of religious acts and ceremonies; (3) Vyákarana, treating of grammar; (4) Nirukta, or commentaries in the form of glosses; (5) Chhandas, or dissertations on metres; (6) Jyotish, explanatory of astronomy and astrology. These works are said to have been given by inspiration of God, to enable the Brahmans to read and understand the Vedas. Here, then, is a double inspiration,—that of the Vedas, and that of the Angas, which form the key, by which the Vedas are opened.

III. The Upángas, or inferior bodies of learning; namely, the Mimánsá, comprehending theology; Nyáya, logic and metaphysics; Dharma-shastra, institutes of law; and the Puránas, or legendary treatises, eighteen in number.

IV. The Tantras, containing rites of a most secret nature, some of which are exceedingly impure, by which a man is said to become Sheddya, or supernaturally gifted. They are also the great source, from which are drawn almost all the *Mantras*, by which the different manifestations of Shiva and Sakti are worshipped.

This enumeration is in perfect accordance with numerous

Hindu authorities. "The four Vedas." says the Vishnu Purána, "the six Angas, with Mimánsá, Nyáya, Dharma, and the Puránas, constitute the fourteen principal branches of knowledge: or, they are considered as eighteen, with the addition of these four, the Ayur-Veda, medical science as taught by Dhanwantari; Dhanur-Veda, the science of archery or arms, taught by Bhrigu; Gándharba-Veda, or the drama, and the arts of music, dancing, &c., of which the Muni Bharata was the author; and the Artha-Shastra, or science of Government, as laid down first by Vrihaspati." Though this Purána does not take any notice of the Tantras, yet we can safely affirm, that they form one of the great standards of the Hindus.

We shall notice first the *Geographical* errors, contained in the Hindu Shastras. The Hindus possess no treatise, that treats exclusively of geography. Systematic, or methodical, knowledge of this subject is not found among them. Indeed, geographical instruction, in the true acceptation of the term, is not to be got from any work, which forms a part of the Hindu Shastras. All that we meet with, on this head, are either mere references to geography, or information respecting the origin of the world, the rise of continents and islands, the mode in which the seas were formed, &c.; subjects, which more properly belong to cosmogony, than to geography. In some of the Puránas only, we find certain books, or sections, devoted solely to this subject, such as the fifth book of the Srimat Bhágabata the second book of the Vishnu Purána, and certain chapters of some other Puránas, as the Brahmá, Márkándeya, and Brahmánda, Puránas. But the geographical notices, which they contain, are chiefly remarkable for lawless extravagance of description. They speak of countries, mountains, rivers, &c., which are nowhere to be found on the surface of the real globe, and the very names of which do not appear in the writings of any other nation under the sun. The descriptions which they give of continents, seas, mountains, &c., are not geographical delineations, but high colored effusions of poetry, such as flow from excited imaginations.

I. The Hindu Shastras widely differ from, and flatly contradict, one another, in regard to the form of the earth.

The popular notion, which is maintained by some of the Puránas, is, that the earth is a flat plain of a *triangular* form. This idea has evidently arisen from the shape of India, which is like that of a triangle. As the Hindus, if not always, at least from a remote period, were forbidden to pass beyond the limits of their country,—all their knowledge was necessarily confined within the boundaries of Hindustan, which they gradually

came to look upon as the whole world. Natural circumstances assisted them to fall deeply into this error. India being on all sides either surrounded by water, or bounded by lofty chains of mountains,—its inhabitants, ignorant of the art of navigation, and unable to cross the mountains, naturally concluded, that there was nothing beyond the boundaries of their own observation. And though time and knowledge have enabled men to form paths over the mountains, and to sail over the wild ocean, yet the veneration, in which the Shastras are held by the Hindus, is so deep, and the word of the priest so powerful, that they still obstinately and blindly adhere to their erroneous notions, although contradicted by the experience of the whole world. Some Brahmans, especially those that have any intercourse with the European community, and have received some notion of the European method of investigating science, seem to be ashamed of their own Shastras, and positively deny, that the Puránas maintain the triangular form of the earth. A Pandit of no common rate, being asked by us, What is the shape of the earth, according to the Shastras? replied, "it is round like a *Bátábi Lebu*," a species of lemon, larger than an orange, but of the same form. His comparison, and our knowledge of his occupation,—for he is a teacher in the Fort William College,—made us suspect his honesty; and, being pressed, he tried to evade our questions by citing slokas, or texts, which had nothing to do with the matter in question. We then, to satisfy our mind, went to the Tola Pundits, or Adhyápakas, as they are generally called, who have no connection whatever with the Europeans; and they unanimously supported us, by saying, that the popular notion of the earth's triangular form is not groundless, but is based upon several of the Puránas and Tantras. We can therefore safely conclude, that the triangular form of the earth is an orthodox doctrine of the Hindu Shastras.

(2). The same Puránas teach, that the earth is a *circular* plain. This notion seems to be a more learned one, since the Pandits generally adopt it. Indeed the grand system of geography, now universally embraced by the Hindus, as will afterwards be seen, can never be upheld without this supposition. Here then we find two notions widely differing from each other, equally supported by the same authorities, which are professed to have been given by inspiration of Heaven. But what can be plainer, than that the same thing cannot both be triangular and circular at the same time? The absurdity of upholding two such opposing theories seems to be felt by many a Brahman of the present day. Hence some, who are more

enlightened than the rest of that sacred class, really feel ashamed at these glaring contradictions contained in their holy writings; and, being utterly at a loss to account for them, begin to suspect the inviolable purity of the Shastras. Some would even go the length of refusing to admit the Puránas into the number of their sacred works. But this they do not dare openly do; for, so doing, they would run the risk of being condemned as heretics, by the great mass of the people. Those, who are of a more subtle turn of mind, come forward, with their ever ready and extravagant conjectures, and their unmeaning, dark, and intricate logic, to explain away the difficulty in question. "Why," say they, "where is the difficulty so loudly spoken of? Is no body aware of the fact of there being a succession of ages, in each of which a new world,—a new universe, is formed by the great Author of all things? If so, is there then any necessity for supposing the Shastras, which are eternal, to deal only with the things of the present age? Then, then, you see," the subtle Brahmins continue, with a proud, self-conceited air, "the difficulty melts away, just as wax does in contact with burning fire. In some age, (this they say exultingly), the earth was of a triangular, in some other age, of a circular form. What, what," they continue, with triumphant laughter, thinking, they have for ever put to silence their opposers, "what have you to say to this? Are you not satisfied?—you must be by this time." Such is the tenor and force of the arguments, which the clear headed Brahmans of the Naiyáika school, bring forward to reconcile the differences in their sacred writings. But what are we to think of a people, who greedily devour these explanations as the fruits of supernaturally improved intellects, or rather as suggestions, that can only proceed from inspired heads? Need we here add, considering the wide diffusion of sound European knowledge among the Hindus, that both these suppositions, respecting the form of the earth, are utterly false; and that its real shape, as found by actual and accurate observations, is nearly that of a sphere, or globe?

(3). Besides the notion of the earth's being a uniformly flat plain, of a triangular or circular form, there is still *another* opinion, on the same subject, entertained by some of the more scientific writers of ancient Hindustan. Bhaskar Acharjya, of illustrious memory among the Hindu writers of yore, has clearly taught, in his famous astronomical work *Siddhánta Siromani*, that the shape of the earth is that of a sphere. But this notion of the globular form of the earth is now almost buried in oblivion, notwithstanding its philosophical accuracy;

though, when reminded of it, the Pandits of the present day, in spite of their obstinate attachment to the Puranic system, on which they absolutely depend for the success of their priestcraft, cannot but admit it, as an orthodox doctrine of the Hindu Shastras. It is because of the wide spread of the Puranic knowledge among the people of this country, that this true theory respecting the form of the earth, like some other sparks of truth, scattered here and there through the voluminous and unwieldy gatherings of oriental nonsense, has become all but obsolete.

II. With regard to the support of the earth, the authors of the Hindu Shastras err as egregiously, as respecting its shape or form ; nor do they less contradict one another in the former, than in the latter instance.

One supposition, and that which is the most popular, is, that the earth rests on the thousand heads of the infernal dragon Ananta, the great serpentine manifestation of Vishnu. The Hindu philosophers, who were always in the habit of judging from appearances, felt a great difficulty in conceiving how the earth could stand in empty space, without a prop, when they saw everything on its surface, unsupported, fall to the ground. While, therefore, they were thus compelled to assign an imaginary support for the earth, they felt, at the same time, the necessity of supposing that support to be without an end ; for the difficulty in question is not at all removed by any supposition, which makes the prop of the earth a finite object ; as, in this case, the same question, that was started in the beginning, can with equal force be asked again. Hence the Hindu writers, very ingeniously, as they themselves considered it, made the great upholder of the earth to be a monstrous serpent without termination ; and thought thereby to remove all the difficulty, that lay in the way, of accounting for the position of the earth in the immensity of space. How narrow must have been the knowledge of these sages, the boasted models of wisdom, and how limited the capacities of their understanding, not to have known the simple fact, that the earth requires no support at all ?

But this is not all. The theory of the interminable serpent was too simple to suit the minds of *all* the Hindu philosophers. They must have something more complicated, more prodigious, and more marvellous,—something better adapted to the peculiar turn of the native mind, which takes delight in nothing, but the most fantastic dreams of the imagination. Accordingly, the Hindu philosopher begins to work in his fancy, and brings out a theory, as remarkable for its novelty,

as for its wildness and extravagance. "The earth," says he, "is first placed on the heads of Ananta, which again stands on the back of a tortoise, which in its turn is supported by eight elephants, standing on eight sides." Though, in point of accuracy, both the former and the present theory stand on the same footing,—for they are both equally erroneous,—yet, viewed merely as theories, this is far inferior to the other. For it does in no way, not even by supposition, as the other does, clear the difficulty, which it proposes to remove. It gives no answer to the question, if the earth rest on a serpent, and the serpent on a tortoise, and the tortoise on eight elephants, what supports the elephants? We are aware, that many, who, without reading the original Shastras, receive the theory from the Pandits orally, are led to invert or change the order of the animals supposed to support the earth, placing Ananta always at the lower extremity, as a supposition more natural, and better calculated to solve the problem in dispute. But, whatever others may think, there is unquestionable authority to support the theory, as we give it. For instance, when Ráma, the great hero of the solar race, went to the kingdom of Mithila to compete for the hand of Jánaki, by breaking the formidable bow Gándiva, and, being animated with the spirit of chivalry, took the almost inflexible bow in his hand;—Lakshmana, his fond and favorite step-brother, looking at the furious aspect assumed by Ráma on the occasion, and feeling the ground tremble under his feet, addressed the earth and its supporters, in the following words:—

"O earth! do thou support the weight of Ráma: O Ananta! do thou sustain the burden of the earth and Ráma put together: O Kúrma Deva! uphold the weight of Ráma, the earth, and Ananta, all three combined; and O Dig Hastis! support the accumulated weight of Ráma, the earth, Ananta, and Kúrma, all put together."

Observe then the blindness of the Hindus, and the ignorance of their ancient teachers. If the necessity of a prop was felt by the sages of India, to keep the earth from falling to the depths of illimitable space, how did the theory framed obviate the supposed difficulty? To suppose a support of the earth, where there is none, is itself a gross error: to say, that that support is an enormous serpent with a thousand heads, which no man has ever seen, is highly to aggravate that error; but to maintain, that, besides the unknown dragon, there are eight stupendous elephants, and a mighty tortoise, sustaining the earth, is such a puerile extravagance of conception, that a parallel instance can scarcely be found, even in the romances and fables of the most rude and

uncultivated nation. The Pandit, whom we consulted on this point, and who cited the foregoing sloka of the Ramáyana, seemed to be utterly bewildered, when asked, What supports the lowermost elephants? After a long pause, he made the following reply:—"Why may not the elephants rest on the waters that are supposed to be below the earth;" "Yes," we said, "when we can suppose a thousand-headed serpent, a tortoise, and eight elephants under the earth, it is but an easy affair to imagine a subterranean ocean!"

Before we dismiss the consideration of this point, we think it proper to record the opinion of Bhaskar Achárjya in this place, for the sake of doing justice to his memory. Instead of following the foolish popular notion of the earth's resting on the heads of the serpent Ananta, the author of the *Siddhanta Sirománi* was of opinion, "that the earth is suspended in the air, by the hand of the Deity."

III. Nothing can exceed the grandeur, and at the same time, the wildness of the *theories*, of the Hindu geographers, regarding the superficies of the earth. For, what are called geographical descriptions in the Hindu scriptures can be viewed in no other light than as mere theories, although they are given with as much confidence, as a thorough conviction of their truth would warrant.

There appear to be two grand theories of the earth, brought forward in the sacred writings of the Hindus. The first of these supposes the world to be composed of seven concentric islands, or continents, which are separated from each other by as many seas, consisting of liquids very different in their natures. The following statement of this magnificent system we chiefly draw from the second book of the Vishnu Purána, which contains sixteen chapters, and treats of the earth, and the things above and below it. Of the seven great insular continents, Jambu is placed in the centre of the world. It is of a circular form, and surrounded by the sea of saltwater (Lavána). Next in order is the Plaksha Dwípa, which encircles the sea of saltwater, in the form of a belt, and is itself surrounded by the sea of sugar-cane juice (Ikshu). Then follow in regular succession, the Sálmali, Kúsa, Krauncha, Sáka, and Pushkara Dwípas, bounded severally by the seas of wine (Surá), of clarified butter (Sarpi or Ghee), of curds (Dadhi), of milk (Dugdha), and of fresh water (Jala). Beyond all these continents and seas, the Hindu geographers place a country of gold (Swarna Bhumi). This most extraordinary belt of land, according to their opinion, serves a very important purpose. It prevents the waters of the last, or the

furthermost ocean, from flowing off in all directions. Round this golden country, they imagine a circular chain of mountains, called Loká-loka. Beyond is the land of darkness, encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg.

But the most extravagant point, connected with this monstrous system, is perhaps the account given of the origin of the seven continents, and the seas by which they are divided. "Time was," says the inspired writer of the *Srimat Bhágavata*, "when the whole surface of the earth was one uniform and continuous plain, not intersected, as it since has been, by so many circular oceans. It was only at a later date, that the earth came to be so divided. Mark then the way in which the seas were produced. In the early part of the Satya Yug, or in the infancy of the world, there flourished an illustrious monarch, named Priyavrata, the son of Swayambhu, the first great king of the earth. This most beloved disciple of Vishnu, grieved at the inconvenience, under which his subjects labored in the darkness of night, proposed to himself the pleasant task of riding in his magnificent car, and giving light to the world, in the place of the Sun, after it was set in the west. And well might he undertake this business, for the splendour of his body equalled that of the meridian sun. Accordingly he rode in his splendid car, which had but a single wheel, and began to drive it with a motion as swift as that of the sun. He made only seven revolutions, and the furrows, which the wheel of his car made on the earth, became the seven mighty seas." It is much to be regretted, that while our author furnishes us with such a satisfactory account of the origin of the seven great oceans of the world, he leaves us in utter darkness, respecting the manner, in which they came to be filled with such sweet and pleasant contents;—especially, as we feel assured, that he could have given us, had he chosen, as much satisfaction on the latter head, as on the former.

The Hindu writers are as much mistaken, respecting the extent of the seas and continents, which form the system of the world, as respecting their origin and existence. They maintain in general, that each of the seven insular continents is twice the extent of that which precedes it, and that each sea is of the same extent with the country which it encloses. If therefore we take the extent of the Jambu Dwípa as unity, the extent of the sea of salt water should also be 1; that of the Plaksha Dwípa, and Ikshu sea, 2 respectively; that of Sálmali, and the sea of wine, 4 each; and so on of the rest, increasing in geometrical progression. The country of gold is said to be as large as the rest of the earth; and the breadth of the Loká-loka

mountains is equal to the tenth part of the central Dwípa. This seems to be very clear; but, under this apparent clearness, there is much ambiguity. What are we to understand by the *extent* of the seas and continents,—whether their breadth, or their circumference? We would not have entered on this useless and unprofitable discussion, had we not intended to record, in this place, the opinion of the Pandits on the subject, and the mode of reasoning which they employ to bring it to a decision,—which is too curious to be omitted. "Though the Puránas," say they, "in describing the extent of the seas and continents, seem to mean their breadth, yet as the seas were formed by the edge of the same wheel, they must all be of the same breadth; but, as it is said, that the extent of each sea is double the extent of that which precedes it, it is the circumference, not the breadth of the seas, that is thereby to be understood."

Such being the explanation given by the Pandits themselves, we need not in vain seek for a more satisfactory one, but proceed to notice the account given by the Hindu writers of the circumference of the *whole* earth.

With regard to the circumference of the earth, there is great difference of opinion. The generally received opinion on the subject, which is founded on some of the Puránas, is that the earth, with its continents and oceans, is 500,000,000 yojanas, or 4,000,000,000 miles, in extent. But, according to the Brahmánda Purána, the breath of Jambu is 100,000. Now following the rule above stated, that each continent is twice the extent of that which precedes it, and that the land of gold is equal in extent to the rest of the world, and that the breadth of the Loká-loka mountains is one-tenth of that of the central island, we first find the radius of the surface of the earth, and then from it we obtain something more than 304,860,000 yojanas for its circumference. Again the Tantras give an account different from both. According to the Shaiva Tantra, for instance, the circumference of the earth is said to be 25,350,000 yojanas only. Here then we have again one of the many instances in which Shastras contradict one another. But, which ever be the orthodox opinion, these accounts are all very far distant from the truth. Let us consider for a moment the magnitude of the error committed by the Hindu writers. The real circumference of the earth, as found by the most accurate observations and measurements, is only about 25,000 miles; but the Hindu sages maintain that it is one hundred and sixty thousand times that number. Indeed they make the circumference of the earth so prodigiously large, that it is more than sufficient to fill up the whole orbit of the earth round the sun.

One of the greatest defects in the character of the Hindu writers appears to have been an inordinate love for symmetrical arrangements of countries, mountains, rivers, &c.: and to this, geographical truth is unhesitatingly and at once sacrificed. They seem not to have had the slightest taste for natural beauties, which consist in points far different from harmony of numbers, and regularity of position. But, possessing only a relish for artificial painting, they have transferred their own notions to natural scenes and objects. Accordingly the delineations, which they have given of places on the surface of the earth, are purely artificial; and, possessing no regard for nature or truth, they have brought out, what may very properly be called, monstrous pictures of geographical nonsense, on the very face of which error is visibly stamped.

Priya Vrata, by the wheel of whose car the earth was divided into seven continents, had thirteen male children. Six of these embraced an ascetic life; the rest ruled the seven divisions of the earth. To Agnídhra was assigned the Jambu Dwípa; to Medhátithí, Plaksha; to Vápushmát, Sálmali; to Jyotishmat, Kúsa; to Dyutimat, Krauncha; to Bhavya, Sáka; and to Savala, Pushkara. With the exception of the sovereign of Jambu, each of the six other kings is said to have had *seven* sons, among whom he divided his kingdom into *seven* equal parts. Here there is only one point of similarity. But mark what follows. These *seven* divisions, in each of the six continents, are separated by *seven* chains of mountains, and *seven* rivers, lying breadth ways, and placed with such inclinations in respect to one another, that if a straight line be drawn through any chain of mountains or rivers, and its corresponding mountains or rivers on the other continents, and produced towards the central island, it would meet the centre of the earth. Now nature no where exhibits scenery like this. Marks of artificial contrivance are so palpably imprinted on this description, that were we even ignorant of all the parts of earth, except the narrow spot around our own dwelling, we would at once reject it, as a piece of elaborate fiction.

Among the number of countries, which we see on the maps of the real world, very few are wholly defined by natural boundaries; and, among these again, no two countries are bounded in the same way. But the Hindus will have all their countries, except those on the central island, similarly bounded,—and bounded by natural lines of demarkation, such as nowhere exist in the works of nature herself.

Agnidhra, to whose lot fell the central island of Jambu, had nine sons, among whom he equally portioned out his

dominions. The divisions of this Dwípa are not marked by any natural boundaries, but are artificial, with the exception of one, situated in the middle, in the form of a square, being on its four sides bounded by four ranges of mountains. It is but reasonable to expect, that the mode of *equally* dividing a continent, so circumstanced, must be something peculiarly curious. And so it is. The usual division of Jambu, (which, it must be remembered, is exactly of a circular form,) is into nine Khandas, or portions, which are perfectly equal in superficial contents, but of very different forms. Of these nine divisions, one, which is in the centre, is a perfect square; and, of the eight others, every two divisions are exactly of the same figure and dimensions. Conceive now the difficulty of dividing a circle in the manner above described. What mathematical formula enabled the ancient Hindus to solve this problem we long to know; and we heartily regret, that we do not find it in any parts of their writings. We are therefore led to conclude, that they must have been assisted in the task, by some of that supernatural agency, which they can so readily command.

The same extravagant, poetical tone is preserved by the authors of the Hindu Shastras, in their descriptions of mountains, countries, rivers, lakes, &c, as in those of seas and continents. The Hindu authors, when they describe these natural objects, seem to look at them through prisms and magnifying glasses, which show them adorned with the liveliest colors, and enormously distended in all directions.

Before proceeding any further, we should here remark, that the Hindu geographers seem to have formed to themselves a rule, which they are found nowhere to violate; viz., that of dividing the objects they treat of into two distinct classes, the *common*, and the *uncommon*. Of the former class, they generally give the bare names, or such descriptions as are remarkable only for brevity, and for the monotonous tone which pervades them. Accordingly, numberless names of mountains, countries, rivers, &c. are found in the Hindu Shastras; but of these we have scarcely been able to collect any thing further than their names. Very little is said about them in the Shastras.

Of the *uncommon* again, the descriptions of certain mountains are in the highest degree beautiful and magnificent, calculated to excite wonder, and delight the imagination, and well adapted to draw forth feelings of deep reverence in the minds of the vulgar.

In each of the nine divisions of the Central Dwípa, a

mountain, or a chain of mountains, is said to stand. In the centre of this continent stands the golden Meru, or Sumeru, the highest and the most exalted of all mountains. Towards the north are three ranges of mountains, Nila, Sweta, and Sringavan. Answering to these, in the south, are three other ranges, named Nishadha, Himacuta, and Himapráya. Between the ranges, to the north and south of Meru, the Puranics place two other ranges of mountains,—one on each side of Meru, running in a north and south direction. The western range is called Gandhamádana, and the eastern range, corresponding to the former, is known by the name of Mályaván. These are the nine chief hills, of which we propose to take some particular notice.*

We begin with the description of Mount Sumeru, the highest and the most glorious mountain on the face of the earth, according to the Hindus, who call it the great king of the hills, the mightiest sovereign of the mountains. It is the unanimous voice of all the Shastras, that mount Sumeru stands in the centre of the Earth, or, which is the same thing, in the middle of Jambu. In the *Mahábhárata*, it is described as follows:—

"There is a fair and stately mountain, and its name is Meru, a most exalted mass of glory; reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid surface of its gilded horns. It is clothed in gold, and is the respected haunt of Devas (gods) and Gandharbas (celestial singers). It is inconceivable, and not to be encompassed by sinful man; and it is guarded by dreadful serpents. Many celestial medicinal plants adorn its sides; and it stands, piercing the heavens with its aspiring summit,—a mighty hill, inaccessible even by the human mind. It is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and resoundeth with delightful songs of various birds." Book I. chap. 15. The *Brahmánda Purána*, gives the following description of the same renowned mountain:—"Meru (of gold,) of four colours, is the greatest of mountains; its body appears high in all its dimensions, of many colours all round. Eastward it is white, like the offspring of Brahmá, born from the navel of Vishnu. South, it is yellow, and appears like a Vaisya. West, it is like the dry leaves of a tree, and like a Sudra looks Meru of many names. North, it is red, like the dawning morn, and looks like a Kshetrya; these are conspicuous from their colours. Brahma, Indra, and all the gods, declare, that this largest of all mountains, is a form, consisting of jewels of numberless colours, the abode of various tribes. On this mountain are the heavens of Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairita, Vayu, Kuvera, and other gods."

Such is the general description given of this most wonderful mountain, the great Olympus of the Hindus.

* The names in the Vishnu Purána differ from these. Mályaván and Gandhamádana, as in the text, are on the west and east of Meru; and Nila and Nishadha are the northern and southern ranges. But it has Játhara and Devakúta, Trisringa and Jarudhi, for the other ranges. The Bhágavata again places Trisringa and Makara on the North; Játhara and Devakuta on the East; Kailasa and Karavíra on the South; and Pavana and Paripátra on the West.

But the most striking feature, connected with Sumeru, is the account given of its form and magnitude. The Hindus sometimes represent Mount Meru to be of a conical figure. To establish this opinion, they refer to the fact, that several kings of Hindustan were formerly in the habit of raising mounds of earth in that shape, which they used to venerate as the divine Meru, and gods were called down, by spells, to come and dally upon them. They are called Meru-Sringas, or the peaks of Meru. There are four such mounds, either in, or near Benares; and one, which is more modern and of course the most perfect, is at a place called Sai-natha. This opinion seems however to be unsupported by the Shastras, as far, at least, as we have been able to investigate. The most popular notion, which is supported by several of the Puránas, such as the Márkándeya, the Vishnu, and the Brahmánda Puránas, is, that the shape of the golden Meru is like an *inverted* cone;—a notorious instance of oriental fancy. The height of this mountain is said to be 84,000 yojanas, or 672,000 miles from the surface of the earth, and its depth below is 16,000 yojanas, or 1,28,000 miles. Its diameter or circumference (for in some books, it is said to be the *one*, in some, the *other*,) at the summit is 32,000 yojanas, or 2,56,000 miles, and at its base 16,000 yojanas, or 1,28,000 miles.

Here then we have a mountain, whose diameter at the bottom is 16 times, and at the top 32 times, the diameter of the earth upon which it is said to stand. Again, the mean distance of the moon from the earth, as found by the most accurate calculations, is about 2,40,000 miles. But here is a mountain, whose height, above the surface of the earth, is very nearly 3 times that distance. We are at a loss to know what to say to this. Has any Hindu, or any other man, ever seen this mountain, though it is said to rise much higher than the orb of the moon? Is it possible for a mountain, in height and magnitude several times greater than the earth, to stand on its surface? But this is not all. The Hindu authors, place at the lower extremity of this wonderful mountain, seven infernal regions called Talas, each extending downwards 7,000 yojanas,* or 56,000 miles. Their names according to the Bhágavata, are, Pátala, Talatala, Rasatala, Mohatala, Sutala, Vitala and Atala. In other Puránas, other names are given. All these subterranean regions are said to be parts of Mount Sumeru. Below these, again, and below the water, are placed the Narakas, or Hells,

* The Vishnu Purána gives 10,000 yojanas, or 80,000 miles.

properly so called, in which the wicked suffer various kinds of punishment, according to the crimes committed in their bodies. Where then is to be the end of these erroneous notions? We pause in despair to take notice of other things.

The descriptions of other mountains contained in the sacred writings of the Hindus, like those of Sumeru, abound with geographical errors of the grossest kind. There is no mountain which is less than some thousands of yojanas in height, and all are said to shine with splendid colors, and to be rich with brilliant jewels. Some of them are conceived to be of pure gold, and others to be entire masses of precious stones.

The following is a literal translation of the words of the *Brahmánda Purána*, descriptive of the eight other ranges of mountains said to stand on the central island of Jambu:—

"Himapraya or Himavana, full of snow; Hemakutaka, full of gold; Nishadha, resplendent with gold, like the rising sun; like the Vaidinya (Lapis Lazuli—gem), is the Nila mountain; Sweta, abounding with gold; Sringavan, like the feathers of the peacock; Gandhamádana, full of medicinal plants; and (8) Mályavána, full of sweet odour."

These are truly extraordinary mountains. Here for instance, we have one, looking like the Lapis Lazuli—gem, and another, having the appearance of the feathers of a peacock. Splendid pictures indeed,—but suited only to fables, not to natural science.

These mountains are said to extend from sea to sea; and therefore they are of different lengths, according to the latitudes they are in. They are taken two by two in order, one on the north, and another on the south of Meru. They are all of the same breadth and height. Those, on the east and west of Meru, are exactly equal in their three dimensions. Here then is another instance of artificial regularity being ascribed to the works of nature.

"I have mentioned," says the author of the *Brahmánda Purána*, "the breadth of Jambu, which is 1,00,000 yojanas. Now the breadth of the two middle ranges, Nila and Nishadha, are 10,000 yojanas less. Sweta and Hemacuta, are likewise 10,000 less than the two former; and so are Himavana, and Sringavan: Gandhamádana and Mályavána, are of the same length, breadth and height." All these mountains are said to be 2,000 yojanas broad, and as many high, or about 16,000 miles.

In all this the extravagance of the Shastra writers is so manifest, that the authors of some of the Puránas have tried to evade it, maintaining that the mountains were so formerly,

but that they have since subsided, and that the highest mountain now is not above one yojana in height. This excuse is made by the author of the *Kalika Purána*. With regard to these mountains it is farther to be observed, that they are all said, excepting the ranges on the east and west of Meru, to run parallel, and are all placed on the north of Himapraya, the outermost range towards the south. From the description given of this last mountain, namely, that it is full of snow, and situated on the north of Bharata Varsha, we are led to conclude, that it is none other than the Himalaya mountains, which is also the general opinion of the Hindus. Now do the accounts given in the Shastras hold true of these mountains? Are they 60,000 yojanas in length, and 2,000 yojanas high? But what are we doing? Are we seeking for accuracy in the accounts of the ancient writers of Hindustan? Vain task indeed! It is much, that we have been able to find out even *one* range of mountains corresponding to one of the ranges they treat of.

We shall now proceed to the descriptions of the nine great countries, or divisions, of the central continent; and show, that they contain errors of no less magnitude. In the centre of Jambu Dwípa is the Varsha, or division, called Ilavrita: it is a perfect square, and in its middle stands the golden Meru: to the east is Bhadraswa, and to the west Ketumala, or simply Ketu. Between the three ranges of mountains, lying to the north of Ilavríta, there are two countries, Ramyaka and Hiranmaya (or the country full of gold); and, between the three chains of mountains on the south, lie the divisions called Harivarsha, and Kinnara, or Kimpurush. The extreme northern division, which is situated on the north of the Sringavan mountains is called Kuru; and that lying on the south of Himalaya, or the extreme southern division, is the well known Bharata Varsha. These countries are said to be so enormously large, that the real earth has not space sufficient to contain one of them. They are each supposed to be, as we have before observed, perfectly equal in superficial contents; therefore it is quite sufficient to have the area of one of them, and this we find in the *Brahmánda Purána*, which says, "close to the Gandhamádana, along the banks of Apara Gandika, is the county of Ketumala, 34,000 yojanas in length, and 32,000 broad" which gives 1,088,000,000 square yojanas, or 69,632,000,000 of square miles, for the area of each of the countries, on the island of Jambu. According to the Hindu theory also, the form of Bharata Varsha is that of the segment

of a circle. Now by this division the Hindus universally understand the country of Hindustan; and so it must be,—for that is the only country lying between the Himalaya, and the sea of salt, or Indian Ocean. But the shape of India is not the segment of a circle: and the Hindu sages, in making it so, have committed a gross blunder.

In their descriptions of rivers, like remarkable instances of high colored fictions are met with. Soaring above the level of sublunary affairs, they give us rivers, whose sources are traced to heaven, whose currents pass over the orb of the moon, and whose streams flow with honey and living water.

The principal rivers, that are said to water the plains of Jambu, are four in number. They are declared to be the branches of one original river, the Ganges, called Swarganga, or Mandakini, in the Puránas. Most extraordinary accounts are given of its rise, and its passage to the earth. It is supposed to flow from under the feet of Vishnu at the pole star, and, bathing in its passage the orb of the moon, to pour down upon the summit of Meru, where it divides into four streams, which run towards the four cardinal points. For a more minute description of these wonderful streams, we quote passages from two of the most renowned Puránas. In the *Vayu Purána* the following account is given:—

"The water, or Ogha, coming down from heaven, like a stream of Amrita, upon Meru, encircles it, through seven channels, for the space of 84,000 yojanas, and then divides into four streams, which falling from the immense height of Meru, rest themselves in four lakes, from which they spring over the mountains through the air, just brushing the summits."

"Hear, now," says the author of the *Brahmánda Purána*, "what divine streams issue from the lakes, abundant with Ogha, living water. The water of the ocean, coming from heaven upon Meru, is like Amrita; and from it arises a river, which, through seven channels, encircles Meru, and then divides into four streams, springing over towards the four cardinal points."

Then follows a very minute description of these four streams, of which we merely give an abridgement. The first overflows mount Mandara, and waters the country of Bhadraswa. The southern branch goes to Gandhamádana. Mahadeva received it on his own head, from which, spreading over all his body, its waters become most efficacious. The stream called Mahabhaga (or Chakshu), most propitious, passes through Ketumála. North

from Meru, there falls a branch, called Bhadra, upon Supárswa, the mountain of gold. Each of these four streams is said first to fall into a lake, or encircle a forest, and then to ascend to the top of a mountain!

Besides these chief rivers, there is another, which deserves some attention. This is the river called Jambu, from which the central Dwípa derives its name. The description of this river, though short, is yet perhaps of all the most wonderful. It is said to flow from the mount Sumeru. "From this mountain," say the Hindu Shastras, "issues the Jambu river flowing with honey: in it is found the gold called Jambu-nada, with which the gods are adorned. From it Jambu derives its name."*

What an ocean of blunders is here! A river, flowing from the feet of a god, and, breaking through the concave of the heavens, issues from the pole star;—a point too high and heavenly for our humble capacities. This river, in its way downwards, meets the moon, and pours its waters over that luminary!—a description probably written under the influence of her rays.

Before we take leave of this subject, we think it worth our while to take some brief notice of the sacred stream of the Ganges, as being undoubtedly the most renowned and sanctified of all the rivers spoken of in the Shastras. Bhagíratha, when conducting her from Hurdwar, is said to have traced with the wheels of his chariot two furrows, which were to be the limits of her encroachments. The distance between them is by some supposed to have been four *kos*, by others, four yojanas; and it is said, in spite of eye demonstration, that she has never been known to overflow on either side. She falls into the ocean according to some, through seven channels; according to others, through a hundred mouths. But the most extraordinary circumstance, connected with the accounts given of this river, is the description of its course, through the various parts of the universe; which is as follows:—"The Ganges flows through the Gandharbas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Rákshasas, Vedyadaias? Nagas (or large snakes), Kalápagramakas, Páradas, Swiganas,

* The account in the Vishnu Purána is somewhat different. The Jambu Dwípa derives its appellation, according to it, from a Jambu tree, extending over 1,100 yojanas. Its apples are as large as elephants; and, falling, when rotten, on the crest of the mountain, their juice oozing out forms the Jambu river. The waters of this stream have such healing virtue, that all, who drink of it, pass their days in content and health, being subject, neither to perspiration, foul odours, decrepitude, nor organic decay. The soil, absorbing the Jambu juice, and dried by the wind, becomes the gold, named Jambu-nada.

Swasis, Kiratas, Pulíndas, Kurus, Pánchálas, Kásis, Matsyas, Magadhas, Angas, Bangas, Kalingas, Tamaliptas."

Observe the wild grandeur of the description! A river, far different from our common streams, runs, not merely through countries, provinces, and districts, inhabited by a low and insignificant race of creatures, called men, but passing through higher regions, occupied, either by the most glorious, or by the most dreadful beings of creation,—by races, of heavenly musicians and songsters, of giants and demons, of the most beautiful beings in nature, of mighty serpents, and through tribes and countries, known and unknown, which few now-a-days have ever seen or heard of.

We shall next briefly notice the islands, that are said to be scattered in various parts of the seven great seas, or oceans. Besides the seven great insular continents, which are called Maha-Dwípas, there are several other smaller islands, which, to distinguish them from the former, are called Upadwípas, or inferior islands. We shall notice only two things, concerning these,—their number and their origin. They are said to be exactly 1,000 in number;—a wonderful example of the minute accuracy of the Hindu geographers.

These islands, according to the Hindu Shastras, did not exist from the beginning of the world, but were subsequently formed by the operation of supernatural agency. What this agency was, we of course long to know. Was it by the action of volcanic force that these islands were raised up? Or, were they formed in the same way, by which the sand-banks rise? No; these are ways too commonplace to win favour from the Hindu sages. They must have something far more marvellous. Accordingly they proceed in the following manner:—In the first age of the world, King Sagar, who had sixty thousand children born in a pumpkin, celebrated the great sacrifice of the horse. The horse, which he had brought for this great object, when travelling unrestrained through the various parts of the world, was missing. No one could tell where he was gone, or by whom he was taken away. The sixty thousand sons of the king, being very sorry for the loss of the horse, without which all the preparations would go for nothing, began to explore every corner and creek of the world, with the hope of finding out the animal at all hazards. But, their efforts proving fruitless, they began to suspect, that the horse might have gone down into the infernal regions. Hence, with the view of opening a passage down to those dismal places, they be-

gan to work in the bottom of the sea;—digging up the earth, and throwing it into heaps, which in time became islands. Such is the account given of the formation of the islands. If the question be asked, How could the sons of Sagar dig in the bottom of the ocean without being drowned? the Hindu writers give the following reply;—At the time, when the islands were dug up by the numerous progeny of the king, from whom the sea derives its name, the bed of the ocean was dry, Agastya having previously swallowed its waters at one sip. If indeed it be possible for a human being to have sixty thousand children, and for men to raise 1,000 islands by manual labor, what is there to prevent a Rishi from drinking up the waters of the universal ocean, and thereby making its bottom dry?

The account given of the formation of lakes is equally extravagant. We shall give only one example as a specimen. The lake called Mansaravara, the same as Mánasa, one of the four principal lakes mentioned in the Shastras, is declared to have been formed by drops of water falling from the hairs of Mahadeva, when he received the holy stream of the Ganges from heaven on his head. Hence this lake is also known by the more significant name of Vindusáravara.

Besides the principal countries, mountains, rivers, and lakes, of which we have already spoken, the Hindu geographers give us accounts of other inferior countries, mountains, valleys, and rivers, whose number and extent exceed all belief. The *Brahmánda, Vayu,* and *Brahmá Puránas* are most copious on these subjects. In each of the divisions of Jambu, hundreds and hundreds of countries, mountains, rivers, &c. are said to exist, the bare names of which would fill up more space than we can allow. With respect to the descriptions given of these imaginary places, they are stamped by the same puerile extravagance of thought, which characterizes the Hindu writings in general.

The Hindu Shastras furnish us with yet another very striking theory of the earth. The notices, which we possess respecting it, are chiefly extracted from the *Bhágavata, Brahmánda,* and *Brahmá Puránas.* It represents the earth, under the emblematical representation of a padma (lotus), floating on the ocean. The following passage of the *Brahmánda Purána* will serve as an authority:—

"The great God, the great omnipotent, omniscient, one, the greatest in the world, the great Lord, who goes through all the

worlds, is born a moulded body of flesh and bones, made, whilst himself was not made. His wisdom and power pervade all hearts; from his heart sprung this padma (lotus) like world in times of old. When this flower was produced by Vishnu, then from his navel sprung the worldly lotus, abounding in trees and plants."

The germ of this amazing lotus is Sumeru; and the mountains, with which Meru is surrounded, are as its petals and filaments. The four leaves of the calyx are the four vast Dwípas or countries, towards the four cardinal points. In the intermediate spaces, are eight external leaves placed two by two; these are the eight subordinate Dwípas. The names and positions of the four great countries, or Máha-Dwípas are as follows:—To the north is Uttara Kuru; to the south is Jambu; Bhádráswa is to the east, and Ketumála to the west. In the intervals, lying between every two of the principal countries, are the following inferior islands: Swarná prastha, Chandra sucla, Avarttana, Ramanaka, Mandahára, Lanká, Sinhalá, and Sánkha.

Who would not be struck with the ingenuity of the Hindu theorists? They have accurately finished their task. The comparison between the earth and a lotus is perfect and complete. To every part of the flower, a counterpart is found in the world. Proof or evidence has nothing to do with the matter. Similies, allegories, illustrations, are taken for proofs. This is the universal tendency of the genuine native mind.

Meru, and its surrounding mountains, which form the most prominent objects of the system of geography we are now considering, are thus described in the Brahmánda Purána:—

"In the middle, Meru is hollow like the germ of the lotus. Its breadth is above 32,000 yojanas: its circumference twice that added to it. The circumference of the germ, Karnika, is 90,000 yojanas; the internal circumference is 84,000: the stamina, and filaments, extend lengthwise to the number of 100,000; and their circumference is 300,000 yojanas. The four petals are 80,000 yojanas long, and as many broad. I am now going to describe this great and wonderful Karnika, the germ or pericarp.

"It consists of 100,000 angles. Bhrigu says 3,000; Sávarni, 8,060; Varsháyani, 1,000. Bhagari says, it is square; Galava, that it is hollow; Gramya (?) that it is like an egg, with the broad end below; Garga, like three twisted locks of hair; whilst others will have it to be spherical. Every Rishi represents

this lord of mountains, as it appeared to him from his station. Brahma, Indra, and all the gods declare, that this largest of all mountains, is like gold, like the dawning morn, resplendent with 1,000 petals, like 1,000 water-pots, with 1,000 leaves.

"Within, it is adorned with the self-moving cars of the gods, all beautiful. In its petals are the abodes of the gods, like heaven; in its 1,000 petals, they dwell with their consorts. Above, is Brahma, with 1,000 gods; in the east, Indra; between the east and south is Agni, &c., with their respective Loks and Rishis.

"Such is the pericarp, above the surface of the earth. Its circumference at the surface of the earth is 48,000 yojanas."

This description presents a striking instance of Hindu authors positively contradicting one another. The Rishis, Bhrigu, Savárni, Varsháyani, all differ from one another, respecting the number of angles which the pericarp contains; while Bhaguri, Gálava, and Garga give us equally conflicting accounts of its shape.

We annex a Map of this renowed Meru, drawn by the pandits themselves. It professes to be founded on the description of the mountain, contained in the *Srimat Bhágavata*. We received it from a native gentleman, to whom it was presented by a pandit. The map appears to be as wonderful, as the mountain which it represents. Beginning from its bottom, the spaces or rooms marked E, are the seven Talas below the mountain; and t′ is the place for the spirits of the dead. G is the gate of virtue, g of heaven, and g′ of hell. The column, exactly in the middle, contains the heavens of the gods and of god-like beings. In the columns, to the right and left of this, are the habitations of various tribes of celestial or aerial beings, either good, or wicked. The rooms, on the left of the map, marked H are the heavens, in which the fruits of good actions are enjoyed. The names of these good deeds, of various sorts, will be found generally in their respective heavens. The rooms on the right, marked H′ are hells, in which the wicked suffer various kinds of punishments, according to the nature of their guilt. The names of different sorts of vices also will be found in each hell. There is some ingenuity in the arrangements of the heavens and hells with their corresponding good or bad actions, as can be easily perceived by inspecting the map. The names of the heavens and hells, it should be remarked, are so significant, that they at once indicate the nature of the happiness, or pain, to be enjoyed, or suffered, in them. Besides these general features, there are several other

particulars which deserve notice, but for these we simply refer to the map itself.*

* We subjoin a complete list of the heavens, hells, &c. Their arrangement will be easily understood by referring to the numbers in the map. In the popular system the hells lie *under* the Talas.

1. Golaka.
2. The power of ignorance.
3. True Light.
4. Vaikun*tha*.
5. Sri Parbramha Nárâyana
6. The quality of goodness.
7. Vishnuloka.
8. Mahatatwa.
9. The five Airs.
10. The five Natures.
11. The five Senses.
12. The five principles of life.
13. Panchatawa.
14. The region of Goodness.
15. The region of devotees.
16. Janaloka.
17. Maharloka.
18. Swarloka.
19. Bhuvarloka.
20. Bhurloka.
21. The Gate of Virtue.
22. The region of the dead.
23. Pátála.
24. Talátala.
25. Rasátala.
26. Mahátala.
27. Sutala.
28. Vitala.
29. Atala.
30. The quality of passion.
31. Bramhá.
32. Dhruvaloka.
33. Bishákha Mandala.
34. The region of the Sun.
35. The region of Mars.
36. The region of Jupiter.
37. The region of Saturn.
38. Ketuloka.
39. Yakshaloka.
40. Gandharbaloka.
41. Kinnaraloka.
42. Kuveraloka.
43. Varunaloka.
44. Indraloka.
45. The Gate of Heaven.
46. The heaven of goodness.
47. The heaven of Indra.
48. A gift of a kingdom.
49. Sankhyaswarga.
50. A gift of gold.
51. The heaven of joyfulness.
52. A gift of a daughter.
53. Vaikun*tha* Swarga.
54. A gift of life.
55. Nishkama Swarga.
56. Nibandha Swarga.
57. A gift of an Umbrella.
58. Sádhusebá.
59. Faith.
60. Deva Swarga.
61. A gift of a cow.
62. Mukti Swarga.
63. A gift of an elephant.
64. Brahma Swarga.
65. A gift of the earth.
66. The heaven of desire.
67. A gift of cotton.
68. Teja Swarga.
69. The heaven of Shiva.
70. A gift of learning.
71. Guru's Service.
72. The seven heavens.
73. A gift of boiled rice.
74. The heaven of enjoyment.
75. A gift of boiled rice.
76. The heaven of happiness.
77. Mantradána.
78. Apsará Swarga.
79. A gift of jewels.
80. Ashoka Swarga.
81. Náma Swarga.
82. Bachana Dána.
83. Hari's Service.
84. Máyá Swarga.
85. A gift of fruits.
86. Chitta Swarga.
87. Brata dána.
88. Varuna Swarga.
89. A gift of Virtue.
90. The heaven of Hari.
91. Pujá dána.
92. Yaksha Swarga.
93. A gift of Amrita.
94. The Heaven of virtue.
95. A gift of flowers.
96. Yoga Swarga.
97. A gift of a chariot.
98. The heaven of Brahmá.
99. A gift of clothes.
100. Kuvera Swarga.
101. A gift of a Palanqueen.
102. Tapo Swarga.
103. A gift of water.
104. The quality of darkness.
105. The region of Shiva.
106. The seven Saints.
107. The circle of Anurádhá
108. The region of the moon
109. The region of Mercury.
110. The region of Venus.
111. Apsaraloka.
112. Ráhulok.
113. Pisáchaloka.
114. Pretaloka.
115. Bhútaloka.
116. Chitrapuptaloka.
117. Dharmaloka.
118. The region of Yoma.
119. The gate of Hell.
120. Keeping of bad Company.
121. Reproaching the Vedas.
122. Vaimohana Naraka.
123. Speaking against Sacred places.
124. Tamishra Naraka.
125. Speaking ill of devotion.
126. Adhatámishra Naraka.
127. Reproaching one's father.
128. Mahárauraya Naraka.
129. Reviling the Saints.
130. Sukaramukha Naraka.
131. Reviling Hari.
132. Suchimukha Naraka.
133. Absorption.
134. Reviling Yajna.
135. Vishwabhojana Naraka.
136. Reviling the gods.
137. Parjapat Naraka.
138. Reviling acts of charity.
139. Abatani Naraka.
140. Reviling faith.
141. Trishnabarta Naraka.
142. Reviling Munis.
143. Raurava Naraka.
144. Paranindá.
145. Kumbhipáka Naraka.
146. Reviling religion.
147. Shálapreta Naraka.
148. Reviling act of merits.
149. Tamradhara Naraka.
150. Reviling Yoga.
151. Chhuridhára Naraka.
152. Reviling Brahmá.
153. Chhurádhára Naraka.
154. Reviling Shiva.
155. Kálasutra Naraka.
156. Reviling virtuous men.
157. Maharaurava Naraka.
158. Reviling Vishnu.
159. Taptabaitarani.
160. Reviling the wise.
161. Vish*ta* Naraka.
162. Reviling the king.
163. Bhutadraha Naraka.
164. Reviling men.
165. The hell of hot ground.
166. Reviling Brahmanas.
167. Dantasáka Naraka.
168. Reviling works of merit.
169. Sámali Naraka.
170. Reviling the heavens.
171. Adhomukha Naraka.
172. Reviling the fruits of good works.
173. The hell of worms.
174. Reviling caste.
175. Samasa Naraka.
176. Máya Nindá.
177. The hell of fire.

This list contains several repetitions, and differs from the fuller list of the Vishnu Purána. We give it as a curious illustration of living popular superstition.

Before we bring the subject of Hindu geography to a close, we think it desirable, to take a cursory view of India, or Bhárata Varsha, of which the Puránas give a most splendid and minute, but by no means very correct, description. The first error, which the Hindu geographers commit on this subject, respects the form of India, which is, as we have previously seen, said to be that of the segment of a circle. The second is still more gross: for the Vishnu Purána makes it 9,000 yojanas—or 72,000 miles, from North to South.

The main divisions of Bhárata Varsha, are nine in number, viz. Indra Dwípa, Kaserumat, Támravarna, Várána, Gabhastímat, Kumárika, Naga, Saumya, and Chandra Dwípa. The first and the last of these divisions are, in general, called Gandharba Khanda, being supposed to be the abode of gods, with their usual retinue of heavenly musicians. Through the seven remaining divisions, seven rivers are said to flow. They have a common source in the lake, from which issues the Ganges. To the east flow Naliní, Pavaní, and Hládiní; to the west, Sitá, Chakshú and Sindhu; and in the middle is the Bhagirathí. So says the Váyu Purána: but the others differ widely.

Besides these principal divisions of India, there are recorded a great number of smaller sub-divisions, of which we mean to give the number only, not the names, which are too tedious to be mentioned. With regard to these minor sections of Bhárata Khanda, it is to be observed, that they afford a remarkable instance of what we have repeatedly remarked, that the Hindu Shastras abound with names of places, which are nowhere to be found. The following list will exhibit the truth of this assertion:—

	Divisions.	*How many can be found.*
In the centre of India	38	4
East	17	2
South-east	21	2
South	35	5
South-west	24	0
West	19	1
North-east	13	0
North	38	0
North-west	23	0
Total	228	14

Of the two hundred and twenty-eight divisions of India, which we read of in the *Márkándeya Purána*, we could find only fourteen (a very insignificant minority indeed) to correspond with real places in the country; the rest have names and names only.

Here we close our researches into the geography of the Hindus. Enough has been said, we hope, to show the grossness of their errors on the subject. We have dwelt rather too long upon it ; but we have done so for the purpose of pointing out the different *kinds* of errors, into which the Hindu authors have fallen—as well as to show the peculiar features and tendencies of their character and genius. The remarks, which we have made, will be found to apply equally to other sciences known among the Hindus, on which therefore we shall try to be as brief as possible.

We next proceed to point out the errors of the Hindu *astronomy*. With regard to this most important branch of knowledge, a distinction should be made between their Puranic and scientific systems of astronomy. The scientific treatises of astronomy, called the Siddhantas, are so little known among the Hindus, that they can scarcely be regarded to form any part of the popular belief. To that system of astronomy then, which is founded on the Puránas, as to that which alone is popularly believed, we direct our attention. How much Hinduism is in danger, from the diffusion of such astronomical knowledge, will be best understood from the following specimens.

We find the arrangement of the *solar* and *stellar systems*, thus described in the Vishnu, Padma, Kúrma, and Váyu, Puránas. The firmament, or the sphere of the sky, called Bhuvar-loka, is said to be of the same extent, both in diameter and circumference, with the sphere of the earth, or Bhúr-loka, which extends, with its oceans, mountains and rivers, as far as it is illuminated by the rays of the sun and moon. The Earth is supposed to be the centre of the system ; around which revolve, in regular succession, the Sun, the Moon, the lunar constellations, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the orbit of Ursa Major, and the Pole star. The History of Astronomy furnishes us with several erroneous systems, formed since the infancy of that science: but where can we find a system so absurd and extravagant, as that framed by the inspired sages of Hindustan ? Here the sun is placed nearest to the earth, and the moon is supposed to be higher than the sun ! Of the constellations, some are placed lower than the orbit of Mercury ; one is placed beyond the orbit of Saturn ; and another at the farthest distance of all; while all these heavenly bodies are supposed to move round the earth, which is fixed in the centre !

With like absurdity, the solar orb is placed 100,000 yojanas, or 800,000 miles, from the earth: the space between them is

the residence of the Siddhas, a race of demi-gods. The distance from the sun to the moon is equal to that of the sun from the earth, or 800,000 miles. At the same interval above the moon occurs the orbit of all the lunar mansions. Two hundred thousand yojanas, or 1,600,000 miles, above the lunar constellations, is the planet Budha (Mercury). Sukra (Venus) is at the same distance from Mercury, and Mangala or Angáraka (Mars) is as far above Venus. At the same distance, still ascending, is Vrihaspati (Jupiter), the priest of the gods; while Sani (Saturn) is as far from Jupiter according to some, but according to others, 250,000 yojanas from the same planet. Ursa Major,(the sphere of the seven Rishis or canonized saints,) is 100,000 yojanas above Saturn; and, at a similar height above the seven Rishis, is Dhruva, the pole star.

The Hindu sages surely, while spinning out such theories of the heavens, never could have dreamed of the arrival of these wicked times, when men no longer make imagination the source of all science, but depend solely on actual observation and measurement,—or else they would never have run the risk of exposing themselves so egregiously.

But we are carried still higher in the Vishnu Purána. At the distance of 10,000,000 yojanas above Dhruva, lies the sphere of the saints, or Mahar-loka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it throughout a Kalpa, or day of Brahma. At twice that distance is situated Jana-loka, where the pure-minded sons of Brahmá reside. Rising still higher, at four times the distance between the two last, lies the Tapo-loka, (the sphere of penance), inhabited by the deities called Vaibhrájas, who are unconsumable by fire; and at six times the distance, or twelve crores, (120,000,000 yojanas,) is situated the Satya-loka, the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death.

Thus the Hindu astronomers deeming it too great humiliation on their part to treat only of known heavenly bodies, have attempted very successfully to preserve their dignity by the invention of certain heavenly spheres, which no instrument, to whatever perfection it may be brought, can ever disclose.

The origin of the *planets*, according to the Puranic system, was as follows:

In the first part (quarter) of the Treta Yuga, the daughters of Daksha were born, of whom he gave twenty-seven to the moon; who became the twenty seven lunar Asterisms. From this union the Hindu Astronomers have feigned the birth of four of the planets. Mercury is born of Rohiní; hence he is called Rohineya after his mother. Maghá brought forth the

beautiful planet Venus, otherwise called Maghaba. Ashádhá brought forth Mars, hence called Ashádhá-baba; and Jupiter, being born of Purvaphalguni, was called Purvaphalguni-baba. Saturn is supposed to have originated from the shadow of the earth, at the time of the churning of the ocean, or the war between the gods and the giants. To the same period is assigned the birth of the Moon, the account of which is too interesting to be omitted. "When they (the gods) heard the words of Nárayana, they all returned again to the work, and began to stir about with great force that butter of the ocean; when presently, there arose from out of the troubled deep, first the moon, with a pleasing countenance, shining with ten thousand beams of gentle light. The moon, as swift as thought, instantly marched away towards the Devas, keeping in the path of the sun."

It should always be remembered, that of the fact, that these planets are bodies composed of matter, and immensely large, they seem to have been quite ignorant: for no where in their writings do we find the least indication of such a supposition. They describe the planets as living beings, of a superior order to man, and sometimes rank them with the Gods. At the same time they speak of them as orbs, each with its respective inhabitants;—a mass of obscurity, which cannot be pierced through. We sought for the assistance of many pandits to make the matter plainer to us, but all of them signally failed.

The *Sun*, in this system, is supposed to ride through the heavens, on a most glorious car, drawn by seven white horses. The rays of light proceed neither from the chariot, nor from the body of the sun, but from a most brilliant *mandala*,* or seat, that is placed within the car. This mandala, the seat of the sun, is circular; hence does he appear round to the sight of men. The sun is said to move round Meru, by which the alternate succession of day and night happens to the inhabitants of the terraqueous globe. His orbit is bounded by the Loká-loka mountains, which is the utmost limit of his declination, and beyond which he cannot pass. The purest rays of the sun, or more properly of its mandala, are not always emitted to terrestrial beings; since they sometimes pass through the medium of the body of Aruna, the charioteer, who is fabled to sit in the front of the car, wherein the father of Dharma, the Sun, is seated in his majestic grandeur.

We cannot pass over this description of the Sun without one or two observations. The sun, which is a vast material

* A mandala is properly a diurnal revolution of the sun, or one degree nearly.

world, 13,80,000 times larger than our earth, is reduced to an insignificant car, with an imaginary being placed within it. The world-enlightening rays of the sun, which proceed from the luminous clouds by which it is surrounded, are attributed to a small shining plate, believed to be the seat of the regent of that luminary,—to which again a progressive motion is assigned, while, in truth, it is stationary. The Vedas are perhaps the best authority for Hindu Astronomy. In them the sun is supposed to be born of fire, into which he *literally* enters, when setting, and from which he is actually re-produced every morning!

The description of the *moon* is, in many particulars, substantially the same, as that given of the sun. The moon* is supposed to move round Meru on a splendid chariot, and his light emanates from a brilliant seat placed within his car. But there is one thing peculiar to the lunar orb. At the total wane of the moon, the Puránas describe him to be exactly above the sun, in a perpendicular line with that luminary, by which his light is prevented from descending to the earth. The different *phases* of the moon are attributed to a cause still more marvellous. This beautiful planet, on account of doing some wrong, was cursed by his father-in-law, which extremely grieved him. By the interposition of his wives, however, his father-in-law was disposed to withdraw his anathema; but as the word of such a great person can never be recalled, he mitigated the sentence, and addressed the moon in the following words: "Thou shalt not die, but shalt alternately increase and decrease in perpetual rotation." From that time, the moon can never be full, but once in a month; and he must once be apparently dead in the same time, as a punishment for offending a superior. The Vedas again declare that "the moon is born of the sun." They add, that "The moon at the conjunction disappears within the sun;" on which the commentator makes the following remark:—"The moon disappears within the sun at the conjunction; but is re-produced from the sun on the first day of each bright fortnight." Thus the Puránas place the moon at the conjunction directly above the sun, while the Vedas make him enter its orb.

The *fixed stars* are styled, in the Hindu Shastras, Nakshatraloka, that is, a race of celestial beings, who are supposed to come down, and be born again in human frames, after a fixed period of their airy residence. A fuller description of these luminaries will be given hereafter. The milky way, or galaxy,

* The moon is supposed in the Hindu Shastras to be of the male sex.

is termed a river, one of the *tridharas* of the Gunga, when she passes through heaven.

We have reserved, for the last, the theory of the Hindus respecting the *Eclipses* of the sun and moon. The writers of the Puránas affirm, that a monster, or rather the severed head of a giant called *Ráhu*, now and then attempts to grasp the sun and moon in their orbits, on account of an old enmity that subsisted between them. This giant approaches, and threatens to devour them. He does not indeed venture to touch them, yet his enormous head intercepts their rays, and thereby produces that extraordinary phenomenon called an eclipse. The enmity between *Ráhu* on the one hand, and the sun and moon on the other, arose out of a singular event. It is thus described in the *Mahábhárata*, in the famous story of the churning of the ocean: "And it so fell out, that whilst the Suras were quenching their thirst for immortality, *Ráhu*, an Asura, assumed the form of a Sura, and began to drink also. The water had but reached his throat, when the sun and moon, in friendship to the Suras, discovered the deceit; and instantly Náráyana cut off his head, as he was drinking, with his splendid weapon chakra. And the gigantic head of the Asura, emblem of a mountain's summit, being thus separated from his body by the chakra's edge, bounded into the heavens with a dreadful cry; whilst his ponderous trunk fell, cleaving the ground asunder, and shaking the whole earth to its foundation, with all its islands, rocks, and forests. And from that time the head of *Ráhu* resolved on eternal enmity, and continueth even unto this day, to strive at times to seize upon the sun and moon."

Let us turn now to the *Physical Geography* of the Hindus. Nothing can be more ridiculous for a man, than to pretend to know every thing, while in truth he knows nothing: yet such has been the case with the Philosophers of Hindustan. For instance, they notice several phenomena, which form the subjects of physical geography, and attempt to explain them; but their explanations are as far from the truth, as the north Pole is from the south. A few examples will be sufficient to shew the extravagant and erroneous mode, in which they account for some of the most familiar natural appearances.

Nothing perhaps is better calculated to shew the wildness of fancy, in which they were accustomed to indulge, than the explanation which they give of the *tides* of the ocean. "The tides," say they, "began to flow and ebb at the time, when the great ocean was churned by the united bands of the Gods and Asuras. Previous to this time, the ocean had been as tranquil

as the surface of a lake, in the stillness and serenity of a mild summer evening. Now the Suras, being desirous to drink the water of immortality, applied to Náráyana, who directed them to churn the great ocean, in the following words:—"Let the ocean, as a pot of milk, be churned by the united labour of the Suras, and Asuras; and, when the mighty waters have been stirred up, the Amrita shall be found." The mighty mountain Mandara, which standeth eleven thousand yojanas above the earth, and eleven thousand more below its surface, was to serve for the churning stick; the lord of serpents, Ananta, was to be the rope; and Indra, the king of the Gods, was to churn the ocean. But Indra, finding the mountain too heavy, said unto Kúrma Raja, the King of the Tortoises, upon the strand of the ocean: "My Lord is able to be the supporter of this mountain." The tortoise replied "Be it so;" and it was placed upon his back. So the mountain being set upon the back of the tortoise, the operation of churning the ocean was regularly begun. Now Kúrma Deva, being fatigued with the enormous weight of the mountain which whirled on his back, began to breathe fast; and the force of his breath was such, that at each expiration, the waters of the ocean rushed forward, and at each inspiration they rolled backwards; and in this manner, the tides began to flow and ebb in the ocean." The Pandit, from whom we received this information, being asked, Whether the tortoise still continues, to breathe, as the tides always rise and fall in regular succession? replied, No; but the waters of the ocean at that time received such an impetus, that they still continue to do so; though the impulse, originally imparted to them by the breath of the tortoise, has long since ceased.

The cause stated in the Shastras for the rising and ebbing of the waters of the Ganges is quite in keeping with the foregoing account. The Ganges, it is said, advancing towards the ocean, becomes frightened, and flies back, through one hundred channels; and this exercise she continues, twice every day. It happens at a place, called Purana Sagara.

The phenomena of *rain* are still more surprising. It is the unanimous voice of all the Shastras, that rain descends from the moon. On this subject, we can produce passages from the highest of the Hindu Shastras, the Vedas. For instance, it is said in the Rig Veda, and that in a manner the most explicit, that "rain is produced from the moon." In some other portions of the Hindu Shastras, the moon is described as the great Adhára, or repository of water. But this is not all. Not only is rain believed to fall from the moon, but, after falling on the ground, it is said to return or re-ascend

to the same luminary. To support this curious opinion the Rig Veda thus states: "Rain having fallen, evaporates, and disappears within the moon." On which the commentator makes the following remark: "Rain enters the lunar orb, which consists of water, and, at a subsequent time, it is re-produced from the moon." The Puránas, which are more modern, supply an intermediate step. They say, that from the surface of the earth the waters rise first by the attraction of the sun, from which they are next drawn up to the moon. Thus curiously enough the moon, which is found by modern research to be probably without any water, is described by the sages of Hindustan, as an orb full of that liquid.

Still more absurd is the account given of the mode in which rain is said to descend upon the earth. The Puránas maintain, that the clouds ascend one-third the height of Sumeru, or 200,000 miles high, and that they are full of small pores resembling sieves. Eight great elephants, called Dighastis, are said to sprinkle water on the clouds, which fall in drops through their numerous pores.* So erroneous then are the notions, entertained by the Hindus, on subjects which the mere use of their faculty of vision might have enabled them to understand. But their minds can never be satisfied with plain and simple facts. To say, 'we see the rain fall from the clouds,' is an assertion devoid of all attraction. So simple a statement could never captivate the native mind.

The most popular notion respecting *the seven-colored bow*, is, that it is a reflection of the great *Gandiva* of Rama, whence the name Rama Dhanika is derived. But, in the Puránas it is described as the bow of Indra, brought out, now and then we suppose, to keep it clean from rust. The Pandits of the present day seem to be ashamed of such opinions, since many of them are found to give the English explanation of this phenomenon, under a Hindu disguise. We ourselves met with a pandit of this sensible, but dishonest, class, who, to our great astonishment, said, that the rainbow was occasioned by Jalaknana, or the reflection of the rays of the sun from the drops of rain.

The flashes of *lightning* are believed to be emanations of light from the brilliant person of a celestial nymph; who is fond of coming out to sport on the clouds at the time of rain. With respect to lightning, the Hindu sages give us the old story of the thunderbolts of Indra, the Indian Jupiter.

The *height of the atmosphere* is said to be indefinite, or, in

* This is rather the Puranic theory of *dew*. Rain is otherwise accounted for.

other words, it is believed to be as high as the firmament, by which the Hindus understand a fixed sphere, which, in common language, is the blue-colored sky. See how many errors crowd into a single statement of the Shastras! The atmosphere, of which the mean height is only 45 miles above the surface of the earth, is believed to reach the regions of the fixed stars; the firmament, which is a mere apparent sphere, is supposed to be substantial and fixed; and the vulgar notion of the *blue* colour of the skies is entirely preserved. The motion in the atmosphere, or *wind*, is declared to be produced by the virtue of a certain inherent and occult quality which it possesses, and which imparts to it the tendency of always blowing in all directions. What a want of common observation is indicated here? Yet the Hindu writers would never confess their ignorance, but must give some reason for every phenomenon; so by pretending to be learned, they incur the additional charge of being dishonest and stupid.

For the phenomena of *earthquakes*, the Hindus give a reason quite consistent with their theory of the supporters of the earth. When Vásuki, the thousand-headed serpent, say they, or any of the Dighastis, become weary of bearing the enormous load of the earth, they change their position, by means of which is produced that extraordinary phenomenon, called an earthquake.

The theory of *the falling stars* is pretty and poetical. These meteors are believed to be the same as the fixed stars, which are again supposed by some to be a race of celestial beings, called Nakshastra Loka; but by others they are conceived to be the spirits of the dead. These, when the term of their enjoying heaven is elapsed, descend to the world to take new births. In their way downwards they are known by the name of the falling stars. Those, which fall in the evening, are believed to live but for a short time in this world after their birth; those, which fall in the advanced parts of the night, are supposed to live long. Again, those, which appear comparatively dim, are said to be the spirits of the wicked; and those, which are brilliant, are the souls of virtuous men.

The *halos* of the sun and the moon are said to be occasioned by the assemblies of Gods, held in their regions, for the purpose of consulting on affairs, relating to the government of the world; and the profusion or scarcity of rain is believed to be the respective consequences of these circles round the sun and the moon.

Burning fountains are held peculiarly sacred by the Hindus, and are believed to be the favorite haunts of some of their

chief gods. The flames, that proceed from these curious fountains, are taken for visible demonstrations of a divine presence. Fire, they say, is the mouth of the gods, and therefore the issuing of fire from below the water is a sure indication of the gods protruding their tongues for food. Hence the Hindus are seen to throw plaintains and other victuals into these fountains to satisfy the hunger of their gods.

The science of *chemistry* has always existed among the Hindus in a state extremely low and imperfect. Indeed in their hands it can never be said to have passed its infancy. The theory of the elements, and of their successive generation, is perhaps the only point in the chemistry of the Hindus, which deserves attention.

The great Hindu chemical theory is in substance the same with that of the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome. It inculcates the doctrine of *five* primary elements, namely, ether or vacuum, air, fire, water, and earth, of which all objects, visible or invisible, are said to be made. Nothing can be more erroneous, as the modern discoveries in this science show, than the foregoing theory of simple substances; yet the Hindu philosophers pretend to account by it for all the phenomena of the material world. A single instance will be sufficient to show the arbitrary style, in which the Hindus decide without enquiry. The human body is one of their favorite illustrations. The flesh and bones, they say, are composed of *earth*, and they will return to their kindred element after death. Hunger or appetite is the internal *fire*, by which food is consumed. *Water* is visibly seen in the watery secretions. The breath is the action of *air*, and the several cavities in the body, both external and internal, are *vacant* spaces. In a similar way they give us the analysis of all compound substances. Metals, stones, and, in short, all minerals and solid substances, are said to be formed of earth as their base, with a smaller proportion of each of the other four elements. All liquid, aeriform, and igneous substances, have, water, air and fire, for their respective bases. In this way all substances in nature, known or unknown, are exhausted. Thus fire, air, earth, and water, each of which is a compound substance, are made first elements; and metals, which are all simple bodies, are believed to be compounded of several substances,—while *all* bodies are reduced to five primary elements, into which they are not at all resolvable. The number of metals, according to some authorities, is eight only; but, according to others, a full hundred,—a remarkable instance of contradiction and error, both in one place. The most striking feature in the chemical system of the Hindus, how-

ever, is the mode in which the elements are said to be generated. Of the five elementary bodies, ether, air, fire, water and earth, each subsequent one is said to be produced in order from that which immediately precedes it. For example, from ether came air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth.

On this subject, we quote the institutes of Manu, as translated by Sir William Jones, and the Vedas. Thus says Manu. At the close of the first night of Brahma, "intellect, called into action by his will to create worlds, performed again the work of creation; and thence first emerges the subtle ether, to which philosophers ascribe the quality of conveying sound." A sounder philosophy has established, that air is the great agent in the conveyance of sound. The Hindus, however, ignorant of this important fact, were obliged to fabricate an imaginary vehicle of sound, of the existence of which they had no proof. But if by ether they mean vacuum, they still go farther from the truth, for no sound can pass through a vacuum.

Equally fantastic is the opinion, which the Hindus entertain of the origin and quality of air. "From ether, effecting a transmutation in form, springs the pure air, a vehicle of all scents; and air held to be endued with the quality of touch." On this obscure passage, we quote the opinion of a learned author. "The word touch, here, is ambiguous; it may mean either, that air is tangible, or that it has the faculty, the sense of touch." The latter, we suspect, is the meaning of the original; for we can hardly credit, that so great a master of language, as Sir Wm. Jones, would have explained a passage, which only meant that air is tangible, by so exceptionable a term, as that it is endued with the quality of touch. We can with less difficulty suppose, from other instances, that he endeavoured to cloak a most absurd idea, under an equivocal translation.

The following passage gives an account of light and heat. "Then from air, operating a change, rises light or fire, making objects visible, spreading bright rays; and it is declared to have the quality of figure." The Vedas add the proof of this extraordinary assertion. "Fire is born of air, for, urged with force by breath, it increases." It clearly appears from these several passages, that the explanations, which proved satisfactory to the Hindu mind, are merely such random guesses, as would occur to the most ignorant, uncultivated, and uninformed minds.

What is meant by the Hindu writers, when they affirm, that

fire, or light, has the quality of figure, we possess not sufficient genius to understand. Indeed it seems impossible to attach any sense to it. Did they mean to express, that fire, or light, has figure, or is itself a figured body? If so, we confess our utter incapacity to make any thing of it. If by it they understand, that fire, or, which with them is the same thing, light, is the *cause* of figure in all bodies, we have then an affirmation, which is in perfect accordance with the mode of their philosophizing on other operations of nature.

Their account of water and earth is equally absurd. "From light, a change being effected, comes water with the quality of taste; and from water is deposited earth, with the quality of smell." Here we see the chain completed. As from ether arose air, so from air came light, from light water, and from water earth. Here it may very naturally be asked, what connection is there between water and light, or between earth and water? But, "connection, reason, probability," says an eminent writer, "had nothing to do with the case. A theory of successive production struck the fancy of the writers, and all enquiry was out of question." Do the Hindu writers then give no proofs for the support of their statements? To say, that they do not, would be perhaps bringing a charge to which they do not deserve to be exposed. Let us then see what reason they give for the assertion, that from fire proceeds water. "Why," says the Brahman, "does not water vanish in fire? if so, whence can it else come but from fire? A thing, which, when disappearing, enters fire, must needs flow from the same thing, when it appears."

Having thus pointed out the errors in the speculations of the Hindus respecting the origin and qualities of the principal parts of inanimate nature, we annex here a specimen of their ideas concerning one department of animated being. "From hot moisture," says the same great Hindu Law-giver, "are born biting gnats, lice, and common fleas; these, and whatever is of the same class, are produced by heat." Though this is an idea natural enough to strike the fancy of an untutored observer, yet this can in no way plead for the absurdity contained in the supposition. That cranes propagate without the male, another assertion of the Vedas, is simply another absurdity.

On the science of *Botany* we have scarcely been able to gather any thing from the Shastras, worth offering to the public. Of all the Pandits, whom we have consulted, not one was found able to shed any light on the subject.

Instead of offering therefore our individual opinion, we insert that of a most industrious explorer of the Sanskrit literature. Mr. Wilford, in his essay on Egypt and the Nile, contained in the 3rd Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, makes the following remark:—"The Hindus were superficial botanists, and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes."

Before we leave the subject in this poor state, we propose to take notice of some particular trees, the descriptions of which are given in the Puránas. In conformity with the custom, we have so often noticed, the Hindu botanists —if they at all deserve that name,—divide all plants into two great classes, the *common*, and the *uncommon*. In the former class, they could discover nothing sufficient to interest their minds; but of the latter class, of which there are only four specimens, they have drawn a most splendid picture. Thus they go on:—"There are four large trees, each with as many roots and branches, with a thousand smaller ones, all beautiful, and with flowers; these trees are the largest in the Dwípas. On the summit of Mandara, is a beautiful Kadamba tree: its fruit is like a great water pot, with flowers with open calices. Its fragrance is felt one thousand yojanas above, and all round. The Jambu tree, most beautiful, is on the south of the mountain of Meru; the fruits of which are Amrita Kalpani, (or like nectar). On the Vípula mountains toward the west is the Plaksha tree: from this flag-like tree, or Ketu, the country is called Ketumala. On Suparswa, in the north, on its summit is a large tree, the Nyagrodha;* its large branches and their circumference extend many yojanas all round." In this description we find a number of most fantastic notions;—to flowers is ascribed a fragrance that can be felt 1,000 yojanas all round; a tree said to be so enormously large as to occupy several yojanas; and to fruits is attributed the taste of the water of immortality. The artificial arrangement also, as opposed to what is natural, of the four trees, each having four roots, and as many great branches, cannot escape notice. We conclude with our own firm belief, that these trees as really exist, as the mountains Mandara, Meru, and others, on which they are said to stand.

It would indeed excite the surprise of our readers to hear that the Hindus, who would not even touch a dead body, much less dissect it, should possess any *anatomical* knowledge

* Or Váta.

at all. But when we remember, that the Hindu authors make their own imagination, the inexhaustible mine of information on all subjects, we cease to wonder at the announcement of their having handled the science of the human body. From the Vedas and the Puránas, however, we receive nothing but some scattered notices of some of the functions of the animal frame, such as the processes of digestion, assimilation, respiration, &c., which are too short and uninteresting to call for any particular attention. It is the Tantras that furnish us, with some extraordinary pieces of information concerning the human body. To these therefore we shall first direct our attention.

But before we enter upon the proposed task, it is necessary to observe, that, of all the Hindu Shastras now extant, the Tantras lie in the greatest obscurity. This is owing partly to the secret and impure nature of the rites which they teach, and partly to the wide spread of the Puranic systems, which in this country have nearly eclipsed every other branch of the Hindu Religion. The Pandits of our country are for the most part either ignorant of this department of Hinduism altogether, or they observe that secrecy which its doctrines require from them. Hence, we have been enabled to do nothing more than to collect the leading points of two great theories of the human frame, from the two annexed maps, with the assistance of a learned Pandit. These theories, as exemplified by the maps, are as famous for their novelty, as for their extravagance.

Before proceeding further, we shall give a brief account of these two most curious drawings of the *interior* of the human body;—we say, *interior*, for at first sight, they do not appear so to be. We propose to do so, on account of their scarcity in this country. All the Pandits, to whom they were shown, were equally startled at the sight, and, after reading them a little, exclaimed, "Oh, you have exposed the most secret parts of our Shastras! we have never seen such things before;—better keep them to yourself, and do not show them to the public." On being asked, why they required such privacy, they answered, "Because these two maps, as we see by reading them, exhibit the theories on which all the *Bijmantras*, or the principal incantations, are founded:" and they pointed out some of the Mantras on the maps, requesting us at the same time, to beware of pronouncing them, on account of our being by caste, a Sudra. The history of the maps is as follows. The late Babu Gunga

Gobinda Singha, a wealthy native, residing in a village near Múrshedabad, spent the greater part of his fortune in making researches into the Hindu Shastras. Not satisfied with the Pandits of his own village, he came to reside in Nuddea, the famous seat of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. By the assistance of the Nuddea Adhyápakas, he was enabled to drink deep at the fountain of Sanskrit lore. But, after a time, he found their knowledge too shallow to serve *all* his purposes. Hence he invited several Pandits from the Upper Provinces, the original seat of Hinduism. It was by a set of these Pandits, known by the name of Daudus, that the originals of these two maps were drawn, according to the principles of the Tantras, expressly for the use of their employer. A few months ago, these originals fell into the hands of a native gentleman of our quarter, also a very diligent explorer of the Hindu Shastras, who gave them to us for inspection. We caused them to be copied by a Brahman: and these copies we now present to our readers, rather as specimens of the wisdom of the Hindus on anatomical subjects, and of the most hidden parts of their Shastras, than for any thing interesting in themselves.

Now it may be asked what do these two theories of the human body treat of? Do they treat of the bones, muscles, arteries, veins, nerves, and ligaments? Do they describe the several organs of the human body, external, and internal, such as the eye, the ear, the nose, the lungs, the stomach, the liver, the intestines, &c.? No! These are common place things, and therefore they are left to the observation of the vulgar. The Tantric theory, on which the well known *yoga*, called Shat-chakra-bheda, is founded, supposes the existence of six main internal organs, called Chakras, or Padmas, all having a general resemblance to that famous flower, the lotus. These are placed, one above the other, and connected by three imaginary chains, the emblems of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati. Here we take only a cursory view, referring to Plate III. and the *note*, for a more minute detail of the theory. The first Chakra (A), called Muládhára Chakra, has four petals, and is placed in the pelvic cavity. The second (B), called Linga Chakra, is said to have six petals, and supposed to be in the middle of the intestines. The Chakra (C), placed under the navel, is called the Nábi Chakra, and has ten petals. The fourth Chakra (D), seated at the heart, and containing 12 petals, is called the Hrit Padma. That placed in the thoracic cavity, (E), containing 16 petals, is known by the name of Kantha Chakra. The sixth or last Chakra (F) is seated in

Plate, III

I



the forehead, and called the Atma Chakra. The small circle marked (a) is the seat of the moon in the navel, and that marked (b) is the seat of the sun.*

Such are the main outlines of the first of the two great theories of the human frame according to the Hindu Shastras. With regard to the six Chakras or Padmas, it should be remarked, that they are even to this day believed really to exist within the body of every individual. What then are we to think of those who could believe such absurdities? We have already had the Vedas, and the Puránas, and now we

* We have been favoured by a friend, with the following literal translation of all the writing on the original drawing, of which plate III. is a copy. It gives a full explanation of this really curious sketch:—

1. After the perforation of the Six Wheels, (the mantra is) *shwetang o mahashetang ;* after that (it is) *kulluka ;* after that the real work of *jap,* (or repeating the name of some deity).

2. While contemplating form, taste, smell, touch, &c., the establishment of these by meditation is effected.

F. In the brow is the *atma chakra* (wheel of the soul) ; in that locality are (two petals designated by) two letters ka and ksha, of golden colour. There flow the three streams *Ganga, Jamuna,* and *Saraswati.*

E. The *kantha chakra* (wheel of the throat) has sixteen petals, and is like a white water lily. The (presiding debatas deities) are *Mahadeva* (Shiva) *Bhagavati* and *Shakti.* The petals are designated by the sixteen vowels having the chandrabinda attached to each, viz. ang, áng, ing, íng, ung, úng, ring, ríng, ling, líng, eng, aing, ong, aung, ang angh. Its corresponding *mantras* are *kurchchah, máyá.*

D. The *Hritpadma,* or water lily in the region of the heart, has twelve petals, and is of blue colour. The presiding deities are *Bhagaván* (*Vishnu*), *Lakshmi, Shakti.* In the hand of Bhagaván are the Shangkha, the chakra, the gadá and the padma (the conch, the discus, the mace, the water lily). The corresponding *mantras* are *Kámo* and *Lakshmi.* The (petals are designated by) twelve letters, from ka to tha inclusive, viz. ka, kha, ga, gha, gnua, cha, chha, ja, jha, gnia, ta, tha.

C. The *nábi chakra,* or wheel of the navel, has ten petals and is of red colour. Its petals are designated by ten letters from da to pha inclusive, viz. da, dha, ána, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha. The presiding deity is *Bramha ;* and the *mantra* is *chamiti bijang.* There, is the position of the moon and others, as it is said.

> Beside the navel is the moon, beside the moon the Lord of day.
> Beside whom flows the air, and in front of the air is the place of the mind.

B. The Linga chakra has six petals designated by six letters, from ba to la inclusive, viz. ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la. The presiding deity is *Kandarpa,* without bodily form. The corresponding *mantra, káma-bijang.* There are 108 japs.

A. The lowest chakra has four petals designated by the four letters from wa to sa, inclusive, viz. wa, sha, sha, sa. Its face looks upward. The presiding deities are *Maha Vishnu* and *Ganesha.* In this place *Shakti* has a spiral form, and is resplendent as *Bramha.* It encircles two and a half times.

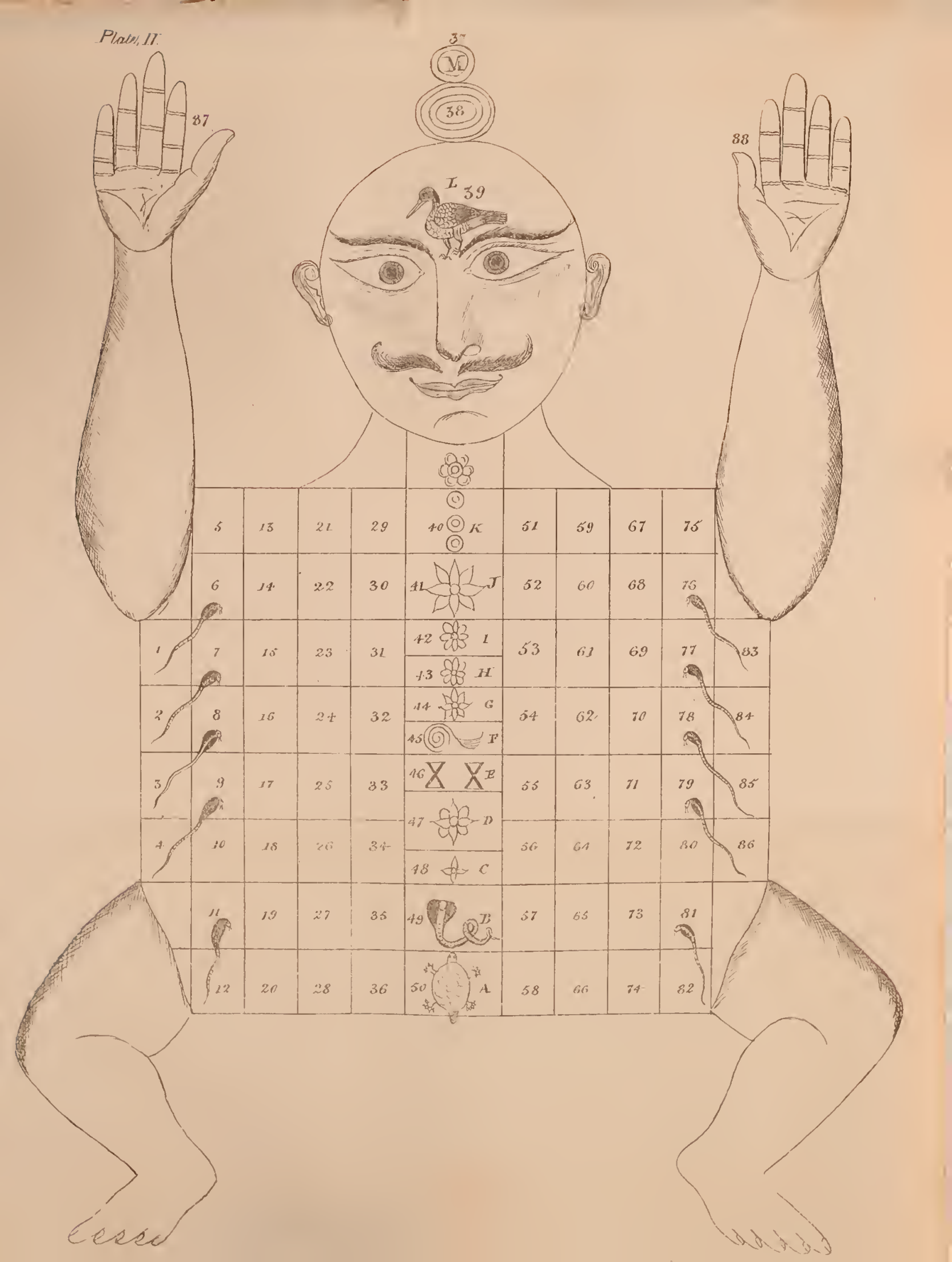
In the posterior region of Meru, on whose head are the moon and sun (in the region of the spine, on which is supported the head, containing the two eyes) are the left, the right, and middle *naris,* (veins or arteries). On the left are the Shiba-arteries, resembling fire. On the right are the Vishnu-arteries, resembling sunshine. In the middle are the Bramha-arteries, of excessive splendor. As regards the rules for performing the *six works* (which are effected by the recital of magical texts, viz. killing, infatuating, enthralling, expelling, exciting animosity, and privation of faculties), and other similar performances,—by the left (the Shiba-arteries), may be effected, *killing, disease, the destruction of enemies, expelling, deprivation of faculties* and the *hatha yoga* and other acts of austerity, by which victory over the senses is obtained: by the right (the Vishnu-arteries) *subjection to controul,* and every species of work can be effected. By the middle (or Brahma-arteries,) every thing mentioned above can be effected; and by the middle one of the Bramha-arteries can be attained the perfection of intellect. The middle arteries are of a white colour; the left and right are red.

have the Tantras before us. We find them all much alike. Imagination is the foundation of them all, and truth has little share in any. It would be idle waste of time to point out the errors and absurdities, contained in this theory. But such is the obstinacy with which the Hindus adhere to these erroneous notions, that even, when we show them, by actual dissection, the non-existence of the imaginary Chakras in the human body, they will rather have recourse to excuses revolting to common sense, than acknowledge the evidence of their own eyes. They say, with a shamelessness unparalleled, that these Padmas exist as long as a man lives, but disappear the moment he dies. Those who will not believe their own senses, what can be said by us to convince them?

The second theory, which is a mixture both of anatomy and phrenology, is still more grand. Its main doctrine is that the seats of all mental faculties, passions, and feelings, are within the great trunk of the body ; and that each of the faculties and passions has its respective material organ, by which its function is carried on : so that the brain, which is the real seat of all the mental faculties, is altogether put out of the question. Here therefore we have a sort of compound absurdity. In the first place, all the mental functions are made the result of matter, for material organs are assigned to them : and, in the second place, not one of these organs is placed in the head. This latter circumstance does strongly incline us to believe, that the ancient anatomists of Hindustan possessed no brain at all. It is not our business to refute in this place the doctrine of Materialism. Allowing it to be true, the absurdity of the theory is not in the least diminished.

But this is not all. In the middle of the lowest extremity of the trunk of the body, is placed a tortoise (A), as will be seen by referring to plate II. Above this, we see a small serpent (B), the representation of the great Ananta. Above this is a Chakra (C) of 4 petals, called the Adhára Chakra, the seat of Ganesha. Then in regular gradation, one rising above the other, we have the following wonderful objects :—(D), the Adhishtán Chakra of 6 petals, the seat of Brahmá ; (E), the navel, like the Roman figure XX ; (F), the gastric fire ; (G), the Padma, called Manipura, where Vishnu is said to reside ; (H), the Mánasha Chakra, the seat of the mind ; (I), the Anáhata Chakra, the place of Shiva ; (J), the Bishunda Chakra, the seat of life ; and (K), the Triganti, three small circles, the meaning of which we do not know. In the head, under the eyes, are the Agyankhya Chakra on the right, and Balaban Chakra on the left side ; and in

Plate II.


37
M
38
L
39
87
88
40 K
41 J
42 I
43 H
44 G
45 F
46 E
47 D
48 C
49 B
50 A
1
2
3
4
5 13 21 29 51 59 67 75
6 14 22 30 52 60 68 76
7 15 23 31 53 61 69 77 83
8 16 24 32 54 62 70 78 84
9 17 25 33 55 63 71 79 85
10 18 26 34 56 64 72 80 86
11 19 27 35 57 65 73 81
12 20 28 36 58 66 74 82

the fore-head is placed the king of the birds, the Goose (L). Within the cranium is the Karpara Chakra, at the top of which is the Brahma-Randra, the passage through which the souls of virtuous men are said to ascend to heaven. All these unheard of and unseen objects, the tortoise, the serpent, the gastric fire, the Chakras, the goose, are believed *literally* to exist within the human body, of which we have received several testimonies from the mouths of the Brahmans. If this be not fanaticism, carried almost to insanity, we know not any thing in the world more appropriately deserving the name.

As for the internal organs, by which the faculties of the mind are said to be manifested, we give here a translation of their names, referring to plate II. for the corresponding numbers :—

1. Covetousness.
2. Envy.
3. Wickedness.
4. Irreligion, or Impiety.
5. The waking state.
6. The faculty leading to seek the Supreme Being, or Spirituality.
7. Compassion.
8. Good sense.
9. The love of one's own religion.
10. The mind.
11. Religious penance.
12. Anger.
13. The dreaming state.
14. Goodness.
15. The vowel a.
16. Bramha.
17. Pedantry.
18. Intelligence.
19. The place of the mind.
20. Fire.
21. The state of profound sleep.
22. Passion.
23. The vowel u.
24. Vishnu.
25. False ostentation of wisdom.
26. Attention.
27. The place of intelligence.
28. Water.
29. Orjya.
30. Ignorance, or darkness.
31. The Letter m.
32. Shiva.
33. False ostentation of bodily accomplishments.
34. Egotism.
35. The place of life.
36. The air.
37. Bramha randra.
38. Karpara Chakra.
39. The goose.
40. Triganti.
41. Bishunda Chakra
42. Anáhata Chakra.
43. Manasha Chakra.
44. Mani pura.
45. Gastric fire.
46. The navel.
47. Adhishtán Chakra.
48. Adhára Chakra.
49. The endless serpent, Ananta.
50. The tortoise.
51. Sálokya.
52. Sohangpada.
53. Múrddhni.
54. State of Childhood.
55. Leanness of body.
56. Happiness.
57. The enjoyment of visible objects.
58. The family state.
59. Sámípya.
60. Tangpada.
61. The heart.
62. The state of youthfulness.
63. Obesity.
64. Misery.
65. The enjoyment of imaginary objects.
66. The state of a mendicant.
67. Sárúpya.
68. Tatpada.
69. The belly.
70. Old age.
71. Káranadeha.
72. Birth.
73. The enjoyment of optional objects.
74. Brahmáchári.
75. Sayujya.
76. Devotedness.
77. Useful knowledge.
78. Wisdom
79. Discrimination.
80. Death.
81. Charitableness.
82. Pride.
83. Ignorance.
84. Want of knowledge.
85. Self-conceitedness.
86. The habit of reproaching.
87. The fruits of virtue.
88. The fruits of vice.

Having taken this brief view, of the two main anatomical theories contained in the Tantras, we next turn our attention to some isolated notices on the same subject found in the Vedas.

The Vedas maintain that, in the heart of every person, there is a corporeal being, of the size of the thumb, called *Linga Sharira.* This is the whole man in miniature, and at death goes out through an artery, called Shusamna. The Vedantists try to evade the absurdity of supposing the existence of this *little man* in the heart of every body, and, to escape detection from actual dissection, they assert, that it does not remain in its place after death,—a sophistry too common among the Hindus, who always attempt to explain one absurd supposition by another. Yet they have every reason to say, that the existence of the Linga Sharira is as true, as the Chakras, the tortoise, and the serpent.

Moreover the Vedanta Sutras say: "A hundred and one arteries issue from the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head." Nothing can be more flatly contradictory to truth and observation. Let the Vedantist but once enter the dissecting room of the Medical College, and there he will find a practical refutation of his opinion. We see only two arteries, the great Aorta, and the Pulmonary artery, issuing from the heart; by the former and its ramifications, the blood is conveyed to the extremities of the body; by the latter and its branches, it is carried over the lungs, that it may be aerated, or purified in that organ. Besides, instead of one artery, several are known to enter the crown of the head.

The Vedanta Sutras furnish us with some further notices on two very important functions of the animal frame, the processes of assimilation and respiration. "When nourishment," say they, "is received into the corporeal frame, it undergoes a threefold distribution, according to its fineness or coarseness. Corn, and other terrene food, becomes flesh; but the coarser portion is ejected, and the finer nourishes the mental organs. Water is converted into blood; the coarser part is ejected as urine. Oil, and other combustible substances deemed igneous, become marrow; the coarser part is deposited as bone, and the finer supplies the faculty of speech." (Brahmá Sutra, 2. 4. § 9.)

From this physiological extract, it sufficiently appears, how much the sages of Hindustan rely merely on external appearances, and draw their inferences from these alone. It contains nothing more than such easy guesses, as would occur to the most vulgar and untutored mind:—solid food is turned into thick flesh, water into liquid blood, and oil into the greasy substance, marrow. Is not this natural enough to strike the fancy of the most ignorant and careless observer?

But natural as it is, there is not the least trace of truth in it. Whatever substances are taken into the stomach, they are all dissolved by the action of the gastric juice, and converted into one, uniform, pulpy mass, called chyme. Here, we may as well remark, that there is no such thing as fire in the stomach. What the Hindus erroneously take for fire, is in reality the gastric juice, which is secreted from various small glands, placed between the coats of the stomach. Chyme next passes through the pylorus into the intestines, where, after undergoing some changes by the action of the bile and the Pancreatic juice, it becomes capable of affording a fluid, somewhat resembling milk in appearance, called chyle, which is in fact the real blood. This fluid after several processes becomes red blood, which supplies nourishment to *all* the parts of the animal frame. Thus we see the error of the Vedantists, who suppose different kinds of substances to nourish different parts of the body. What they mean, when they declare, that the finer particles of water and oil severally support the breath and the faculty of speech, it is impossible to say. It is however an affirmation, which, notwithstanding the absurdity it implies, "is in exact harmony with the mode of guessing at the operations of nature, admired as philosophy among the Hindus."

There is another point in the physiology of the Vedas, that deserves some attention. It respects the process of respiration. The account is as follows :—"Respiration is a vital act, and comprehends five such.—1st, Respiration, or an act operating upwards. 2nd, Inspiration, one operating downwards. 3rd, A vigorous action, which is a mean between the foregoing two. 4th, Expiration, or passage upwards. 5th, Digestion, or circulation of nutriment throughout the corporeal frame." Numerous are the errors contained in this account of the process of respiration, of which we shall mark only one or two. Respiration is confined only to the action of the lungs, and has no connection whatever with any other functions of the internal organs. But the Hindu philosophers would make it a compound process, consisting of different operations, which have no connection with one another. But the grossest of all the errors committed by them on the subject, is the supposition, by which the processes of digestion and the circulation of nutriment are reckoned as parts of the action of respiration. We need not however dwell any longer on this point. If the opinions of the Hindus are found to be erroneous on subjects which a mere child can understand, how can we expect them to be accurate in describing such a difficult process as respiration?

Here we bring our subject to a close. We have examined

in order, the Geography, Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, Anatomy, and Physiology of the Hindus, and we have found them abounding in errors of every description. We have not even met with any isolated point belonging to any of these sciences, as treated among the Hindus, which is altogether free from mistake. Now we turn against the defenders of Hinduism, the Brahmans and others who so strenuously uphold that system, and ask them, do they know what they are doing? "What!" they reply, "we are doing nothing, but maintaining the Shastras of our forefathers, and defending our own faith." And in so doing, we say, you are fighting against truth, and heaping on your heads the responsibility of corrupting the minds of your children and your fellow-creatures, by leading them in the dark, and storing their minds with nothing but errors and falsehood.

Again, we ask them, Is this the boasted religion of their forefathers? Is this the best of all creeds in the world? Is this the faith, every part of which is said to be received by inspiration of Heaven? It will not do now to say to us, What do you know of the Hindu religion, that you come to decide upon its merits? Though we may not be able to understand your dark metaphysics, your intricate logic, and your obscure religious dogmas, yet we have discovered in your religion many things, which can be brought down to the level of the understanding of a mere boy. Your Shastras interfere with scientific subjects, of which we possess the best knowledge, and in these we find them blunder in a most ridiculous manner. We take not your metaphysics, or logic, or religious doctrines, but your science only, to falsify your religion, and lay the axe to the root of its claim to divine origin.

We may now perceive the policy of the Hindu Sages, in having prohibited all men, except the Brahmans, the brothers of the same fraternity, from reading the Shastras. The door was kept close shut, lest LIGHT should enter in, and discover what is within the closet. But the bar is broken, and we have got into the room. The golden days of the Brahmans have past away. Hindus have now begun to think for themselves. The sun of knowledge has begun to shine over the night-brooding soil of Hindustan. Light has begun to enter into the minds of her children. Neither the Brahmans nor their Shastras are now held peculiarly sacred. Men have begun to ask for evidence. What is then to become of its defenders—of the Hindu religion itself? But we must stop here. All beyond is dark.

NOTE.—It should be stated, that the work quoted in the text, and to which the writer is chiefly indebted for pp. 434,-435, is Mill's History of India.

ART. V.—*A letter to the Right Hon'ble Sir J. Hobhouse, President of the Board of Controul, on the Baggage of the Indian Army; by Sir Charles James Napier, G. C. B., Lieutenant General, and Colonel of the 22nd Regiment of Foot. London,* 1849.

THIS is a gem—in its way. It may have been but a rough diamond when first it was offered to Sir John Hobhouse and the public; but since that time, it has received the highest official polish, and the most costly setting of authority. The Colonel of the 22nd. Regiment of Foot has straight risen up Commander-in-chief of the Forces in India. He who wrote in February "I have not now any better way of expressing my admiration of their (the Indian army's) courage and discipline, and my affection for them generally," than by the publication of this pamphlet, has now, in June, all sorts of better ways; he commands that army which, in his own words, "when well commanded is indomitable;" and it is his to effect those changes, and to promote those reforms, in the field and in the council-chamber, which a few months ago he could only recommend from his closet. The humble pamphlet before us, under such circumstances, is transformed into an important official minute. It swells into bulk and significance, as, under the wand of the fairy, the pumpkin and the mice, in the legend of *Cinderella*, grew into a coach and horses. It comes before us with the seal of authority upon it; and we handle it with as much reverence and awe, as though we had taken it from a box, marked "Military Department," and brought by a Government peon. There is no looking lightly at it now. It is a treatise on the baggage of the Indian army by the Commander-in-chief of the Indian army; and as such, in spite of its slender dimensions, it is the most important contribution to our military literature that has reached us for a long time.

Sir Charles Napier had not been long in the east, before he had ocular demonstration of a fact, of which he had before acquired a dim perception from the perusal of Indian history—the fact that *baggage*, a curse to all armies at all times and in all places, is a ten-fold curse to an Indian army. He saw what it was in 1842, when General England's force went straggling into Sukkur; and he said to his aid-de-camp (he had ridden out to meet the advancing column), "If a troop of active cavalry were to hang on General England's march, his baggage would be lost." "Yet General England's baggage," he writes in his letter

to Sir J. Hobhouse, "was not worse than any other General's baggage." And then, as though conscious he was treading on rather delicate ground, he adds in a note, "I make no reflection upon that officer; on the contrary, he had unusual difficulties to encounter." It was not, assuredly, General England's fault, that he had an unmanageable *baggage*, and that it went sprawling into Sukkur in "a dangerous and disorderly state." The highest praise is due to a General, when his *baggage* is not in a dangerous and disorderly state. There have been instances of general officers who have traversed a very difficult country with a very extensive *baggage*, and yet have lost little or none of it on the march, and never suffered it, when once in a condition to move, to impede the progress of the troops; but these instances are rare—and, however little the merit of such careful management may be understood out of the army, or appreciated in it, in comparison with more dashing exploits, it indicates a higher order of military genius than the successful fighting of a battle or capture of a fort. In ordinary civil society, indeed (we do not speak of Indian society, for all society is here at least semi-military, and military affairs are better understood by civilians than they are in any part of Europe) *baggage* scarcely ever enters into the comprehension of the reader of cotemporary chronicles of military operations. An army is simply, in his understanding, an army—so many infantry, so many cavalry regiments, and so many guns with artillerymen to serve them. He wonders why an army cannot march hither and thither; why there is so much delay; why there are so many difficulties. He sees only the fighting-men and the country to be traversed; and it seems to him not much more difficult to move the columns from one point to another, than the ivory knights and pawns and castles from one square to another of the chess-board. He little thinks how small a portion of an army are these disciplined fighting-men, and how easy, in comparison, would be the conduct of military operations, if the commander had only to bethink himself of these moveable battalions, obedient in an instant to the word of command. He little thinks that there is, at the tail of this army, a cumbrous mass of ten-fold its own weight, to be dragged wherever it goes, over barren plains or high mountains, through deep defiles or across broad rivers, impeding its movements, obstructing its progress, making easy things difficult, and difficult things impossible, thwarting the wisest plans, bewildering the clearest brains, and turning into vanity and nothingness the highest courage and the finest skill. In a word, there is no *baggage* in his picture of an army. His

soldiers live without eating—sleep in the open air—carry their own ammunition—are never sick—and have no such word as "establishment" in their vocabulary.

It is possible that something of the surprise, now often expresssed by civilians, at the slow movements of our Indian armies, would vanish at the first sight of the huge cumbrous thing itself—the immense unwieldy congeries of sensate and insensate matter—of men and things—of human and brute life—of all the manifold appliances and means to boot of warfare—all the thousand articles necessary for the maintenance of a populous, moving, garrison-town. It is hard to say what there is not in this mass of things animate and inanimate;—human beings of every possible kind; soldiers, merchants, money-dealers, market-men, servants, clerks, writers, artificers, dooly-bearers, camel-drivers, bullock-drivers, tent-pitchers, porters, with women and children indescribable; horses, elephants camels, bullocks, mules, ponies, with prowling dogs and jackals everywhere, and birds of prey hovering above;—guns, ammunition-carriages, hospital-dulies, tent-equipages, office-establishments, mess-establishments, and the overpowering commissariat, which is to feed this multitude of hungry men and hungrier cattle. Sir Charles Napier's first proposition is "that an India army requires more baggage than any other army in the world." This he says is "incontrovertible."—So it is.

But at all times, and in all places, *baggage* has been the great stumbling block of military enterprise. The Greeks and the Romans found it so. From the time when Xenophon wrote, in the first great military history extant, Σχολαιον γαρ ἐποιουν την πορειαν πολλα ονται τα ὑποζύγια και τα αιχμαλωτα—(for the baggage and the spoil* being so extensive rendered the march a tedious one); from the time when Tacitus wrote of *longum impedimentorum agmen, opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum*—of the "long train of baggage, the very thing" as Sir Charles Napier would translate it "for the ambuscades of the enemy, but the devil to defend"—from the time, when Cæsar, whose barbarian enemies soon discovered his weak point, exhorted his followers to leave their *baggage* behind in Italy, down to the affair of Buddowal, the best armies have been cramped and impeded by their *baggage*, and the best Generals have been puzzled what to do with it. In that famous retreat of the ten thousand, which even in these days is almost as interesting as our narratives of the retreat from Cabul,†

* The live spoil—the slaves taken in war, included.

† There are some passages in the fifth book of the *Anabasis*, which call painfully to mind the horrors of that melancholy retreat through the snows of the Cabul passes;

Xenophon found the difficulty of protecting his *baggage* the hardest that he had to encounter. He seems, however, to have had clearer notions on the subject than any of his predecessors in the command of the army. It had been before too much exposed to the sudden attacks of the enemy hovering on the flanks of the Greek army; he therefore directed the force to march in four divisions, inclosing the *baggage* in a hollow square—*πορευεσθαι πλαισιον ποιησαμενους τῶν ὅπλων, ινα τα σκευοφόρα και ὁ πολυς οχλος εν ασφαλεστερω ειη*—(to march, forming an armed square, that the baggage and the camp-followers might go on in safety). Long afterwards, the rule laid down by Vegetius was "Primi equites iter arripiant, inde pedites: impedimenta, calones, vehicula, in medio collocentur, ita ut expedita pars peditum et equitum subsequatur." The immense quantity of spoil, principally live spoil, that was carried off by the conquerors of old, greatly increased their difficulties.

But we must not linger in these classic fields, nor must we launch ourselves upon the attractive paths of European military history. We had purposed to cite one modern instance—the case of Napoleon's immense armies; but even that we can only afford space briefly to touch upon. No soldiers in the world ever knew the meaning of the word *starvation* better than Napoleon Buonaparte's. If he had not been so careless of sacrificing his men—if he had not often started on his campaigns trusting to providence for his supplies, he would neither have risen—nor fallen—with such rapidity. Chance was his commissary general. At Moscow, the elite of his officers, clothed in the richest furs and costliest silk, were fain to eat horse flesh off golden dishes; at Dresden, the troops under St. Cyr were reduced to rations of the same description of animal food, killing thirty horses a day for the sustenance of the famishing soldiers.* Napoleon even exhausted the countries through which he passed, and soon tasted the bitter fruits of the exhaustion. An army cannot live for

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Των δ' αλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μή δυναμενοι διατελεσαι την οδον ενευκτερευσαν ασιτοι, και ανευ πυρος; και ενταύθα' τινες ἀπώλοντο των στρατιωτων, (such of the soldiers, as had not power to complete the march, passed the night without food and without fire; and then some of them perished outright). And again, a little further on, in the same chapter;—*Ελείποντο δε και τῶν στρατιωτῶν οι τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπο της χιόνος τους οφθαλμους, οι τε υπο του ψυχους τους δακτυλους των ποδων αποσεσηποτες*—(there were left behind such of the soldiers, as had been blinded by the snow, or whose toes had been rotted off by the frost). Many other passages might be cited with equal force of application.

* The most remarkable instance of military starvation, with which we are acquainted, is to be found in the history of Genghis Khan. When he attacked Pekin in 1213, besiegers and besieged were alike reduced to the necessity *of eating one another*.

ever on plunder. Napoleon's case, though a brilliant exception to many rules, is no exception to this.

It is with the *baggage* of the *Indian* army that we have to deal in this article. Sir Charles Napier says it is the worst *baggage* in the world ; and that he had often read of it in Indian history. It is an old tale, indeed. The wars with Hyder, Tippu, and Holkar, developed, in full perfection, the blessings of the *impedimenta*, with which it was necessary to move. It may not be uninteresting to cite from cotemporary historians, some narrative passages, illustrative of the difficulties encountered by our predecessors in these wars. There is nothing in the instances quoted, to which, in all probability, the soldier of the present day cannot readily adduce a parallel, from the budget of his own experience. It will console him, perhaps, to know, that his father and grand-father before him were familiar with difficulties and disasters of the same kind as afflict him now. We wish that some further consolation were derivable from the reflection, that our long experience of Indian warfare has rendered us more skilled in the conduct of armies and the disposal of their components. Whatever progress we have made in the science of government, it must, we fear, be acknowledged, that our proficiency in the art of war has not advanced, since Lawrence, Clive, and Coote fought our earliest battles with such brilliant results.

In the war with Hyder Ali, General Smith was constantly getting into difficulties with his baggage. There is a curious story told by a French memoir-writer, of the manner in which the contractors, in those days, obtained and dealt with the military cattle. "Two singular methods of plundering," says M. De la Tour, "were invented upon this occasion. The first 'was that, instead of supplying the troops with arrack, an arti-'cle easily procured over all the country, it was thought proper 'to give them rum ; because it could be had only from Batavia, 'and consequently afforded means of enriching those who were 'concerned in procuring it. The second related to the sup-'plying the army with beasts of carriage. As no one could 'be found, who would engage to furnish the army with oxen for 'the artillery, baggage, &c., they took them by force from the 'inhabitants ; but, instead of paying for them at the rate of 'six or eight pagodas, their real value, they took them on hire 'at a pagoda per month. At the end of the first month, they 'paid the owner a pagoda ; but on the expiration of the second, 'they informed him that his beast was dead. The ox, thus ob-'tained out of the hands of its proprietor, was passed to the 'account of the company, as purchased at its full value ; though

'by this infamous manœuvre, it cost no more than a pagoda. 'If the proprietor had chosen to have sent a servant with his 'ox, he must have paid him five rupees a month, instead of 'three and a half, which is the value of the pagoda at Madras. 'By the operation of this happy project, the country was soon 'stripped of all its cattle; no one choosing to purchase any for 'the purpose of seeing themselves robbed with impunity. In 'consequence of this, the greater part of the army necessaries 'were obliged to be carried by men." Knowing the large fortunes made by contractors in those days, we can easily believe that they not only knew that trick, but many "a trick worth two of that." The same writer gives an account of the appendages of an Indian army, in those days, which is well worth transcribing:—"The Indian armies have great quantities of '*baggage*, carried by oxen and camels, but chiefly by oxen,—the 'camel being fit for little besides parade; for this animal, on 'account of its fleshy feet cannot he shod, and is incapable of 'travelling either on a stony or a muddy clay soil, being apt to 'fall; it is likewise with difficulty made to pass a river; and is 'besides, absolutely incapable either of ascending or descending a 'mountain, when loaded. Besides the baggage of the army, it is 'followed by a great number of merchants* and workmen of every 'kind, who have many beasts of burthen. Ayder (Hyder) gave 'orders that all these, not excepting those of the sovereign, 'should carry a ball from twelve to six and thirty pounds, for 'which the proprietor of the beast should be answerable. A 'horde, consisting of a kind of Bohemians, very numerous in 'India, of unknown origin, inhabitants of the woods, (whom 'the prejudice of India has forbidden to dwell in walled 'towns, because it is said they eat every kind of animal or 'reptile) was permitted by Ayder, who is above prejudice, to 'follow the army, and sell milk, wood, and everything their 'industry could procure. These men undertook to convey a 'considerable part of the powder, by means of their little 'carriages, drawn by buffaloes: to assist them in procuring a 'subsistence, part of them were taken into pay as pioneers,

* "These merchants," says M. De la Tour in a note, "are the purveyors of the army, and render it unnecessary for the sovereign to provide other commissaries; it is sufficient for the General to keep the passages free, and to instruct them by the cotwall or provost, of the quantity of rice in the army. Rice, which is the only grain made use of either by Indian or European troops, does not require to be made into bread; and consequently there is no trouble of constructing ovens, which would be necessary in furnishing an army with bread. However, the officers, and all who choose to go to the price, may have excellent bread in the Indian armies, which is baked in portable ovens, a kind of utensil that might be introduced with great advantage into European armies"—*The History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Behader; or New Memoirs concerning the East Indies;* 1786.

'and were of the greatest utility in sieges, and the construction 'of intrenchments, or repairing roads, as well by carrying 'earth, as by making gabions and fascines. The harness of all 'the cannon and artillery was doubled; and that nothing might 'retard their march, every piece of eighteen-pounds or upwards 'was provided with an elephant. The ammunition waggons 'carried two hundred charges of powder, and an immense num-'ber of cartridges for the musquetry. Every battalion of 'grenadier seapoys had two fourteen-pounders in its suite." From this we may gather that if, since the old times, when the French disciplined Hyder's army, we have learnt to turn our camels to better account, at least in upper India, we have not learnt to make such good use of our camp-followers.

M. De la Tour, who was commandant of Hyder's artillery, has, like Sir Charles Napier, an anecdote, illustrative of the sagacity of the gun elephants. In a former article, we gave on Colonel Jack's authority, a story of a fine old *Mukhna*, employed to help the heavy guns up the assent to Kote-Kangra. Sir Charles Napier tells his tale, not in an equally laudatory strain. —"Here," he says, "I cannot refrain from telling a story of 'one of the Scinde elephants, taken in 1843, and called by 'some one *Kubadar Moll*. He belongs to the baggage corps, 'and has been attached to a regiment marching up to Multan. 'These letters tell me that *Kubadar Moll* allows them to load 'him as much as they like, and then deliberately, with his trunk, 'takes all off again, beyond the quantity he thinks fair to be put 'upon his back! They dare not put anything on again. *Ku-'badar Moll* should be in his proper place, carrying the 'great lantern, and not carrying the mess-tent of a regiment." The French officer says, "It can hardly be imagined how 'useful these elephants are, nor with what skill and in-'telligence they do their work. When a piece of artillery 'is drawn up a hill, the elephant is behind it, and sus-'tains it with his *foot*," (they put their heads to it now-a-'days), "while the oxen pause to take breath: if the piece 'is going down a hill, the elephant retains it by a rope fas-'tened to his trunk: if the tackle gets entangled, or if the 'piece oversets, or sticks fast, he assists the oxen, according 'to the circumstances. An officer of reputation, then major 'of artillery, but now (1782) resident at Paris, affirms that he 'has seen the elephant of a piece of cannon (out of patience to 'see that the oxen did not draw, in spite of the whips of their 'drivers) cut a branch off a tree, and beat those animals till they 'acted as he thought proper! When the piece is brought before 'the battery, the elephant himself places it in the embrasure,

'without any assistance." Elephants have from time immemorial been very useful animals in war. The ancients turned them to better account than we do in these days. They were, so to speak, the ordnance of antiquity; and we read in the chronicles of classical warfare, that an army lost so many men killed, and so many elephants taken—as we now write of so many guns.

It was Hyder Ali's game to detach bodies of cavalry to ravage the country, and to cut off the English General's baggage. "The advantages," writes the French historian, "of General 'Smith over Ayder were balanced by very great disadvantages; 'namely, first the inferiority of his cavalry, which obliged him 'to reduce the theatre of war, as much as possible to the mountainous country; secondly, the impossibility of his preventing 'the cavalry from ravaging the country and cutting off his convoys; thirdly, the very great difficulty of procuring a sufficient 'number of oxen for the conveyance of his artillery, ammunition and baggage—a difficulty of such importance that it 'reduced him to the necessity of having an inferior train of artillery, and to spare his provisions and stores beyond what 'would otherwise have been necessary." Hyder himself, when he had formed any grand design, in the course of the desultory warfare he was carrying on in the Carnatic, not unfrequently left his baggage behind him. On one occasion we are told that "the whole army and artillery of Hyder cleared through the 'pass in the course of the day, but the baggage and provisions 'came through in the night, so that the Europeans in the army, 'who had marched from day-break till night, and were fatigued 'by that, as by hunting (the country abounding with game), 'were not very well satisfied, at night, to be obliged to eat their 'game, roasted as well as they could, without bread or rice, to 'the great diversion of Hyder, who in vain advised them to wait 'for the cooks." Sometimes, however, he managed to get into a terrible state of confusion with his baggage—encamping on badly chosen ground, and not being able to move off without mixing up his carriage with his troops, and throwing the whole mass into such a state of disorder, that if the English General had only played Hyder's old game, he might have retaliated with terrible severity. After the battle of Trinamaly, where Smith beat Hyder and the Nizam, the French writer, though ever ready to praise the generalship of the Nawab, admits that he here made a disastrous mistake. Having no other way out of his camp, but by a rocky jungly pass, scarcely practicable for a single carriage, he soon learnt most unmistakeably the evils of much baggage. "This road," says M De la Tour, "was very soon choked 'up by the number of beasts of burthen, whose owners had anti-

'cipated the order for raising the camp. The pass was divided 'into two, one leading to the camp of Nizam: all the baggage 'marched at their own discretion; a considerable number took 'the right hand road, and crossed the immense baggage of the 'Nizam's army, that marched in the greatest disorder intermixed 'with artillery. The consequence of all this disorder was a 'stoppage, that prevented the march of Ayder's artillery, in 'spite of all the pains that were taken to get it forward by 'the light of more than a hundred torches; for, as they com-'pelled the loaded beasts to walk on the borders of the road, 'they fell and overthrew their burthens, which occasioned 'cries and a dreadful tumult, the noise being repeated by the 'mountains: so that nothing better could be done than to 'despatch some troops to stop the march, and give orders for 'every one to remain where he was till morning. If General 'Smith had detached a small party of his infantry, by a circuit 'of two leagues, they might have entered the camp of the Ni-'zam, and by a few shot among the fugitives and conductors of '*baggage*, they might have occasioned so much disorder, as 'would have rendered the consequences of the victory of the 'utmost importance." This scene has often been repeated since, and with more disastrous results. It is a very ordinary exemplification of the advantages of much *baggage*.

The war in the Carnatic with Hyder Ali teems with instances of movements impeded by *baggage*, and of *baggage* captured by the enemy. The war with Hyder's successor is equally pregnant with illustrative examples. We must reject much of the *materiel* we have collected, and pass on at once to the time when Lord Cornwallis took the field against Tippu Sultan. Cornwallis's great stumbling block was *baggage*. His first campaign was a great disaster. The *impedimenta* of his army proved fatal to him; and, in the hot weather of 1791, after destroying the greater part of his battering train, and sacrificing the greater portion of his *baggage*, he was compelled to retire from before Seringapatam. An epidemic disorder broke out among his cattle. Numbers fell by the way; and the remainder were barely capable of work. Grain was so scarce that the famished camp-followers were compelled to feed on the diseased carcases of the bullocks. The cavalry horses were reduced to such a state that they could not carry their riders; and many were shot as useless incumbrances. The officers, who had given up the greater part of their private carriage for public uses, suffered so severely that in many cases they were compelled to ask for the rations that were served out to the privates. The tents were little better than tinder; and the clothes of officers and

men were reduced to mere rags. "The ground at Caniambad-'dy," writes Major Dirom, "where the army had encamped but 'six days, was covered, in a circuit of several miles, with the 'carcases of cattle and horses; and the last of the gun-car-'riages, carts, and stores of the battering train, left in flames, 'was a melancholy spectacle, which the troops passed, as they 'quitted the deadly camp."

The Mahrattas, with ample supplies, soon joined them. There was plenty of money in the camp, and the proprietors of grain sold it, somewhat as provision-mongers sell their stores at the Californian "diggings" in these days. Three seers of rice and six of gram were sold for the rupee; "so that," says Major Dirom, "the wages of the black servants could not provide them 'with grain, and the pay of a subaltern would scarcely feed his 'horse. But grain was now worth its weight in gold, and there 'was little hesitation in making the exchange." The junction was serviceable in other respects. The Mahratta horse not only protected our columns, but harrassed the enemy, intercepted their convoys, and captured their cattle. Our sick were at this time carried, at funeral pace, on the backs of the cavalry horses—the troopers walking by their sides.

The campaign was to be resumed, without loss of time; but how were the *baggage-cattle* to be obtained? Forty thousand beasts of burden had perished during the previous expedition. It was plain that the contractors alone could not do it; so agents were employed on the part of Government. To lighten the difficulty as much as possible, Lord Cornwallis "made an offer of a 'monthly allowance to the officers of the army, who would engage 'to carry and provide their own tents for the remainder of the 'war; and to officers commanding battalions of sepoys, who 'would in like manner engage for the men's tents, and for the car-'riage of the amunition and stores attached to their corps." The great efforts made were crowned with success; and before the end of August the army was refitted. The contractors had supplied 28,000 bullocks from the Carnatic, and 10,000 more from the southern countries. But the exhaustion caused by the preceding campaign had been so great, that both cattle and grain were high priced; and the contractors are said to have made little or nothing by their exertions. When therefore, shortly afterwards, Lord Cornwallis determined to knock the system on the head, they resigned their contracts with very little regret. We cannot afford to enter much into detail, but, before leaving Lord Cornwallis's army, we must give an extract from Major Dirom's narrative, illustrative of the position of the baggage on the line of march—premising only that less judicious arrangements

had been made in the previous campaign, and that Lord Cornwallis, on this as on other occasions, turned his experience to good account.

"On the 1st of February," writes Major Dirom, "the allied armies commenced their march from Hooleadroog in the following order: the English army moved off as usual, at day break, in three columns, 1st, the battering guns, tumbrils and heavy carriages, on the great road, formed the centre column. 2nd. The line of infantry and field pieces, on a road made for them at the distance of a hundred yards or more, as the ground required, marched parallel to the battering train, and on its right, that being the flank next to the enemy. 3d. The smaller store carts and private baggage carts marched in like manner on a road to the left of the battering train, beyond which was the great mass of baggage, carried on elephants, camels, bullocks and coolies, all the servants of the army, and the families of the sepoys. This immense multitude on the baggage flank was prevented from gong a-head of the columns by the baggage master and his guards, and was flanked (giving it a space of several miles which it required,) by the part of the cavalry not on other duties, and the infantry of the reserve. The advanced guard was formed of a regiment of cavalry, the body-guards, and the detail of infantry for the picquets of the new camp. The rear guard was formed of a regiment of cavalry and the picquets of the old camp, and did not move till they saw the *baggage* and the stores off the old ground of encampment. In this manner the line of march was shortened to one third of what would be its extent if confined to one road; and, from the component parts of the army being thus classed and divided, the whole moved on with as much ease, as if the battering train only had been upon the march. The heavy equipment of the army, great guns, store carts, provision, and *baggage*, thus formed a mass of immense breadth and depth, guarded in such manner on all sides, that on no quarter could the enemy approach to the stores or *baggage*, without opposition from some parts of the troops on the march."

When Lord Mornington arrived in India in 1798, he determined as we have shown in previous articles, at once to assemble an army, and march against Tippu Sultan. He knew nothing of war—he knew nothing of *baggage*. However commendable his promptitude, his griffinism was extreme. Poor Mr. Webbe, the Madras Secretary, was thrown into a paroxysm of alarm; and saw nothing but utter destruction in the energy of the young Governor-General. The army might be collected in a month or two; but how was the *baggage* to be got ready? The Governor-General was obliged to succumb to the pressure of reason and experience. "If circumstances," writes Colonel Beatson, "his aid-de-camp had been favorable for such an 'attempt, it was his fixed determination to have attacked the 'Sultan instantly, for the purpose of defeating his hostile pre-'parations, and of anticipating their declared object. His Lord-'ship was concerned, however, to learn from persons most con-'versant in military details at Fort St. George, that notwith-'standing the distinguished discipline of the army on the coast

'of Coromandel and the eminent valour activity and skill of 'its officers, its dispersed state, joined to certain radical defects 'in its establishments, would render the assembling a force 'equal to offensive movements against Tippoo Sultan, a much 'more tedious and difficult operation than he had apprehended. 'The necessarily dispersed state of the troops would have been 'of less importance, but for those radical defects which have, 'in a certain degree, at all times existed. These proceed from 'a system of economy, which precludes the expence of establish-'ing depots of grain in different parts of our possessions, and of 'maintaining *a fixed establishment of draught and carriage 'cattle:* without which no portion of the Madras army, how-'ever it might have been supplied with every other requisite 'for field operations, was in a condition to act with prompti-'tude and effect. It is true that during the administration of 'Sir Archibald Campbell those defects were partly and parti-'ally removed, by a small proportion of cattle, not exceeding 'three thousand, being at that period attached to the military 'establishment; but having been found expensive and inade-'quate to the purpose, it was discontinued at the peace of 1792." '(*View of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sul-'tan*)."* Here we see, that more than half a century ago, an attempt was made to establish something of a baggage-corps, but abandoned on the plea of expence.

On the 20th of June 1798, the first order for the assembling of the Mysore army was issued; but it was not until the middle of February 1799, that General Harris made his first movement in advance. His army, exclusive of the Nizam's troops, consisted of about 34,000 men of all arms "completely equipped and liberally supplied." It was the finest and most cumbrous army that had yet been taken into the field. On the 10th of March, it moved from Kelamungalum—at which the main action may be said to have commenced. "Our hero" was well posted. "The cavalry 'were in advance, the *baggage* on the right, and the Nizam's 'contingent, which had marched by the left, moved parallel, 'at some distance on the right flank of the army; a strong 'rear-guard protected the interval between the columns. By 'this order of march, the whole of the *baggage*, being between

* Colonel Beatson adds, "Subsequently, however, in 1793, during Sir Charles Oakeley's administration, when these defects existed exactly in the same degree as in the month of June 1798, it does not appear that they retarded the expedition against Pondichery, but that with early exertions and ample advances of money, provision of cattle kept pace with the other necessary preparations; since at that time, a very considerable army was not only assembled, but all the guns, stores, and provisions, necessary for the siege, were carried and deposited in camp, before that place, precisely in two months from the date of the resolution of government to attack it."

'two columns, was well secured." But the effect of the *impedimenta* was soon discernible. The first day's march was a troublesome one, the country being somewhat rugged; the rear guard did not arrive till it was dark; many carts with stores and *baggage* were left upon the road; and, a quantity of the public stores not having arrived in the camp, the army was compelled to halt throughout the next day. On the 12th the march was resumed; but "a considerable quantity of powder, shot, and stores not being arrived in camp," the force was halted again on the 13th, on account of the *baggage*.

By the 17th, in spite of every effort to protect the *baggage*, "the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores had already 'been so considerable, as to excite some degree of alarm at this 'early period of the campaign." "These evils," says Colonel Beatson, "were supposed to have originated in a spirit of oppo-'sition among the principal natives employed in the bullock 'department, who were inimical to a system of economy, newly 'adopted, and likely to infringe upon their usual emoluments." Or, as Sir Charles Napier would say, they originated in the want of a baggage corps. Major Dallas, who was agent for the supply of draught and carriage bullocks, and the most important portion of our *impedimenta*, consisting of ordnance stores, "now attach-'ed himself to the battering train with a view to remove those 'obstacles which had hitherto retarded the progress of the army." Matters, however, did not very much improve. The army, with its immense *baggage* and multitude of camp-followers, covered so great a space, that when it came to a defile it was found impossible, if the whole marched at the same time, to accomplish the passage in one day. It therefore marched and encamped in three different divisions, until it was believed that the enemy were near at hand. Subsequently on an occasion, when the Nizam's horse neglected to take up their proper position, the army "was compelled to halt nearly four hours, in order that 'they might pass with their *baggage* in front of our advance, so 'as to gain their proper position on the left flank." "By this unfortunate circumstance," adds Colonel Beatson, "the best 'part of the day was lost; and the army found itself under the 'necessity of taking up its ground only, three miles in front of 'the last encampment."

We need not follow any further in detail the baggage-laden army of Mysore. Some idea of its cumbrous character may be gathered from the statement of Major Price, "that the 'Bombay division (the force under General Stuart) in its utmost 'force, would scarcely suffice as a *baggage* guard to the 'enormous train of artillery, stores, provisions and camp

'equipage, was very obvious; and it was sometimes speculated, 'even at this period, that a well-timed and well-concerted 'attack on our division, thus heavily encumbered, might have 'been attended with consequences too serious to contemplate 'without apprehension."* Our armies, indeed, are often little more than great *baggage* guards. The slow movements of the main army puzzled the Bombay division; but Major Price observes sensibly enough "the consideration of the numerous 'train of ordnance and heavy stores, necessary to the operations 'of an arduous siege, might have been sufficient to account 'for the fact that thirty days were required to accomplish 'what was usually completed in a march of six or eight." "At this period," adds the writer, "the destructive mortality 'which raged among our public cattle, was not less melancholy 'than disgusting to the sense, from the numerous carcases 'strewn about the jungle." And again, "the cattle were 'perishing by hundreds, and the rocky channel of the Cauvery 'was in many places choked with their putrid carcases." Another of the advantages of *baggage!*

Seringapatam was taken on the fourth of May. Before the end of April the price of provisions had risen to such a height that the utmost distress prevailed in camp. Gram had been for some time selling at a rupee eight annas the seer; and ghee was scarcely procurable at seven rupees the seer. "Our camp-followers therefore," says Major Price, "were reduced to great 'distress; and I had no less than thirty-five to provide for, 'besides my bullocks and little charges." But the Bombay division was better supplied than the main army. Price says that the latter had but *two* days' supplies when Seringapatam was taken; and the Bombay troops about *six*.

So much for the *baggage* of the army of Mysore. It took thirty days as we have seen to traverse a distance that might easily have been accomplished in six or eight; but the campaign was described by the historians of the day, and, under all circumstances, deserved to be so described, as "a brilliant and rapid campaign." It was the fault not of Lord Harris, but of the *baggage* that it was not more rapid. An Indian army in those days was at least as cumbrous as in our own—nay, it may be questioned whether it was not more cumbrous. Modern refinement has added little to the appliances of war; and has subtracted something from our oriental luxuriousness. Let

* "Memoirs of a Field officer."—Major Moore, who was Judge Advocate and Persian Interpreter with the Bombay division, says that his camp-followers amounted to thirty-five men of all descriptions, including only two official attendants, a Judge Advocate's clerk, and Persian Munshi.

us see how, a few years later, Lord Lake's army took the field. There is not in all our military histories a more graphic account than the following, which we derive from Major Thorn's memoir, of the march of an Indian army :—

"The better to convey an adequate idea of the nature of Indian warfare, and to show how much depends upon the judgment of a commander placed in very peculiar circumstances, to which previous habits and military experience can hardly afford any rule of conduct, it will be requisite here to give some account of an army in the east, and of the extraordinary elements which contribute to swell its numbers. It is obvious that in a country where no regular supplies can be depended upon, all necessaries must be provided before hand, or obtained from a train of followers whose desire of gain attaches them to the service. Hence the line of march increases these appendages to an army, particularly where an enemy, like the one to whom we were exposed, spreads devastation in every direction for the purpose of cutting off the means of subsistence.

The camp-followers in such a case become exceedingly numerous, and may be fairly estimated at ten persons to every fighting-man; so that where the force consists of ten thousand soldiers, there will be about one hundred thousand non-combatants, consisting of the following descriptions: first, an attendant to every elephant, of which valuable animals there are several hundreds, for carrying the public camp equipage, besides some thousands of camels, to every three of whom there is at least one attendant, with a proportionate number of tent lascars, who, as their appellation imports, are employed in pitching and striking the tents, a service not to be dispensed with, in a country where billetting and quartering are unknown, and where bivouacing under the canopy of Heaven would soon destroy an army, even without an enemy, from the burning power of the sun by day, and the influence of noxious dews by night.

Every horse, whether of the cavalry or not, has, in addition to the rider, for the most part two attendants, one who cleans and takes care of the animal, and is therefore called the horse-keeper, and another denominated the grass-cutter, who gathers forage, consisting of the roots of grass, which he digs up with an iron instrument resembling a mason's trowel. These roots, being carefully washed, constitute an excellent food; and indeed no other could well be obtained in a climate, which during the season when the hot wind prevails, is so completely bare of vegetation that not a single blade can be discerned above the ground; notwithstanding which dreariness we have, by the means here described, been able to preserve all our cattle, when encamped on plains, exhibiting nothing but an interminable waste of sterility.

Besides an immense number of draught bullocks for the use of the artillery, park, and heavy ordnance carts, to every three of which there is at least one driver, large droves of Brinjari bullocks, from eighty to one hundred thousand, are employed in carrying grain.

To these purveyors of the army, as they may be properly called, who, with their connexions, surpass calculation, must be added, in the public department, the palanquin and the dúlie-bearers, a class of persons at all times necessary in this country, and indispensably so, when the fatigues and casualties of war require their assistance for the conveyance of the sick and wounded. An army is farther numerically increased by the servants which every officer is under the necessity of employing to take charge of his live and dead stock, for though the private European soldier receives, besides his

regular allowance of arrack, rations of meat from the Government contractors, who drive large flocks of sheep for that purpose, the officers must provide their own poultry, sheep, and particularly goats, to supply them with milk for their tea, a beverage in this country of the most refreshing nature, especially after a long march. The attendants, therefore, which these services render expedient, may be estimated at ten to a subaltern, twenty to a captain, thirty to a field-officer, and so in proportion. But even the privates themselves are not without their dependants, who contribute to enlarge the population of a camp, there being a cook or bhabaji to every mess, a water carrier or messalji to each tent, in which lie generally ten or twelve soldiers, also a washerman, termed a dhoby, to every troop or company. Such are the immediate adjuncts of a marching force in the east; but even this is not all, for besides the women who follow the fortunes of the officers and private soldiers, there is a mixed multitude of different denominations, termed the bazar people, consisting of merchants and pedlars, with a variety of adventurers of all pursuits, some exercising particular callings, and making themselves useful, while others accompany the army merely with a view to plunder, and yet even these straggling marauders are of material service to the great community upon whom they depend, by searching for the concealed grain, and bringing what they find to market, with other provisions obtained in a similar way, thus preventing the scarcity which might otherwise arise in an exhausted country, where such an enormous consumption must render it every day more difficult to meet the demand.

The march of our army had the appearance of a moving town or citadel, in the form of an oblong square, whose sides were defended by ramparts of glittering swords and bayonets. On one side moved the line of infantry, on the opposite, that of the cavalry, parallel to and preserving its encamping distance as near as possible from the infantry, and keeping the head of the column in a line with the former. The front face was protected by the advanced guard, composed of all the picquets coming on duty, and the rear by all the picquets returning from duty and then forming the rear guard. The parks and columns of artillery moved on in the inside of the square, always keeping the high road, and next to the infantry which moved at a short distance from it. The remainder of the space within the square was occupied by the baggage, cattle, and followers of the camp Notwithstanding the immense magnitude of this moving mass, and the multifarious elements of which it consisted, nothing could exceed the regularity observed by the troops, in maintaining their respective distances, and adhering closely to the order of formation on the march. The Commander-in-chief, aware how active the numerous cavalry of the enemy would be in hovering continually round, ready to dart in and take advantage of any opening, or improper lengthening out of the line of march, judged it prudent to give the officers a little advice, the excellence of which may recommend it for general adoption, no less than for military operations in India. The officers were enjoined to impress upon their men the necessity of acting in perfect concert, without which, the advantages of discipline would be lost: they were, therefore, cautioned, as they regarded their own personal safety and that of the service, not to be led away by a mistaken and reprehensible ardour to break their ranks, by putting themselves on an equality with an irregular and undisciplined enemy.

The army encamped for the most part in the same order in which it marched; the infantry and cavalry in two lines, facing outwards, thus affording a strong protection to every thing contained in the enclosure. The power of the imagination can scarcely figure to itself the sudden transformation that takes place on these occasions, when an Indian camp

exhibits, with the effect of enchantment, the appearance of a lively and populous city amidst the wilds of solitude, and on a dreary plain. In a short space the rough visage of war is converted to the smiling aspect of peace: the dread of the foe is changed to the reciprocal offices of confidence; and the fatigues of professional duty are forgotten amidst scenes of festivity. Throughout long and regular streets of shops, like the booths at an English fair, may be seen in every direction—all the bustling variety of trade, the relaxation of enjoyment, and the pursuits of pleasure. Here, shroffs or money-changers, are ready with their coin to accommodate those who are unprovided with the currency requisite for the purchase of the necessaries or luxuries of life. In such a situation, where nothing more could be well expected than what serves to alleviate the present cravings of nature, every kind of luxury abounds, and while some shops allure the hungry passenger with boiled or parched rice, others exhibit a profusion of rich viands, with spices, curry materials, and confectionery, for the indulgence of a voluptuous appetite. European merchants, here called sadawkers, either by themselves, or their native agents, are busily employed in vending wines, liquors and groceries; while other traders exhibit for sale fine cloths, muslins, and rich cashmerian shawls. Here also are to be found goldsmiths and jewellers exercising their occupations, and endeavouring to attract the fancy by a display of elegant ornaments, as though war had been deprived of its austerity, or that victory had been already decided. Besides these and various other traffickers, the camp exhibits the singular spectacle of female quacks, who practice cupping, sell drugs, and profess to cure disorders by charms. Nearly allied to these are the jugglers, shewing their dexterity by numerous arts of deception; and to complete the motley assemblage, groups of dancing girls have their allotted station in the bazar. This Cyprian corps is composed of different Indian beauties, from the fair Patan to the copper-coloured Canarese. These last, who joined us with the Bombay force at Bhurtpore, resemble the gypsies both in complexion and manners, leading like them, a wandering life, telling fortunes and singing, their vocal performances being accompanied by an instrument, which, however, is nothing more than a shallow pan of brass, about a foot in diameter, and one or two inches deep, serving the double purpose of cookery and music. When used in the latter capacity, a small piece of cane or split bambú is fastened perpendicularly to the reversed bottom of the pan, which the performer holds steadily between her feet on the ground, while she moves the finger and thumb of each hand with a strong pressure alternately up and down the cane, thus producing a monotonous sound responsive to her voice.

Of the camp itself, and its grotesque appearance, something remains to be observed. Excepting the tents of the military, which are all of a uniform description, and pitched in regular lines, the collection of coverings used by the followers to screen them from the heat of the sun by day, and the dews by night, exhibit a motley variety of colours, materials, and figures, according to the taste or circumstances of individuals. Thus in some places, ragged clothes or blankets are stretched over sticks or branches of trees, and in others, palm leaves are hastily spread out upon similar supports; while handsome tents and splendid canopies are intermixed with asses, oxen, tattús or ponies; which ludicrous contrast becomes more striking from the throngs of camels and elephants making a tinkling sound with the bells which are hung about their necks or legs. To complete which confusion, an endless variety of tongues is heard, English, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic, and a number of provincial dialects altogether forming a scene that may well be compared to the migration from Babel."

Opposed to an army, rendered formidable by the rapidity of its movements, even more than by its gallantry in the field and the skill with which it was regulated and conducted, Lord Lake soon discovered the hampering effects of this immense mass of *baggage* and multitude of camp-followers ; and, whenever it was possible to do so with safety, he shook off his *impedimenta* altogether and led his *expeditas legiones* to the attack. There were disadvantages arising from this course (as for instance, he sometimes captured the enemy's guns, and had no means of carrying them away) ; but these disadvantages were more than counter-balanced by the striking benefits of the rapid movements he was thus enabled to make. Month after month he became more and more sensible of the evils of much *baggage*. The Mahrattas were perpetually coming down upon it, and making great seizures. It was their system of predatory warfare—and very harassing it was. As for poor Colonel Monson, the *baggage* brought all his disasters to the culminating point. It was on that miserable 24th of August, when his principal loss occurred, that the difficulty of getting his *baggage* across the river exposed him so cruelly to the attacks of the enemy, that he was compelled to abandon the greater part of it, and make the best of his way to Khowshalgur. A few days later what remained of it put the finishing stroke to the work of disorganization. " About sunset on the 28th," writes Major Thorn, " the detachment reached ' the Biana pass, where it was the intention of Colonel Monson ' to have halted during the night, on account of the suffering ' state of the troops ; but the enemy bringing up some guns and ' opening a heavy fire, the retreat was continued to the town of ' Biana, where the whole arrived by nine o'clock. Owing however, to the extreme darkness of the night, the camp-followers ' *with such of the baggage as remained, became intermixed* ' *with the line in such a manner, as to throw the troops into a* ' *state of confusion, from which it was impossible to recover* ' *them.* In this state of disorder the different corps made the ' best of their way to Agra."

The army under the Commander-in-chief took the field in the middle of September. The further it moved, the more obstructive became the *baggage ;* and the General was fain to rid himself of it by degrees. A large quantity was left at Agra in September. " On the third of October," writes the historian of the campaign, " the enemy, who hung upon our left flank and rear, ' succeeded in carrying off some *baggage.* We halted on the ' fourth, when all the inlying picquets were ordered to Aurungabad, where a party of convalescent sepoys in charge of one ' hundred camels, with grain for the army coming from Agra, were

'surrounded by a large number of Mahratta horse. Our succours arrived too late: the cattle and grain had all been taken; and the sepoys with the dúlie-bearers, who were sent for the use of our hospital, and had taken refuge in a mud fort, were all carried off to Holkar's camp, previous to the arrival of our troops." These disasters, in the elegant language of Sir Charles Napier, "put the General to his trumps." He could not go on, day after day, dropping fresh instalments of *baggage* into the hands of the enemy, and failing to draw them into an action; so he bethought himself of a better arrangement of his line, and, on the 12th, marched from Muttra, "the cavalry leading, followed by the infantry," *(primi equites, inde pedites)* "thus opposing an impervious line of swords and bayonets to the inroads of the enemy upon our *baggage* and bazaars, which moved along our inner flank and the river Jumna." "This judicious arrangement," adds Major Thorn, "was our constant order of proceeding, and we thereby effectually prevented any further depredations."

Still there was too much *baggage*, and General Lake wisely determined to disencumber himself of as much more, as he could with safety leave behind. "Early in the morning of the nineteenth, the whole army was in readiness to set out in pursuit of Holkar's brigades and guns; half of the camp equipage, public as well as private, having been sent into Delhi the evening before the better to facilitate our march." And again, on the 31st: "Orders were given to move as light as possible; on which account no private wheel carriages were allowed. The officers and soldiers doubling up in their tents, considerably lessened our baggage; and, to reduce still further the numbers of public cattle an issue of six pounds of flour was gratuitously made to every fighting-man and public servant, which was to last them six days, and be carried by themselves. This mode of carriage was often repeated, being found very beneficial to the service without incurring additional expense: for the price of the flour was easily cleared from the savings in the reduced number of cattle required to carry the grain." On the 16th of November, the army thus lightened had nearly come up with Holkar's, and Lake then determined to push on "without tents or *baggage* of any kind." They marched all night, under the cheerful influence of a bright moon; and, on the following morning, came up with the enemy near Furruckabad. The result is well known. Holkar was soon in full flight; and the British troops in hot pursuit of the fugitive. In four and twenty hours Lake had covered upwards of seventy miles of ground. Holkar is said to have lost three thousand men, left dead upon the field, whilst the victory cost the British but *two* dragoons.

These examples will suffice to show what it was Sir Charles Napier had read of in history, before he came amongst us to command an army in the field. The heroes of the old times took even more baggage into the field than our cotemporaries, and managed it a trifle worse. Each in turn was wiser at the end of a campaign, than at the beginning; but not one of them turned to much account the experience of his predecessors. We generally in such cases like to learn the lesson for ourselves; we must have our own mischances and miscarriages; we seldom grow wise upon the misfortunes of our neighbours. The heritage of experience left by our predecessors we are rarely willing to accept; and so we are constantly beginning again,—constantly travelling over the old ground; making the same mistakes, falling into the same difficulties, sustaining the same disasters. We do not know what it is to "improve the occasion" either in precept or in practice. When a campaign is over, we take little heed of the lessons it has taught us; we have done with the subject for the time; "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" we cannot trouble ourselves about future contingencies. And so for three quarters of a century has King Baggage been allowed to rule our Indian army; and no one has had the heroism to depose the tyrant, or even to attempt it, until Sir Charles Napier came forward, with his second flannel waistcoat and his piece of soap, to play the part of the regicide. How he has striven to achieve this great work we now purpose to show.

On seeing General England's *baggage* sprawling into Sukkur, the following reflections forced themselves on Sir Charles Napier's mind:—

1st. That an Indian army requires more baggage than any other army in the world.

2nd. That the Europeans of an Indian army require more baggage than any other part of that army.

3rd. That the officers carry a great deal more baggage than is necessary, and that the private sepoys comparatively collect more than the officers.

4th. That as the climate renders a great deal of baggage necessary, care must be taken that, in a zeal to reduce the quantity of this great impediment to war, we do not over-reduce and create suffering. The line which divides *necessaries* from *luxuries* must be drawn with much care; for in India luxuries and necessaries are near akin, especially among the Europeans.

5th. That the baggage allowed in war should be much less than that allowed in peace.

6th. That all private baggage should be carried by the public."

A great deal of this no one would think of questioning. What the baggage of an Indian army is we have shown. A large

portion of it is necessary *baggage;* some portion of it is luxurious *baggage.* "In India," says Sir Charles Napier, "luxuries and necessaries are near akin." And yet he seems by no means inclined to allow any very large margin.

In the latter, "What does an officer want?" he asks. "His 'tent, his bed, a canteen, a second pair of breeches, a second pair 'of shoes, half a dozen shirts, a second flannel waistcoat, a 'couple of towels, and a piece of soap; all beyond is mere 'luxury, and not fit for a campaign. His regimentals he carries 'on his back. An Indian campaign lasts five months." So, albeit luxuries and necessaries are so near akin in India, this scanty supply, the piece of soap and the "wash-and-wear," flannel waistcoats included, is the full allowance of necessaries for a five months' campaign. Beer and wine are prescribed as unsoldierly things; but a little brandy is allowed. A letter from Major McPherson is quoted, relative to the *baggage* of Sir Charles and himself on the trip to Emaumghur:—

Chatham, February 2, 1849.

"My dear Sir Charles,—I have just received your's of yesterday, and hasten to answer it. We had but *three* camels between us on our trip to Emaumghur, and with light loads, as we each only had one bullock trunk and our bedding, with a camp table and two chairs, and canteen, and a captain's servant's routee tent, with some *beer, wine,* and brandy. We went nearly in the old Peninsula style.

Believe me, my dear Sir Charles,
Your's very sincerely,
P. McPherson."

To the Sybaritish words *beer* and *wine* Sir Charles has appended a note, expressive of shame and contrition. "More shame for us! what have soldiers to do with beer and wine on a campaign!" They have nothing to do with it but to *drink* it, we believe. But this Sir Charles does not think allowable. For brandy, however, he has some toleration. It is the drink of heroes. "Claret for boys—port for men—but he, who aspires to be a hero, *must drink brandy.*" Therefore, brandy, with the sanction of this heroic aphorism, is permitted upon a campaign; but wine and beer are unsoldierly luxuries, even in a country where luxuries and necessaries are so near akin.

They thought differently in the degenerate days of Lake and Wellesley. It is believed that even now the name of the former is dear to the sepoy, and that the latter is not yet forgotten by the British soldier. But there were sad Sybaritish doings in the army, which took the field against the Mahrattas at the beginning of the present century—and it is hard to say what "Lake Sahib" has not to answer for, after half-a-century, to his

latest successor. Major Thorn has given us a picture of the luxuries of the "grand army" of that unmilitary epoch, at the contemplation of which our present Commander-in-chief will stand aghast with dismay, or sink overwhelmed with shame for his effeminate predecessors:—"Whilst we lay in this agreeable 'situation," he writes, "between the twenty-seventh and twenty-'eighth degrees of north latitude, military occupations were so 'diversified with the scenes of social harmony and festivity, as 'to exhibit the confidence of tranquil satisfaction in the pros-'pect of permanent peace, rather than the preparations for war. 'The heat of the day was moderate, but the nights were cold: 'and many officers had not only glass doors to their tents, but 'chimneys of brick, by which means they were enabled to enjoy 'the pleasures of an English fire-side with their wives and fami-'lies, who had been allowed to accompany them on this occa-'sion. These domestic comforts were heightened *by the luxu-'ries of the table, where the finest wines of every clime, from the 'exhilarating Shiraz of Persia to the ruby Carbonell and 'humble Port, abounded.* In the evenings the spacious ball-'room, fitted up for the purpose, displayed an elegant as-'semblage of youth and beauty, grace and hilarity, soften-'ing the cares of life, and removing every apprehension 'of danger." Softening, indeed! Look on this picture and on that;—the ball-room, the glass windows, the Shiraz and Carbonell on one side; and the servant's tent, the two flannel waistcoats, the piece of soap, and the heroic brandy, on the other! Well may Sir Charles Napier ask, what have soldiers to do with beer and wine on a campaign? *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, we once thought, but now we find that they were only "Sybarites."

"That the officers carry"—or have on some campaigns carried, "a great deal more baggage than is necessary" and taken more servants, few officers will deny. "I will state one more evil," says Sir Charles, in another part of his pamphlet—the evil, however, having been previously stated, "one more evil 'that the commander has to contend against in the matter of 'baggage. Almost every officer tries to bring into the field as 'many animals and as much baggage as he can afford. I heard 'from a very high authority in India that, on one occasion, when 'a reduction of baggage was ordered, one officer sent in his list 'for *sixty servants, as the least number which he required*, and 'this on active service! In short the European reader, who has 'not been in India, will scarcely believe in the unmilitary luxury 'of the east." It would have been well if the rank of this officer had been stated. Major Price says that, in the second Mysore

war, he took thirty-five servants with him, and does not speak of the number as anything unusual. Cattle were taken in proportion. Sir Charles Napier says, that no regimental officer should require more than three camels. "When I took the field," he says, "in the hill campaign against the robber tribes, I had 'but five camels. I was then not merely commander of the 'forces, but also Governor; and one camel out of the five was 'loaded entirely with official documents, stationery, maps, books, 'and correspondence, civil and military. If I could do this, (and 'on the march to Emaumghur in 1843, I and my aid-de-camp 'had but three camels between us!) a regimental officer can do 'with three camels, whatever be his rank." What the three camels carried, Major McPherson's letter above quoted declares. When General Pollock moved from Jellalabad to Cabul, in 1842, at the head of the Army of Retribution, *he* had but three camels. Before leaving Peshawur, he had issued an order exhorting all officers to move as lightly as possible. There are portions of it worth quoting. After speaking of the gallant defence of Jellalabad by Sir Robert Sale, and the probability of an immediate advance to the relief of that garrison, the order proceeds in this solderly strain—"Success in relieving these troops 'will raise for this force the admiration and gratitude of all 'India, and the Major General commanding feels assured that 'officers and men will cheerfully make any sacrifices to attain so 'noble an object. He therefore now calls upon the Brigadiers 'to assemble the commanding officers under their orders, *and* '*determine on the least quantity of baggage and the smallest* '*number of camp-followers, with which their regiments can ad-*'*vance. The success of this enterprise will greatly depend upon* '*the quantity of baggage taken*, as from the nature of the country 'between Peshawur and Jellalabad, the line most consistent with 'safety must be as little encumbered as possible. The Major-'General commanding trusts that the confidence he feels in the 'troops will be repaid by their confidence in him. The soldiers 'may rest assured, that his thoughts are constantly engaged 'in ensuring them provisions, and securing their comforts, and 'they may be convinced they will never be called upon by him 'to make useless sacrifices, or to undergo unnecessary hardships. 'Arrangements will be made for placing such baggage as may 'be left behind in perfect security at Peshawur." When the force moved through the Khybur to Ali-Musjid, in spite of the difficulties of the country and the nature of the enemy, *not a single baggage animal was lost.*

A more recent illustrative example is supplied by the events of the last campaign in the Punjab. When in February last,

Lord Gough moved upon Goojrat, a few days before the great action of the 21st, he shook off the greater part of his baggage, and pushed on, *expeditis legionibus*, to give battle to the enemy. "The very desirable arrangements," says a cotemporary annalist, "of reducing camp equipage and followers, were entered into '*con amore*,—the Commander-in-chief setting the laudable example of confining himself to one small tent, and only the 'servants he absolutely required, as well as by sending in all 'the records of the several departments, and therefore calling 'upon every one, with a safe conscience, to double up two 'officers in one tent, and to send back all unnecessary baggage, 'and all servants whose presence was not urgent. The reduction thus effected is said to have been enormous, involving 'carriage to the amount of 7,000 or 8,000 camels. It was also 'arranged that the camp should thenceforth move with rations 'for five days only, and everything else was made proportionately snug."* Such appeals as these are never made to British officers in vain. When Lord Cornwallis first advanced into the Mysore country, he was compelled not only to induce the officers to leave behind as much of their private *baggage*, but to carry as much of the public stores, as possible. "Almost every officer," writes Sir Thomas Munro, "who was with the force, carried at his own expence two or three bullock-loads of shot and shell."

"The private sepoys," says Sir Charles Napier, "comparatively collect more *(baggage)* than the officers;" and this we believe to be correct. The sepoys require delicate handling on service. It is not always safe to curtail their comforts in the field. They require, when the reduction system is to be carried out, to be humored and coaxed a little. They in many respects resemble children, and like children they are readily offended and easily pleased. A wise General will treat them as his children, and gain his point by trifling concessions. Thus when General Pollock advanced on Cabul, in 1842, and it was not only advisable but necessary to move lightly, (for carriage was scarce), he caused it to be explained to the native troops, that under such circumstances each regiment must move with only half its complement of tents. When the arrangements for the advance were made, he gave to each company as many camels as could be spared to carry sepoys' "traps;" and as in the first instance they had cheerfully acquiesced in the reduction of their tent equipage, so they appreciated the regard which was evinced for their comfort in smaller matters. Judicious explanations will go a long

* *Delhi Gazette*, February 24.

way with the sepoy, and if they be accompanied by some trifling concessions of this nature—no matter how small, so that they evince the paternal regard and consideration of his commanding officer,—he will submit cheerfully in the field to any hardship and privations that the exigencies of the service may call upon him to endure.

After stating that war *baggage* should be much less than peace *baggage*, which is one of the "incontrovertibles," Sir Charles comes at once to the conclusion that "all private baggage ought to be carried by the public. Because," he says, "an officer, 'who is allowed money by the public to provide his own means 'of carrying his baggage, may lose his animals without any fault 'of his own, or of his servants. Now, if he be only allowed by 'regulation to furnish himself with a stated number of animals, '—a number that is barely sufficient to carry what is necessary 'to his health and efficiency (and more on service no regulation 'ought to permit)—if any of this regulated number of beasts 'fail, he loses that baggage which is *necessary*, and conse-'quently *his* services may be lost also—at all events he is doom-'ed to endure serious suffering. I say, therefore, that 'carri-'age' should be provided by the public for private baggage, 'as well as for the public baggage of an army; and no private '"carriage" should be allowed in the field. By this arrange-'ment no officer can lose his baggage in the ordinary course of 'things, for if a camel fails, another is at once supplied by the 'public, because, with every force in the field, there are animals 'to spare and ready to furnish assistance on an emergency."

All this is neither very clear nor very conclusive. If the only reason for supplying public carriage for private purposes be, that officers may lose the cattle they have bought or hired, we fear that Sir Charles's case is not a very good one. Baggage-cattle, public or private, will die; and officers must either replace the cattle they lose, or leave their *baggage* behind. But it does not follow that private losses are irreparable—that cattle hired by individuals are not to be replaced, if they fail by the way. Extraordinary circumstances may bring about a scarcity of carriage in camp; but such circumstances may arise under the system advocated by Sir Charles Napier; and, under ordinary circumstances, there is, during the progress of a campaign, such a diminution, by consumption and otherwise, of the stuff to be carried, as will constantly place spare camels at the disposal of individuals. We doubt whether a Government monopoly of the carriage with a force would place it beyond the reach of the accidents to which Sir Charles Napier alludes; though as the camels would be better treated, there might be a greater certainty

of supply than under the free-trade system. The advantages of public carriage, it seems to us, must be sought elsewhere.

Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet, like his subject, is a little sprawling; and we do not find it very easy to follow the *argument* of it. The descriptive passages are numerous, and there is so much graphic fidelity in them, that, but for the conviction that the "letter" itself will be extensively read throughout the country, before this number of our journal passes into the hands of its readers, we should now offer some amusing specimens of the writer's dashing, forcible, style of illustration. There is, as might be expected, a little exaggeration. For example, in the chapter on the "quantity, character, and inconvenience of Indian baggage in its present state," Sir Charles Napier says, "let us 'suppose our baggage to require 20,000 camels. That, being 'led, as is the usual way in the east, by a string fastened through 'the nostril of one animal and tied to the tail of his leader, 'these 20,000 *camels occupy about fifty miles;* allowing five 'yards from the nose of one animal to the nose of his follower; 'and consequently half the camels would not have quitted the 'old camp from which the army marched, when the leading 'camels had arrived on the new encamping ground." This calculation is only fit for the marines. Indeed, the gallant writer himself thinks it necessary, for his credit's sake, to add that the baggage does *not* march in this regular train: but the passage has been quoted in England without the qualification which follows it; and is very likely to mislead the home-staying, inexperienced reader. For our own parts we do not see the use of a computation, which illustrates no actual condition of things, but is at best a rather absurd hypothesis. We might as well compute the ground occupied by an army on the march, spun out, after this fashion, with the nose of every horse at the tail of his leader, and the bayonet point of every soldier at the breech of his predecessor.

Still the *baggage* is immense; and the disadvantage to the General is immense. *That* we have pretty well demonstrated, upon the authority of other writers. Now in place of all this private *baggage*, Sir Charles Napier would give us a well-organised *Baggage-Corps*. The principal conditions, which such an establishment should fulfil, are that it should enable us to take the field more expeditiously than under the present system; and that it should occupy less space and be more manageable upon the line of march, especially when our armies are brought into actual collision with the enemy. Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet would have been more valuable, if there had been a little more close reasoning on all these important points, and less discur-

sive matter, however amusing it may be. The "Letter to Sir John Hobhouse" is obviously a very hasty production. The materials for an excellent treatise on *baggage* are there; but they want order and arrangement; and in their present shape are rather distracting than convincing. The writer has not made the most of his subject He has merely touched upon points which he might advantageously have elaborated; and sent to the rear much serviceable matter which we would fain have seen in the front.

We have been ourselves straggling about a little after Sir Charles, though doing our best to follow out something like system in this article. But, if we are not more strict, we shall leave our paper a mere inconsequential fragment, without shape and proportion. What we propose to ourselves is, now that we have amply demonstrated the disadvantages of the old system, to investigate, in accordance with the conditions briefly stated above, the alleged advantages of that advocated by Sir Charles Napier; and then briefly to enquire into the probable inconveniences of the change.

Firstly then, under the new system an army should be enabled to take the field more expeditiously than under the old. We all know what a tedious matter it is to get a force ready for service; we all know what are the difficulties, what are the delays, that neutralize the highest courage, paralyse the greatest energy, and render useless the finest military skill. We have on more than one occasion commented on this defect in our military system, and cited numerous illustrative examples, which must be familiar to our readers, and therefore need not repetition. Now, if not the only source of delay, the difficulty of obtaining carriage is the main cause of the tardiness with which our preparations are made for active service. After the necessity for immediate action has arisen, we have to form our establishments. We are never ready to take the field. A crisis arises, and we are at our wit's end for the means of setting a force in motion. Camels are to be got; and camel drivers are to be got. There is a memorandum by the Duke of Wellington on the subject, which is worth giving, because it is *his*, though there is nothing in it of a very novel and striking character. It is contained in a letter to Lord Fitzgerald, relative to the despatch of reinforcements to India in 1842, which we believe has not been published:—

"To render an army effective, or otherwise than a useless burden, it must be able to move, and must have means of conveyance for its provisions, stores, and equipments—such as camels, horses, mules, bullocks, or carts drawn by any of the three latter. See Sir Robert Sale's difficulties at Jellalabad. He was strong enough to hold his post, but he could not march to

the assistance of Cabul. We had no conveyance at Cabul. Indeed the distress at Cabul was owing to the loss of all the means of conveyance, want of forage, and consequent inability to move.

Then see upon what the means of conveyance depend; not upon having the animals alone, but there must likewise be people to take care of, and drive, them. At Peshawur, it appears by the papers which I read last night, that they have camels, but no surwans, or camel drivers. The owners would not let them on hire with their drivers; to buy them would have been useless, as the public department had not people to take care of, and drive them.

All this is unintelligible in a country like this, in which fortunately the difference between an army and a fleet is not very accurately known and felt.

But this is the case; and the knowledge, that it is so, will point out the difficulty here, to what point in the East Indies these reinforcements ought to be sent.

Wherever each detachment of them goes, it must be to join another corps, and to perform certain fixed operations, by movements for which previous preparation must be made by having further means of conveyance. *London, March* 16, 1842."

Now albeit there is nothing very novel in this, it is a very fair statement of the case. To meet the difficulties here set forth we must have a *baggage* establishment—cattle and drivers both ever ready to take the field. Now Sir Charles Napier's plan scarcely goes as far as this. He says that in peace we may dismiss the cattle, but keep the drivers, whom he would arm and drill, as garrison troops. This is a compromise on the score of expence; it reduces the scheme to one-half of its natural proportions, and curtails it of half its utility. The events of the last ten or twelve years have sufficiently taught us, that in India we never know when we *are* at peace. "The power," says Sir Chas. Napier, "to move a detachment suddenly and rapidly is especially required in India, where *some robber* gets up from time to time, and with his followers defies the Government for months." It has not exactly been a case of "some robber" lately,—but it is very certain, that we have found ourselves in the midst of war at seasons, to which we had looked forward with confidence, as seasons of profound peace. To have at certain stations a baggage establishment complete in all its components, ready to take the field in any sudden emergency, would, unquestionably, strengthen the government of the country, and, in the end, we believe, be a saving of expence. But a *baggage* corps, without *baggage* cattle, would be a poor compromise; and would not have the desired effect of enabling an army to take the field, without the embarrassing delays, which are now so fatal to us, and so advantageous to our enemies. The difficulty is a somewhat perplexing one. We must run the risk either of keeping up at an enormous cost an establishment, for which there may be no

demand, or of not having it available when it is most wanted. Our system hitherto, has been to have nothing ready—neither ordinary carriage, nor ammunition, nor cattle for our guns; hence, when danger has arisen, everything has been done hastily, and nothing has been done well. The system, intended to be an economical one, has not in result proved economical. An inefficient establishment is always an expensive one; and ill-timed reductions are ruinous. It would be hard to calculate the sums we have sacrificed, from time to time, by dispensing with everything that "may not be wanted," and eternally remedying defects, and repairing omissions, which ought never to have been suffered to exist. It is the "penny wise, pound foolish" system, that so impoverishes us. We pay dearly for our parsimony in the end:—but with a failing exchequer how can we help ourselves?

Sir Charles Napier settles the question in his usual dashing manner. He says "the objection that this corps would be *costly* is not the truth, and contemptible if it were true:" with this, we leave for the present the matter of finance, and proceed with our illustrations of the advantages of the proposed system. That an organised *baggage* train, such as is here advocated, would cover less space and be more manageable on the march, than the old disorganised masses of free-trade *baggage*, cattle and unlimited camp-followers, is a truism which will pass current all over the world. We have no sort of doubt that a *baggage* corps would fulfil this condition. By means of such a public establishment the actual amount of *baggage* would be reduced, and the quantity taken would relatively be compressed into a smaller space. There are, and have long been, regulations limiting the number of private cattle allowed in the field; but it is doubtful whether these regulations have been very strictly observed. Where no private cattle are allowed to be taken into the field, but all animals are supplied from the public department, the strictest conformity with the regulations may be insured. There would be no room for inclination to disport itself—no room for the gratification of foolish caprice, or the indulgence of luxurious habits. Every one would be compelled to move "Peninsula fashion;" and the General would be pretty well able to estimate the number of cattle in his camp. Then, the *baggage* animals, if not regularly instructed themselves (which they would be, if forming part of a permanent establishment; like our gun bullocks, who know the words of command almost as well as their drivers), will have regularly instructed attendants. Instead of sprawling about here, there, and everywhere, they "fall in" as Sir Charles Napier writes "with regularity; they form in line,

'in column, or files, as the nature of the case admits; that is to 'say, they manœuvre, they are manageable, they obey a word of 'command; and all obstacles on the line of march are then 'passed with the greatest rapidity that the case admits of, because 'passed with regularity and with care." In a word the *baggage* is in *hand*. It is compressible within certain limits. It is a part of the army, and a manageable part of the army. There are responsibilities, where before all was irresponsible; public duties, where before was only private choice; discipline, where once was disorder; and something of *esprit-de-corps* in places where before "every man for himself" was the recognised maxim and rule of conduct. Sir Charles Napier proposes to turn the cattle-drivers into regular fighting men. "The *baggage* corps-private" he says "is not only a fighting-'man, but one entrusted with valuable property, for which he is 'responsible; he has higher duties, if possible, than any other 'soldier, and those duties are also of a nature, which requires 'more experience and reflection, than an ordinary infantry 'soldier." When the *baggage* is attacked, the camels are to be made to kneel, forming square; the beasts are thus turned into something of a breast-work, and the drivers are to fire from behind the fortification of carcases thus suddenly erected. Then the camp-followers are to support the *baggage* men; and officer's servants are to use their master's double-barrelled guns;—an arrangement, to which some officers, with an ardent affection for their particular Joe Mantons, will incontinently demur—though Sir Charles should book them as "Sybarites."

All this is great gain doubtless; but we incline to think that the most important considerations yet remain unstated. If we were to ask all the general officers, who have commanded important expeditions, now living—and conjure up the shades of departed heroes to interrogate them also—what has hampered and embarrassed them most on the march? we should be told, in all probability, "the desertion of camel-drivers; the mortality and sickness among the camels." By sickness we must be understood to mean all incapacitating causes, stopping short of the actual destruction of life. If not properly loaded, and properly tended, they are pretty sure, after a little service, to be lamed, or galled, or jaded, past present work, and, probably, future recovery. Under the present system, the unhappy animals are overloaded and underfed. They are taxed to the utmost on one hand, and defrauded of their provender on the other. The liberal supply of gram, ostensibly allowed them on the march, does not always find its way down their long shapeless throats. The temptation of an occasional fraud, at the expense of the uncomplaining

cattle, is too great to be resisted.* No wonder that we hear of large fortunes made by gomashtahs, and of large sums being offered for the management of so profitable a department. There was a gomashtah in General Pollock's camp, who offered two lakhs of rupees for the entire native controul; and that too at a time when it was believed that the army would be withdrawn. To secure the proper treatment of the *baggage* cattle would be great gain to a military commander. He is constantly annoyed and embarrassed by the reports of animals dying or failing by hundreds: over-loading and careless loading have so galled them and weakened them, that they are quite unfit to carry their burdens. After a long march it is difficult to find any serviceable camels. When General Pollock and General Nott met at Cabul, in September 1842, the former, who had been all along straitened for carriage, received 500 camels from General Nott's camp. A committee was held upon them, and they were every one condemned. Of the number, 367 were reported "galled on the back;" 129 "weak and sick;" one was lame; and the other three had died before the survey was held. On the return march, the force was subjected to every conceivable kind of annoyance, by the incessant failures of the cattle. Here is an extract from a letter, which sets forth *in petto* some of the principal inconveniences resulting from these disasters. Perhaps, it is as good an illustration as we could possibly select out of a vast number of examples that might readily be cited. The writer is the late lamented Major Broadfoot:—

"I have the honor to report that, from the number of camels that 'have died or become unserviceable, we have been obliged to 'leave behind twenty-five loads of camp equipage, tools, and am-'munition. The twelve camels, furnished by order of the Major 'General after we left Peshawur, to bring out our sick, were nearly 'twelve hours in making their first march, and arrived so sick 'as not to be again fit to load. They died in a few days after-'wards. This compelled us to take *baggage* cattle from the 'sepoys for the sick, and thus we increased the loads on the rest. The result need not be more than indicated;—baggage abandoned—the sick distressed by long and painful marches—the sepoys deprived of their carriage—and every one in camp wearied, harrassed, and annoyed. These are the immediate consequences of the neglect and ill treatment, to which under the present irresponsible system, our baggage cattle are exposed.

* To cheat a batch of 3,000 camels of their day's gram (three seers each) is to pocket (at the rate of sixteen seers the rupee) fifty pounds in English money. Sir Charles Napier talks of a string of 20,000 camels. Think of the temptation!

"The after results," as Major Broadfoot says, "need not be more than indicated."

Now, there is no doubt, that under the system proposed by Sir Charles Napier, there would be less risk of our cattle being ill-treated on the march; indeed, we may say that they would not be ill-treated at all. They would get their legitimate quantity of food, and no more than their legitimate quantity of *baggage*. There would be no underfeeding and over-loading. Sir Charles Napier sets down the weight that may fairly be put on a camel's back at from 300 to 400 lb., according to the nature of the goods to be carried. Officers commanding corps are to be responsible for all excesses:* and the officers of the baggage corps are expected to report every case of ascertained over-loading. The men of the corps, being regularly trained to their work, and occupying a recognized and responsible position in the army, will load and unload their beasts with greater care, thus preventing, in a great measure, the ever-recurring evil of the sore back. The camels would be fed under proper European superintendences; and there would be no native contracts. Thus the good treatment of the cattle would be ensured. There would be an immense gain in the efficiency of the beasts, an enormous saving of brute life, and a general improvement, both in the comfort of the troops, and the discipline of the army.

The evil of the desertion of camel-drivers is still more glaring, and the remedy more secure. "It cannot be expected," says Sir Charles Napier, "that men who are hired by the day will 'risk their lives for their employers. Such devotion can only 'be demanded from *soldiers*, from men who are drilled, disci-'plined, paid, clothed, fed;—men, who have a moral spirit 'instilled into them; and even thus human nature makes a 'severe sacrifice." Illustrative examples of the little reliance to be placed in the common surwans of the country might be cited by scores. Before the battle of Hyderabad, 200 camel-drivers deserted from Sir Charles Napier's force; in the subsequent hill campaign in Scinde, five hundred deserted with their camels. The camel-drivers with Colonel Wallace's force, in 1842, declared positively they would not move to the southward. "Every means was used to persuade them to go," wrote the gallant Colonel to Sir Charles Napier, "but as yet it has been of no avail." At the same time General Pollock was encountering

* Sir Charles Napier's regulations for the management of the Scinde baggage-corps were sufficiently stringent. "All camels which may be injured by being overloaded are to be given up to the commanding officer of the corps, who is to be charged with the value paid for the animal." "All baggage, found to be above the proper weight, is to be burned on the spot,"&c &c.

similar difficulties to the eastward. The camel-drivers had, naturally enough, a lively horror of the passes of Affghanistan, and turned sick at the sight of the Indus. A large party, with an important convoy, despatched with stores for the force, deserted bodily at Attock, early in June; an event, which, at that critical period, gave great annoyance to Lord Ellenborough. Many other instances might be quoted. Now, the establishment of a *baggage-corps* would almost entirely suppress this evil of desertion. Deserters would be tried like any other deserters, and punished accordingly. There would be more, too, than the fear of punishment to keep them faithful. They would be numbered among the pension-earning troops of the company; and would be fortified by this consideration, against many of those fears which naturally beset the common camel-drivers, who are exposed to all the dangers of war, and have no claim upon the Company, as regular servants of the state.

There is an incidental advantage arising from this scheme which we must not omit to notice. We have shown that Sir Charles Napier's *baggage* corps is a corps at once of drivers and of soldiers, capable not only of defending the cattle on the march, but also, when the march is over, and the animals are sent out to graze. Thus the regular troops are spared a very harrassing and unpopular duty. Under the old system, when the *baggage* comes up, and the tents are pitched, detachments are sent out as "grazing guards" to take charge of the camels. "Now," writes Sir Charles Napier, "he has to pitch his tent, 'and many have also to take what are called '*grazing guards*, 'that is to say, guards to follow the camels out to graze, when 'unloaded. Their grazing ground may be one, or two, or 'more miles distant; and thus European soldiers, as well as 'natives, are kept out all day in the sun." Now, the men of the *baggage* corps, being armed and drilled, will be capable of defending their own cattle; so that the services of the regular troops will never be indented upon for this unpleasant and inglorious duty. Moreover they will have greater controul over the animals at grazing time than under the present system, and be able, in an emergency, to collect them, and equip them for movement, with greater expedition.* This promptitude and regularity of movement constitute, perhaps, the greatest of all the advantages of the proposed establishment. The *baggage* corps keeps pace with the other components of the army, comes

* An instance of the delay in collecting the carriage-cattle, when out on their grazing grounds, and the necessary postponement of the movement of troops, which occurred with Lord Gough's Army in February last, will be fresh in the recollection of our readers.

up to the encamping ground at the same time with the troops, and enables the weary soldier to make himself comfortable under canvas, before the heat of the day comes on to distress him. These are benefits too obvious to require that we should do more than briefly allude to them.

We consider that a very strong case has been made out by Sir Charles Napier, in favor of the organisation of military *baggage*. He does not write merely as a theorist. The plan has been fairly tried in Scinde, and Sir Charles bears unequivocal testimony to its success. A little allowance must, doubtless, be made for parental partiality on the one side, and for descriptive exaggeration on the other; but still, after all abatements, there remains enough to convince us, that the application of the system advocated to the Indian armies would greatly increase our military strength. As a mere *military* question indeed, it is one which admits of very little discussion. The objections are almost entirely of a financial character, and these, whatever Sir Charles Napier may determine, or whatever we may think about the matter, are likely to have no little weight in more influential quarters. Some apprehension, too, may perhaps be entertained, lest the establishment of regular *baggage* corps should be regarded as a pretext for the reduction of officers' allowances in the field, if not for some interference with the pay of the men; and we need not say that the advantages of the system would be purchased too dearly at that cost.

Such apprehensions, however, would be based upon mere conjecture, and the conjecture might be a very groundless one. Still the financial difficulty would remain. We entirely think, with Sir Charles Napier, that the change would ultimately be an economical one; but it is the curse of embarrassed circumstances, public as well as private, that one cannot afford to economise. Gentlemen in difficulties cannot live cheaply, like those who have the command of ready cash. Poverty is very expensive. We must pay heavily for the misfortune of empty pockets. It is of little use to press far-reaching schemes of economy upon men who have immediate difficulties to encounter, who must struggle hard with the present, and leave the future to take its chance. The 'penny wise, pound foolish' system is a very bad one; but people in embarassed circumstances are compelled to be 'penny wise and pound foolish." They must look for present, not for prospective, advantages. They must sacrifice the hopes of to-morrow to the necessities of to-day. So it is with governing bodies: so it, especially, is with the East India Company at the present time. In the existing state of their finances, they can only economise on a small scale. It is of little

use to say to them, "It will be cheaper in the end." They must think of what is cheapest in the beginning. It is not their fault, but the evil of their position. The wars, which have emptied their treasury, have not been of their seeking. The acquisitions of territory, which have helped and will help to keep it empty, have not been of their coveting. They did not want Scinde. They did not want the Punjab. The Company have grown poorer, as their dominions have extended; they are dying of a plethora even now, and if the Punjab does not evolve the fatal crisis, it is only because there is extraordinary vitality in the body. "Another such victory will undo us," writes Sir Charles Napier, quoting Pyrrhus at Asculum, with reference to Ferozshahur and Sobraon. "Another such acquisition as Scinde, and we are undone," might well be added. We cannot go on for ever gaining losses of this kind. The hour of bankruptcy must inevitably come.

But the financial difficulty, in such a case as this, is more than an ordinary difficulty. A change of this kind, involving considerable outlay (however remunerative it may be "in the end"), demands, for the reasons above stated, an improving condition of the exchequer, which improvement can only be looked for in a season of profound peace. But a season of profound peace is the last season, in which any arguments for the extension and amelioration of our military system are likely to find acceptance in the high places of government. So that the case appears to be simply this. In war they can't do it; and in peace, they wont. Either condition is fatal to such a reform. *Utrum horum mavis accipe.* In either case, there does not seem a chance for it.

A few more words on a detached passage or two of the pamphlet before us, and we have done:—"There are," says Sir Charles Napier, "but five months in which war can be made by 'Europeans, *in that part of India, which I have seen,* viz. 'December, January, February, March and April. To attempt 'it in the hot weather is only excusable, when danger forces 'a General to this sad alternative." This passage has been much commented upon by the home journals, without reference to the qualifying words, which we have indicated by italics. But it is only lately, that in our Indian warfare we have thought so much of times and seasons. Some of our greatest military operations, in old times, were carried on in the impossible months between April and December. Plassy was fought in June. During Lord Wellesley's administration, our greatest battles were fought out of season. Lord Harris's army was out in Mysore all through the hot weather; commencing its march about the end

of February, and capturing Seringapatam in May. Lord Lake and Wellesley fought still later in the year. Allyghur was taken on the 4th of September; the battle of Delhi was fought on the 11th of September; and Wellesley beat the Mahrattas at Assye on the 23d of the same impracticable month. The specification does not appear to be very felicitous—for we imagine there are uncommonly few parts of India, in which an European army may not move more safely in November than in April. There is not, perhaps, in most parts of India a worse month in the whole year than April. Lord Cornwallis, during his first unsuccessful campaign in Mysore, was out in April and May, and the troops, man and beast, of all kinds, suffered severely from the effects of the climate. Lord Lake's army was out in April and May; and its sufferings under the scorching influence of the hot winds of the Upper Provinces were intense. Major Thorn, in the well-known narrative, which we have already quoted, gives a terrible picture of the condition of the army at this time:—

"Young men, who set out in the morning, full of spirits and in 'all the vigour of health, dropped dead immediately on reaching 'the encampment ground, and many were smitten on the road 'by the overpowering heat of the sun, especially when at the 'meridian,—the rays darting downwards like a torrent of fire, 'under which many brave and athletic men fell, without the pos-'sibility of receiving any relief. They, who were thus struck, 'suddenly turned giddy, foamed at the mouth, and instanta-'neously became lifeless. Even when encamped, the sufferings 'of the soldiers were excruciating; for the tents in general were 'ill-adapted to afford shelter against the solar heat at this sea-'son, when the thermometer in the shade frequently exceeded 'one hundred and thirty degrees of Fahrenheit. The misery 'was further increased by the scarcity of water, owing to the 'debility and mortality that prevailed among the bheesties, or 'persons employed in procuring this inestimable article. Num-'bers of these water carriers perished, through the fatigue which 'they under-went in this fiery climate, where the natives suffer 'more than even Europeans themselves, when called to any 'extraordinary exertion. Such were the afflicting circumstances 'of our march; and these were further aggravated by the in-'creasing number of our sick, many of whom were obliged to 'be conveyed in the common hackeries or country carts without 'any covering, and consequently exposed to the sun through the 'whole day, the vehicles very often not reaching the camp before 'evening;"—which would not have happened, Sir Charles Napier will say, if there had been a baggage-corps with a due supply of camel-litters. It is observable, that our troops always suffer

most, when they are retiring—when their work is temporarily done. Hope is a fine tonic. Action keeps men alive. There are instances on record of regiments in the field during the hot weather, which have suffered less than their brethren in cantonments. The case of the 52nd, which was out during the hot season in Bundlekhund under Colonel Mawby, about the year 1810, may be cited as an example.

Again, with reference to the employment of a *baggage*-corps beyond the Sutlej, "Such a corps," writes Sir Charles Napier, "will be more than ever required, if the Punjab be 'annexed to our dominions; for the Government of India may 'rest assured, that unless the troops are kept ready to move 'within an hour after the arrival of despatches, the Punjab 'will he more troublesome than ever. I consider that this 'baggage-corps will be a powerful auxiliary in the hands of 'the *General Officers, who may be entrusted with the Govern-'ment of the Punjab, after the present war is over.*"—In the expressive language of the gentleman in the fable—one of the best fables ever written—"There is nothing like leather." Sir Charles, being a general officer, determines that only general-officers are fit to govern the Punjab. There may be a difference of opinion on this subject in England as well as in India.

But passing, with a smile, this characteristic allusion, we cordially admit the truth of the remainder of the passage. Nothing is of more importance at the present time, than that every facility of immediate movement should be conferred upon our troops. An army, ever ready to take the field, is twice an army; or rather should we write, an army, never ready to take the field, is only half an army, or no army at all. In the Punjab we shall require not merely a large force, but a readily moveable force. Whatever view may be taken of the application of the organized *baggage* system to the Indian army, we think that the expediency of its application to the army in the Punjab will be readily admitted. The advocate of the scheme is now on the stage best fitted for the experiment. The *baggage-corps* system, which was found to answer so well in Scinde, may now be tried in the Punjab. The pamphleteer has become the chief of the Indian army. His pamphlet has acquired the significance of a minute in council; and we cannot doubt that a measure, so emphatically recommended in the closet at home, will now be recommended with double emphasis on the field beyond the Sutlej, and, what is of far more importance, emphasized into a fact. No writer has ever had a finer opportunity of turning, in the crucible of high office, words into acts. The words spoken on the *baggage* subject are not the only words which

the Indian army is fain to remember, and, remembering, to draw happy augury from the appointment of Sir Charles Napier to its chief command.

POSTSCRIPT.

Our paper on the baggage of the Indian army was written just a week too soon. We had scarcely despatched it to the Press, when Colonel Burlton's reply to Sir Charles Napier was laid upon our table; and a hasty glance at the pamphlet convinced us, that our article might have been rendered doubly acceptable to our readers, if we had had the *dicta* of the new Commander-in-Chief and the old Commissary General simultaneously before us. Colonel Burlton has done his best to knock down the nine-pins set up by Sir Charles Napier; and it is a mighty pretty game of bowls as it stands. Different as are their views—antagonistic as are their arguments—both disputants have one merit in common; they are both of them anything but dullards. They are very lively pamphleteers—inclining rather to the picturesque than to the argumentative, and flinging about their word-pigments with a prodigality which produces a little confusion on the canvas, characteristic of the subject itself. A little more gravity and a little more argument might, however, have been tolerated. Pictures are "plenty as blackberries," but reasons are not. Both pamphlets have their *impedimenta,* which overwhelm their battalions of facts; and both, camel-like, are (past conception) sprawling.

Colonel Burlton has a very mean opinion, not of Sir Charles Napier, but of his baggage corps. He politely calls it "a muscipular abortion." He says that the experiment tried in Scinde has turned out a failure; and that no one, who knew anything about the matter, ever expected a different result. Sir Charles Napier, however, declares that it is anything but a failure; and so the value, on either side, of the argument derivable from experience, stands neutralised by the *dicta* of the other. Both parties are more or less prejudiced. Colonel Burlton acknowledges that he was prepared to see the failure of Sir Charles's baggage corps; and Sir Charles was, of course, determined to demonstrate its success. In all probability the truth may be found at a point, midway between that reached by the partialities of the one, and the antipathies of the other.

But let us abandon all reference to the experiment, and see what the ex-Commissary General says of the abstract question. He arrays in order, as we have done, Sir Charles's propositions,

and, passing lightly over the first four, halts at the fifth, saying;—

> The fifth proposition is, in my opinion, open to most serious objections. The measure proposed would be unpleasant and inconvenient in its operation, and would lead to constant mistakes and confusion of property; there would be continual *jangling* and quarrelling too, between the public camel-drivers and the private servants of the officer; and the property of the latter would be stolen or lost, without chance or hope of recovery, with no one on whom the responsibility would rest.

We confess that we do not see the force of this. Sir Charles Napier's proposition is, "that all private baggage should be carried by the public." Now, we are not sure that he has made out his case very convincingly, but the main objection to the plan, assuredly, is not that of irresponsibility. Sir Charles Napier designs to establish a chain of responsibility from one end to the other of his baggage-establishment, and to give increased security to property. It appears to us, indeed, that this is one of its merits. Baggage, under the proposed system, would be less likely to be lost; and the culpability, if any were lost, would be more readily fixed upon the public, than on the private servant. As the camels would be less overloaded, and their burdens more systematically packed, there would be less chance of *loss;* and as the train would be better guarded, there would be less chance of *theft*. And it would be a sorry system, indeed, that did not secure the identification of the individual, under whose charge the property lost or stolen was placed upon the line of march. But identification, it may be said, is not indemnification; nor is it so under the private system. If an officer under that system loses his camels, he often loses his baggage too; but under the public system, says Sir Charles Napier, "no officer can lose his 'baggage in the ordinary course of things, for if a camel fails, 'another is at once supplied by the public, because with every 'force in the field, there are animals to spare and ready to fur-'nish assistance on an emergency." And as to the matter of indemnification, when loss occurs, if the state undertakes to be the great army carrier, it will grant compensation for the loss of goods occasioned by the negligence of its own servants.

There is a vast deal of exaggeration in Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet, and Colonel Burlton has not spared the General's high-wrought pictures of agonised commanders, and overwhelmed armies, and trains of baggage-cattle, fifty miles long. But we must brush aside this mass of badinage, amusing as much of it is, and get, if we can, at the drift of his arguments. The ex-Commissary-General says, he doubts whether the extent of the baggage, which now ordinarily accompanies our Indian armies,

can be greatly reduced. The private baggage bears so small a proportion, he contends, to the public baggage, that, if the whole of the former were abandoned, it would make no material difference. The statement is worth quoting;—

He will, of course, allow, that with every army in India, moving beyond the British territory, it is *essentially necessary* to carry a certain supply of provisions, camp equipage, ammunition, hospital comforts, and medical stores; besides grain for the cavalry and artillery horses, and other public cattle. Let us suppose the army assembled, and that they have a string of 20,000 camels attached, the number assumed by Sir Charles at page 10 of his pamphlet. Let me now ask how many of those 20,000 does Sir Charles suppose would be required, and employed in the conveyance of *essentials*, the absolute *necessaries* for the force as above enumerated,—and, without which, the force, like the detachments under General England and Colonel Wallace, would be crippled, and unable to move? How many of the 20,000, in short, does Sir Charles suppose, will be employed for public, and how many for private purposes? It is impossible, of course, to give a strictly accurate reply to the question; but a long and intimate acquaintance with cattle indents, and with the wants and demands of Indian armies, both for public and private purposes, enables me to state with much confidence, that, of a total of 20,000 camels with an army, scarcely one-tenth (or 2,000) will be employed in the conveyance of the private tents and property of the officers and men; whilst the remainder will be found laden with those public stores, above detailed, without which the army could not move with prudence or in safety. As, however, these proportions are assumed, and their accuracy may be questioned, let us say that 16,000 camels only are employed on public purposes, and that the remaining 4,000 are occupied entirely in conveying the private baggage and tents of the "Sybarite" officers, and men of the force. Those same Sybarites, let me say, *en passant*, have many a ruffled rose-leaf to lie upon, of which they have never yet been known to complain!—How many of these 4,000 camels does Sir Charles Napier think could be dispensed with? Shall we say one-half? If we do, what, after all would be gained? We should have 18,000 camels still with our force; when we have *that* number, the 2,000 we have dispensed with will be missed, rather through the inconvenience occasioned by their absence, than by any perceptible diminution of the baggage train accompanying the force, or of the labours of those employed in controlling or guarding the baggage on the march.

The experience of a large number of our readers will enable them to determine the worth of these calculations. Colonel Burlton's testimony, on such a point as this, is entitled to due weight. But perhaps it has not been sufficiently considered, how baggage begets baggage; how it increases not by arithmetical but by geometrical progression; and how it diminishes in like ratio. So many tents less, so many tent-pitchers less; so many camels less, so many camel-drivers less; so many tent-pitchers and so many camel-drivers less, then so much provision less, and so many camels less to carry provisions, and so many camels less to eat them. It is by this multiplied action and re-action, that baggage, when once the beginning is made, so rapidly

reduces itself. It appears to us, that no just calculations can be made, without fully considering the point which we have thus indicated.

But supposing, says Colonel Burlton, the system proposed by Sir Charles Napier be adopted, there is the germ of failure to be found in the characters of the agents, whom it will be necessary to employ :—

The camel-drivers are amongst the worst, the most demoralized, and dissolute class of the people of India; they are unfit to be trusted with arms, or treated as soldiers; and if they were once enrolled, dressed, and disciplined as such, they would no longer be *worth their salt* as camel-drivers. They would, in fact, be above their work in the latter capacity, and at the same time good-for-nothing as soldiers. Their camels would be neither fed nor groomed, and their high wages, nearly double what they now receive, would enable them to indulge more than ever in their great luxuries, opium and bhang; rendering them ere long useless and inefficient, if not mischievous. In the character and habits of these men, is to be found one great difficulty in bringing such a corps, as Sir Charles describes, to any thing like an efficient and useful state.

This is not very convincing. It relates to things as they are: rather than to things as they would be, under the proposed system. With better pay and the guarantee of pensions we should, in all probability, attract to this branch of the service a much better class of men than the private camel-drivers who now attend our armies. It is part of Sir Charles's plan to "ennoble the profession" of the camel-driver. Colonel Burlton says that if we do so, we shall spoil him—that the better the soldier, the worse the driver. It is hardly fair of the ex-Commissary-General to endeavor to force his antagonist upon *both* horns of the dilemma. If the men be too debased for soldiers, they will not be too elevated for camel-drivers: but we cannot see, why they should fail in either capacity. A man will not feed his beast less, or groom it worse, for being better paid for the work, and having less temptation to steal. One of the grounds, on which Sir Charles Napier recommends the establishment of baggage-corps, is that the camels would be better fed and tended. There would be more certain responsibility, and more efficient superintendence. The inducements to good conduct and the restraints of bad conduct would be more cogent; and the result, if we are not wholly mistaken, would be greatly in favor of the camel. Under the present system he certainly is not the best-used creature in the world.

But let us see something of what the "present system" really is. Who so fit to give an account of it as a Commissary-General?

"It appears to me, that Sir Charles is not aware of the system under which baggage cattle are provided for the troops in that part of India, nor

how nearly, in all but what I would call the "stage effects," (such as the coloured lanterns, the castle and gibbet, arms, uniform, brass plates, and Kubadar Molls,) it approaches to his own pet child, the Scinde baggage-corps. Let me therefore explain, as briefly as possible. At every military station, a certain complement of elephants or camels (as well as *gun*-bullocks, of course,) are kept up, as the property of Government; the elephants are caught in the Chittagong district; the camels and bullocks are bred at the Government farm at Hissar. At frontier stations, enough of these animals are kept ready at all times to enable the whole of the troops, with their tents and ammunition, to move at a few hours' notice. At the more central stations, enough are kept for the movement, in like manner, of one-half, or, in some cases, of two-thirds of the troops. These cattle are of the finest description; and though there is no commandant (so called), no quarter-masters, or regimental staff, or uniforms, or arms, or theatrical blue or red lights, yet is there a very effective establishment under other names. There is, for instance, the commissariat officer in charge of the whole, and the European cattle-sergeant; the gomashta, or native agent, (or superintendent,) and one head jemmadar; then, for every 100 camels we have one jemmadar, and two duffadars, with one surwan, or driver, for every two camels. There is some little difference between the names of some of these classes, and those which Sir Charles Napier has proposed for his baggage-corps; but "what's in a name?" I dare say my gomashta would smell as sweet as his captain, and my duffadars as his havildars. My surwans, indeed, are not armed or disciplined, and therein have their camels reason to rejoice, for they are all the better fed and groomed in consequence. How far the establishment, I have thus briefly described, is adequate to the object for which it is kept up, (that is, the movement of the troops at a short notice), may be shown in a few words; and those, too, in reference to the very important period to which Sir Charles has alluded in his 41st page.

Colonel Burlton then cites, felicitously enough, the rapidity with which, in December 1845, the British army was moved upon Múdkhí. That movement stands chronicled in the pages of this journal. A reference to the *eleventh* number of the *Calcutta Review* will show what is our estimate of that historical event. We should have thought less of it, if such promptitude had been the rule, and not a brilliant exception. We could cite a score of instances to show, that not only an army, but a division, a brigade, or even a single regiment, often takes much longer time to get ready for the field.

It will have been seen that, in the extract above quoted, Colonel Burlton seems to ridicule the idea of systematic military superintendence and responsibility. 'What's in a name?' he asks. "I dare say my gomashta would smell as sweet as his captain, and my duffadars as his havildars." The odour of sanctity, which envelops a commissariat gomashta, is not generally supposed to be the most fragrant in the world; he exudes but little "celestial ichor." He is too often "a rogue in grain," in more senses than one. Now, if there be one thing more than another to recommend Sir Charles Napier's plan, it is that the baggage-cattle of the army would be placed under more

reliable European superintendence. If Colonel Burlton thinks that a commissariat gomashta is as likely to do justice to the "discontented" but uncomplaining camel* as an European Captain, we doubt whether on this point his opinion will be shared by many of our readers.

But if Colonel Burlton be right, it is of little use to consider these minor points, for he asserts that the application of the baggage-corps system to the army is neither necessary nor practicable :—

If it could be satisfactorily and conclusively shown, that an armed baggage corps was *necessary*, or essential, to the efficiency of the army, or if it could even be shown that it was very greatly superior to the establishment at present kept up for the Bengal army, I should certainly deem it worthy of adoption, even though at a considerable increase of expence; but I altogether deny its *necessity;* doubt its practicability (to the extent that would be requisite to produce any important result); and, even under the most favorable construction of its supposed advantages, am of opinion that the latter could not possibly prove at all commensurate with the very considerable outlay it would occasion. As regards the *necessity*, I content myself with pointing to the successes of the Indian army from the days of Clive to the present time. I would point to the campaigns, the extraordinary marches, and the brilliant achievements of that army for the past century, and ask, why should we now require an armed and disciplined body of men to lead our baggage, when we needed it not before? As regards the *practicability* of establishing such a corps, I have already pointed out one or two of the difficulties attending the measure; but, even supposing these difficulties to be overcome, there is yet to be considered the uselessness of establishing such a corps, on imperfect principles, or of insufficient strength. I have observed before, that a baggage-corps system, to be useful, must be complete—that a corps of 1,800 men, for instance, would be utterly useless (*"rari nantes in gurgite vasto"*) in the midst of the tumultuous and troubled sea of baggage, such as Sir Charles Napier has described. Be the army large or small, the baggage-corps should be strong enough to carry the whole of its baggage; it would be bootless for it to carry a part, and this, I think, Sir Charles will allow. Now, let us see what sort of a corps would be required, for instance, to carry the baggage with the force now under Lord Gough, on the "*fabulosus Hydaspes.*" It is scarcely possible, neither is it necessary, to make any precise calculation of the quantities of carriage,—elephants, camels, bullocks, mules, carts, &c.,—which in all probability, form Lord Gough's baggage-train; but I am sure I shall be guilty of no exaggeration, if, reducing them all into one denomination, I say they will be fully equal to 25,000 camels. Now, 25,000 camels, on Sir Charles Napier's proposed establishment, would cost (exclusive of their food) about 255,000 rupees, or say £25,500 per mensem. The cost of the same number of camels, on the present Bengal system, would be, (also exclusive of their food) about 75,000 Rs., or say £7,500 per mensem; thus showing a clear excess for the baggage-corps, of £18,000 per mensem, or £216,000 per annum! and this, without counting the expense of uniform, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, flags, lanterns, or Kubadar Molls. I

* In an account of India, published in 1711 by one John Lockyer, we find the camel described as "a discontented, stinking, ugly, unserviceable creature." This writer sets down the proper load for a camel at from 4 to 5 maunds—which agrees with that fixed by Sir Charles Napier.

have put the matter in this rather strong light, to show what might be the occasional outlay incurred, by the introduction of the proposed system; but, even looking to it in ordinary times of peace, there will still be an increase of expenditure apparent, sufficient to make a member of the Supreme Goverment (as Sir Charles will now be) pause ere he gave it sanction.

The total number of Government public cattle (elephants and camels) kept up at all times for the carriage of the camp-equipage and ammunition of the Bengal army, (exclusive of carriage bullocks, which are used in Bengal proper), may be said, on a rough estimate, to amount to about 6,000 camels; their cost in cantonments, exclusive of their food, may be calculated at three rupees each, or 18,000 rupees per mensem. The same number of camels, formed into baggage-corps, on the organization proposed by Sir C. Napier, would cost about Rs. 10+3 each, or 61,000 rupees per mensem; giving a difference in English money of £51,600 per annum, without counting the cost of arms, uniform, &c., for 6,000 privates, and their officers and staff of all descriptions, as before stated.

Now as Colonel Burlton asserts, what we very readily acknowledge, that "parsimony in military matters is too frequently the worst extravagance," these financial considerations need scarcely have been put so prominently forward. If, however, Sir Charles Napier's scheme be neither necessary nor practicable, there is an end of the matter. But we confess that we look upon these references to antiquity as of all arguments the most worthless. "Our ancestors have done without it—so can we." If there were any cogency in this, there would be an end at once to all improvements. Nay, if our ancestors had recognised it, we should now be fighting our battles with cross-bows. It is all very well to point to the successes of the Indian army since the days of Clive. That army has had its disasters too: and we think that, after perusing the historical illustrations in the earlier part of our article, the reader will come to the conclusion, that a very large proportion of those disasters were caused by the magnitude of our baggage. As to the impracticability of the scheme on the score of expence, Colonel Burlton has shown, we think, very satisfactorily, that we may have a much less expensive baggage-corps, without any loss of efficiency, than that with which Sir Charles Napier experimentalised in Scinde. "Throughout India," he says, "one surwan is considered more than equal to 'the charge of two baggage-camels; in general one man 'takes care of three, and frequently more. I do not under-'stand, therefore, why Sir Charles Napier should have al-'lotted a man to every camel in his baggage-corps; but as I am 'quite certain that half the number would be amply sufficient, 'I would venture to suggest for the gallant officer's consider-'ation, whether it might not be preferable to divide his corps 'of 1,800 camels into two classes—that is to say, 900 drivers, 'each with his two camels, and 900 regular sepoys." The *argumentum ad absurdum*, with which this passage con-

cludes, is well enough in a pamphlet written by so facetious a scribe as Colonel Burlton; but we would rather that the Ex-commissary General had treated the matter with a little more gravity. The statement, however, is not without its uses. Colonel Burlton has shown, we think, that Sir Charles Napier has over-manned his baggage-corps. But a system is not radically faulty, because it may be improved.

The fact, indeed, is this, that there may be defects in the plan proposed by Sir Charles Napier—but that nothing can be better than its object. "Rome was not built in a day." The experimental baggage-corps raised in Scinde will have enabled Sir Charles to see clearly the points at which his system is improvable. That system may not be adopted in all its details; but we cannot help thinking, as we earnestly hope, that something will come of this discussion. There can be no doubt that our armies have been wont to take the field encumbered with an inordinate mass of baggage; and our belief is that the evil is not, in all its length and breadth, a necessary evil. We do not mean that it is remediable in the gross, but that it is remediable in part. The disease, we feel assured, under proper treatment, can be greatly alleviated, if a cure be out of the question. What we especially want at the present time is an army that can be readily set in motion, and that once set in motion, can move with rapidity from one point to another; and whether that object is to be brought about by the agency of a "baggage-corps," or of an improved commissariat system, is of very little consequence in the end. Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet has this advantage over Colonel Burlton's, that it suggests something—it aims at some improvement; whilst the Ex-commissary general—*laudator temporis acti*—seems satisfied with things as they are.

One word more, before we part from Colonel Burlton. He has undertaken to show—and what he has undertaken, he has done bravely and well—that the officers of the Indian army are not "Sybarites;" but soldiers ready, at all times, at the call of duty to sacrifice their individual comforts. Who can doubt it? Not we. Not, we feel assured, Sir Charles Napier himself. But we have marked Colonel Burlton's apology for insertion, and we may let the extract stand:—

In looking to the baggage of the officers of an Indian army, and calculating what may be their real wants, we must first divide them into two classes. Those who belong to regiments having messes, and those belonging to regiments having none. It will be simpler still, and perhaps fairer on the whole, to class them into officers of European, and officers of native regiments. All the former have excellent and well-organized messes. These officers have only to sit down, eat, and be filled. The native regiments differ; some have messes, others have not; but the officers of these corps are so liable to be detached, on escort, treasure, and other such duties, away from their

head quarters, that, in point of fact, they must keep themselves to some extent provided with the means of getting a breakfast or dinner cooked up for themselves, independently altogether of the aid of the mess; and we may as well, therefore, put the latter out of sight altogether, in considering their wants. At page 39 of his pamphlet, Sir Charles Napier gives us his idea of what an officer requires on service, "his tent, his bed, a canteen, a second pair of breeches," and so forth. Very true; the allowance is a fair and liberal one enough: nay, more, if the officer belongs to an European regiment, he will not require the canteen at all. In fact the only part of an officer's baggage, worth considering, is his tent. This requires one or two camels for its conveyance. Let the Government provide it, and carry it, and I am tolerably certain that no officer in the army, (save some of the highest ranks), would wish to encumber himself on active service with more than one camel, for the conveyance of all the rest of his worldly goods. The officer of an European regiment would not even require one camel; his second pair of breeches, and other luxuries of the kind, might be carried in a pair of camp baskets, slung over a man's shoulder; and another man could carry his bed. What more would he want? I am afraid, however, the officer of the native regiment, the regiment without a mess, must be indulged a little more. Remember, he has no meal provided for him; he has nothing to eat but what he brings with him, or can pick up on the march, (I need hardly say *how much* that is),—and to prepare even that measly fowl, or emaciated kid, which we saw mounted on his camel, he must carry his own spit or gridiron. Then, as he cannot afford to carry wine or beer, he may be allowed to comfort himself occasionally with a cup of tea,—the European soldier receives it daily;—and perhaps a bottle or two of brandy, "to keep out the cold" on a wet night, will not be grudged him even by Sir Charles Napier. But, to render even these very small comforts of any use, he must carry a tea-kettle, a saucepan or two, a tea-pot (he will drink his tea out of a tumbler, and be thankful), a couple of plates, and as many knives, forks, and spoons. He must have a canteen, in short, and the best kind of canteen is a camel trunk. It will hold all I have mentioned, and a small supply of tea, biscuits, &c. besides. It occupies one side of a camel: on the other side is slung a corresponding trunk, conveying the spare pair of breeches, &c., and over the two, crosswise, is the bed. The kid, the fowl, the gridiron, the spit, have already been stowed away on the other camel carrying the tent; and perhaps, if you were present, and watched very closely the unloading of the two animals, you might find the tea kettle and saucepan, with a lump of firewood, and a piece of salted beef, a red-herring, or a tongue perhaps, carefully stowed away by the ingenious butler, cook, and footman, (like Mrs. Malaprop's Mr. Cerberus, three single gentlemen in one), in some fold of the tent, whilst, from amidst the bed-clothes, would emerge boots, hair-brushes, night-caps, segars, razors (oh, fie! thou Sybarite!) the half-emptied brandy bottle, a prayer-book (good boy!), candlestick, slippers, a one-keyed flute, and a single-barrelled gun. A bed on the line of march is something like a carpet-bag, the general repository of all miscellaneous stray articles, which no one can find any other place for; and which can never be filled so full, but that something else can be crammed into it, somehow or other. Now we here have pictured our two young officers. The one, belonging to an European regiment, needs nothing but a couple of men; if he be extravagant, and have more than one spare pair of breeches, let him have one camel, instead of the two men. He requires nothing more, except for his tent; and I think I may say, going on active service, he seldom has more.

The officer of the native regiment, on the other hand, who has no mess to resort to, nothing to eat or drink but what he carries, must be considered in a more indulgent spirit, and should not be grudged, (what I think he does

not often exceed) one camel for all his wants, in addition, as in the former case, to the requisite carriage for his tent; nay, more, if I were the General commanding, I would allow him a man with a pair of baskets besides, though it were only to let him carry one bottle of wine to rejoice with over our first victory; or to drink his mother's health on her birth-day; and at the same time to relieve the groaning bed of some portion of its burthen.

It is but proper to tell the English reader that the higher ranks of the Indian army fare somewhat, though not much better, than the young officer, whose *menage* I have been describing; but as Sir Charles Napier would seem to have selected a Commander-in-Chief, or General of Division at least, with his sixty servants *(vide* page 21), to hold up as a specimen of our Indian officers to the gaze of an astonished English public, it is but fair that I should select my specimen of the monster from the other end of the ladder, and shew what are the vaunted luxuries of the Indian subaltern. That the officers of the Indian army can dispense with even these *luxuries*, when their duty calls on them to do so; that they are ever ready to march without even a servant or a tent, when emergencies arise; and to leave everything behind them but their stout hearts and good swords, when started in pursuit of an enemy, let the history of India proclaim.

Who made a difficulty, or asked a question about his baggage, his servants, his luxuries, when he heard that Lord Lake was about to take him a march of seventy-five miles at a stretch, to surprise Holkar at Futtyghur? And when they beat up his quarters in the morning, after that splendid march, was there one of those enervated luxurious officers absent from the fray? How did they accomplish those extraordinary marches of the campaigns of 1817—18, if they were so dependent on their baggage, their servants, and their creature comforts? Ask General Caulfield, Sir Charles, (he is now an East India Director), how he and his officers fared, or what they cared for luxuries, in his successful pursuit of a body of Pindaris in 1817, with a party of the 5th Cavalry? Or what cared *they* either of the 4th Cavalry under Major Ridge, in their march of about the same distance a short time afterwards? Or the left division of the grand army under Sir Dyson Marshall? Or, subsequently, the cavalry, or flying division, under Sir Thomas Brown? Or the divisions on the Nerbudda, under Adams and Doveton? Or the Bombay division, under Sir W. G. Keir? Did they, I ask, or any of them, ever talk of luxuries or inquire for their servants, tents, or baggage, when called on to make marches of forty, fifty, and sixty miles? or did they flag or fail in accomplishing them?

Look at the army in Ava. Look at that force just starting from Rangoon (it is Feburary 1825), under Sir A. Campbell. What were their equipments, think you, their luxuries, their baggage, their servants? You shall hear. Every officer was allowed, for the purpose of carrying his *tent*, his clothes, his provisions, his worldly goods and chattels of every kind, one-half of a bullock; *one* miserable Bengal bullock, of the worst and smallest description (not bigger than a donkey), was allowed for every two officers; and we were starting on a march of several hundred miles, through a hostile country, which we knew would be desolated and deserted before us. The sight of that camp, I imagine, would have astonished, or, it may be delighted, Sir Charles Napier; at all events, it would have shewn him "*the old Peninsula style*" fairly outdone in India. Few, but a very few, lucky officers, who had been at Rangoon during the previous eight or nine months of its occupation, had contrived to pick up a stray pony, or a donkey, or a cow perhaps, to help them on in the approaching campaign; but the majority, the great bulk of them, in fact, had nothing but the miserable half bullock before mentioned. For tents, few had anything better than a sort of awning, or a large blanket, (or two sewn together), with three bambús, two uprights, and a ridge pole, to support it. But I am a poor hand at a description, and will therefore give a picture of our camp, as drawn by an

officer, who had rather a good idea of colouring, and was not ashamed to display his talent. "On reaching camp, the scene which presented itself was at once grotesque and novel. No double-poled tent bespoke the army of Bengal, or rows of well-pitched rowties that of the sister presidency; no oriental luxury was here displayed, or even any *of the comforts of an European camp*" (please to mark that, Sir Charles!) "to console the traveller after his hot and weary march; but officers of all ranks couching under a blanket, or Lilliputian tent, to shelter themselves from a meridian sun, with a miserable half-starved cow or pony, the sole beast of burden of the inmate, tied or piqueted in rear, conveying to the mind more the idea of a gipsy bivouac, than of a military encampment. Nothing of the pomp or circumstance of war was here apparent, nor would even the experienced eye have recognised in the little group, that appeared but as a speck on the surface of an extensive plain, a force about to undertake the subjugation of an empire, and to fight its way for 600 miles against climate, privation, and a numerous enemy."—*Snodgrass's Burmese War*, pp. 132-9.

It may be as well to mention, that this force, "about to undertake the subjugation of an empire," consisted of about 1,300 European infantry, 1,000 sepoys, two squadrons of native cavalry, one troop of horse-artillery, and a rocket-troop. For this small force we contrived to carry provisions for fifteen days, on carts; the train was a small one indeed, compared with what is required for an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, but, small as it was, it was the only part of our baggage train which ever incommoded our movements, or caused us trouble. So it will always be found in India; the actual luggage of officers and men is as nothing compared with the depôt of provisions; and yet, how can the latter be dispensed with? But to return to the force in Ava. For the luxuries of the table, the officers on this campaign received the same rations as the private soldier; salt junk, (occasionally varied by a little fresh buffalo!) ship-biscuits, and two drams of rum, drawn daily on indent, from the commissariat stores. This was not simply for a day or two, either; the force left Rangoon on the 12th of February, and did not get into quarters, if such they could be called, at Prome, until the 25th of April; and yet, somehow or other, we got along gaily enough. It would have been most dangerous to attempt such a march, with such equipments, in Hindostan; but fortunately we had delightful weather, and the troops continued remarkably healthy throughout. When you reach Bombay, Sir Charles, ask Sir Willoughby Cotton, if he remembers the time, when he thought a piece of buffalo's flesh a luxury. To be sure it required the teeth of an ogre to masticate it, but it made something like a soup: it was fresh; we got it at first, but seldom, and so it was considered somewhat of a treat! Go to! Sir Charles, go to! In your trip to Emamghur in 1843, you and your aide-de-camp had three camels between you, and you think your self-denial and privation in not having more, worthy of a note of admiration! You had beer and wine too, it seems; however, as you confess and cry shame on yourself for *this*, we will say no more about it; only, I pray you, not to run away with the idea, that you are going to command an army, whose officers will not readily and cheerfully go hand in hand with you in all things,—in hardship, in privations, or in dangers,—but I am forgetting our line of baggage.

We part, after this passage, as will the majority of our readers, in good humour with Colonel Burlton; but we cannot help wishing that he had turned his experience, which is great, and his talents, which are considerable, to some better account. The importance of the subject deserves something better than a volume of amusing banter: and something better the Ex-commissary General might easily give us, if he would.

ART. VI.—*Introduction to the Bengali Language, by the late Rev. W. Yates, D. D. Edited by J. Wenger.*

WE feel that some explanation is required of our reasons for drawing attention to a language, which does not possess one single prose author of sterling value, which has none of the early national poetry that sometimes compensates for the absence of a more varied literature, and which is spoken by a people, whom the Deen Dayals and Bhawani Sings of Oude, or of Rohilcund, are accustomed to hold in the most supreme and unmitigated contempt.

The claims of the Bengali language on our notice are, however, both manifold and indisputable. It is spoken by from twenty-five to thirty millions of inhabitants. The vast plains, in which it is the medium of conversation, are the fairest and richest throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. Closely dependant on the parent Sanskrit, it possesses many of the advantages, and few of the blemishes, which characterize that first of Indo-Germanic tongues. Though not without a few dialectical variations, it preserves mainly an unbroken regularity, from the banks of the Subhanrika, to the frontiers of Assam. It is simple in its structure, lucid in its syntax, and vigorous in its expressions, and above all, it is inseparably connected in our mind with those pleasing recollections, which the progress of education, and the first dawning of enlightened opinions in the Lower Provinces, cannot fail to excite.

No further apology would therefore seem required for the following detailed notice of the Bengali language and literature. It has frequently been remarked that Bengali more closely resembles Sanskrit than Italian does Latin. We might go further, and almost say that it has altered very little more from the original, than modern Greek has from the language of Thucydides and Plato. Bengali has experienced but a moderate change from the vicissitudes of conquest, and the successive sway of Mussulman or Affghan dynasties. It is true that the influx of Persian and Arabic substantives, into the spoken and even the written dialect, has been very considerable: but the great landmarks of the language have remained fixed and unalterable. In the simplicity of its syntax, in its observance of many of the laws of euphony, in the preservation unimpaired of those parts of speech which European grammarians term verbs, and which Orientals with more true perception, emphatically term the words of *action*, in adherence to all that the Sanskrit language had of dignity and clearness, and in abhorrence of a load of

grammatical subtleties, Bengali as a written language, has remained to this day unchanged. It has not resulted from the coalition of two broken languages, as modern English from Norman-French and Saxon: it shows no marks of that fusion which invaders, succeeding each other in rapid succession, have given to the Italian: it sprung not, like the polished Urdu, from some great Camp-city, where, for six months in the year, the Amir and the retainer, the peasant and the mercenary soldier, adventurers and pedlars from distant countries, mixed in the intercourse of amusement, of dependance, or of trade. Bengali flows almost entirely from one single source; and, of all the rivulets which rise from that primeval fountain, it most reminds us of the original parent.

Whatever may have been the early seat, or the fortunes of that nation, whose laws and literature are contained in the Sanskrit, there is little doubt that they possessed, as a people, many of the essential elements of greatness. With the conservative spirit of their institutions, and the depressing tendency of their social and domestic policies, by which those elements were stifled, we have here nothing to do. But for a right understanding, of the character of the Bengali language, we may be pardoned for a passing reference to that of the Sanskrit. Rich in synonymes, regular in its early formation, with euphony that fell like music on the ear, and combinations that conveyed instantaneously a graphic picture to the eye, of wire-drawn subtlety, of pointed and sententious terseness, diffuse or compact at will, of fertility such as neither fresh discoveries in science, nor all the refinements of the schools, could exhaust, speaking by turns the language of war, of love, and of philosophy, Sanskrit might have descended to posterity, no incorrect image of that ideal perfection, which its ambitious priesthood had vainly arrogated for their chosen offspring. But ample causes were at work to blast the fair promise of its earlier stages. It fell into the hands of men, whose perverse ingenuity delighted to change clearness into obscurity, and to make riddles of plain words. What was already refined became intricate and confused: what was manly and vigorous, was rendered fanciful and puerile. The language well worthy of the Rulers of Hastinapura and Ujayini, became the language of quacks, of dreamers, and of mountebanks. Its melodious euphony was degraded to the formation of endless and unmeaning alliterations: its grammar was loaded with those additional incumbrances, which testify the desire to make knowledge hard of attainment, and worthless, when attained. Thus tricked out and falsified, with a literature unadorned by even a single historical work, it has come

down to us as the lasting memorial of the Asiatic intellect, which in the social system, as in the creations of the brain, appears alike incapable of comprehensiveness, of freedom, and of truth.

From the above language Bengali has sprung at one step. Its only new invention is a new written character. While the Hindi employs the old Devanagari, the Bengali has devised a new set of symbols, based essentially on the same principles, but different in actual shape. Whether the former fact be an argument to prove the greater independance of the people of Upper India, and the latter demonstrate the more pliant and servile temperament of the dwellers by the Lower Ganges; whether Bengali was devised as a speaking language, because it was either impossible or impolitic to speak in such a one as the Sanskrit, are questions which may be left to the speculative and the curious. But it is worth while to examine how like, and yet how unlike, are the original and the copy. In pure Bengali well nigh every word is pure Sanskrit. Here the final letter has been omitted: there the word itself has undergone some slight change, but is yet easily traceable to the source: here again it is hardly to be recognised, save by the implicit faith, and the unhesitating compliance of the eager philologist. But in the syntax, what a complete, what a salutary revolution! Instead of the complicated declensions of Sanskrit, we have nouns which adapt themselves to a certain ready-made set of affixes, indicative of case, and never subject to variety. Very slight regard is paid to the difference of singular and plural, and but occasionally to the concord of adjectives. English itself is hardly less solicitous, than is the Bengali, about the distinctions of sex in epithets. But if the change is remarkable in nouns, it is something miraculous in the verbs. Sanskrit had shown us some ten conjugations: a couple of thousand roots, ideal in existence, it is true, but still the source of verbs: a common and a proper form of conjugation: a number of prepositions, which, when added to the root, increased, modified, or altered, in some way, its original meaning: a profusion of tenses as considerable as in Greek: a general uncertainty, so striking as to puzzle the most practised scholar and the profoundest grammarian. By one single stroke of the enchanter's wand all this has vanished. All the subtleties of dictionary makers, all the fine-spun distinctions, all the artificial barriers, which hedged in Sanskrit from the vulgar gaze, and made its acquisition the labour of a life-time, have been entirely swept away. Out of a language the most complicated, the most refined, and the most impregnable, has come forth a spoken tongue, composed essentially of the same substance, and yet the most simple in structure, and the least

fettered by created restrictions, of any in the whole range of philology.

A short account of the most remarkable peculiarities of Bengali may perhaps be no unfitting introduction to a statement of its exceedingly scanty literature, and to such particulars of its usages and structure, as we have been enabled to gather from intercourse with the native population. In this, we shall endeavour to avoid the minuteness of a lexicographer, and to set forth such an account as may serve to acquaint even un-oriental readers with the main sources of its weakness and its strength.

In Orthography, Bengali closely imitates the Sanskrit. It has invented, as before said, a new character, but in the number of letters, vowels or consonants, in the laws of euphony, which regulate their junction and separation, it is essentially one and the same. A nobler model could, indeed, hardly have been found. No anxiety for symmetrical order on the part of the inventor of letters, no desire to express sound by adequate signs, could have devised representatives more luminous and more efficient. The pre-eminence of Sanskrit in this respect is sufficiently proved by the pertinacity with which so many Eastern dialects have appropriated, not the exact form of its letters, but their powers, number, division, and arrangement. The invention of the Sanskrit Cadmus, whoever he may have been, remains to this day unrivalled; and, as recent publications have reminded us, is re-produced with slight alterations in the most distant and opposite regions of India, in the languages of Nepal, and on the borders of Scinde.

But in pronunciation Bengali has deteriorated. The clear sounding *a*, which, in Sanskrit, is considered inherent in every consonant, when no other distinct vowel is expressed, has been transmitted into a dull-sounding *o*. The consonant or semi-vowel *y* is invariably pronounced as *j*, and the distinction between *v* and *b* has completely vanished. The effect of this last unauthorised metamorphosis will be readily conceived by every beginner in Bengali, who will be dismayed, at the first outset, by hearing his native Pundit pronounce the word "vowels," the force of which he is endeavouring to explain, as "bowels," and the word "votes," as "boats!" What greater proof is required of degeneracy, and of dulled perception in speech and ear?

The rules for nouns and adjectives, cases and concords, comparative and superlative, are all of the simplest and easiest kind. In the numerals the utmost license seems to have been given to the wanderings of fancy. What in Sanskrit are uniform and regular, have, in common Bengali as in Hindi, become wayward, disorderly and unmeaning. This is in some degree com-

pensated by the simplicity of the verbs. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that there is no such thing as an irregular verb in the language. Those of regular declension maintain an unswerving fidelity to one model; and in the written language, or that employed with persons of rank, the utmost possible use is made of the primary verb "to do," which, joined with a noun-substantive, actually displaces all other verbs, which, in themselves and without any noun, are indicative of the act talked of, or performed. One or two other peculiarities in this part of the subject are not undeserving notice. The form of the Latin future (ibo), which had been lost in Sanskrit, re-appears in Bengali: a negative and an affirmative verb, short and compact, give it an additional source of strength, especially in conversation: it has the causal verb regularly formed by the insertion, or the lengthening, of one single syllable: its passive form is somewhat cumbersome, though it possesses the merit of perspicuity: and in short there appears throughout a studied desire to avoid whatever is variable, intricate, or obscure.

In the conjugation of verbs, Bengali has a manifest advantage over the spoken language of the North West Provinces, or the Urdu. Superior as is the latter in the fertility and variety of these parts of speech, grammarians have anxiously laboured to load it with new difficulties by subjecting the verb to the rules of concord. In French and Italian, we know, participles follow the gender, not of the governing, but of the governed noun. Urdu generally reverses this rule, and carries concord further still. The past, the present, and the future tenses are actually indicative of the sex of the speaker. Open an Urdu story book, and a glance will tell whether a man or a woman be the party acting in the narrative. These created distinctions, though at times serving to elucidate, obviously increase the difficulties of beginners, and, from a laudable desire to impart clearness to sentences, degenerate into intricacy and confusion. All the above are in Bengali unknown. These differences are worthy of notice for those who would appreciate the simple and almost infantine character of Bengali grammar. Divest it of its somewhat forbidding written character, and its dulled sound, it is one of the plainest and most inviting of all derivative tongues.

At the risk of turning a paper on the merits of a language into a philological disquisition we have been hitherto diffuse. We now proceed to examine the character of the few books extant in Bengali, on which even the most favourable opinion could not venture to bestow the title of a literature. We gather from Dr. Yates's book, that before the commencement of

the present century, few, if any, even of those few, were in existence. The palmy days of Hindu literature had indeed long passed away. A new rival had fairly occupied possession of the field. It was, in truth, a noble language, fitted alike for the closet and the assembly, for the philosopher and the man of the world. Men, who could explore the depths of the mind with as great perseverance as any of the Hindu sages, here found a worthy exponent of their thoughts. Poets had composed in it epics on the deeds of heroes, as famous as those storied in the Ramayana. By it, authenticated narratives of invasion, of conquest, and of imperial rule, had been handed down to successive generations. Its praises in favour of wine, its highly-wrought descriptions of the youthful charms of women, had arrested the attention of high and low, and had gladdened even the hearts of kings. Famed minstrels had adopted its sweet sounds to the melody of the harp, and had been rewarded for their song, by the proverbial neglect, or the fabled munificence, of oriental sovereigns. Rich in every imaginable department of literature, it was eminently the language of articulate-speaking men. It had been increased by a law phraseology, drawn from another and a more powerful source: it gave dignity to the humblest subjects, and clothed in an exuberant redundancy of diction the driest and dullest of disquisitions; and, above all, it possessed a quality, in which Sanskrit was signally wanting, that of ready application to all the practical purposes of life. Nothing about it was more remarkable than the perfection of its written character. Its manuscripts, of which the neatness and accuracy might almost vie with the printer's art, adorned with tracery and embellishment, were handed down as heir-looms in the families of nobles, or stored in repositories, where breathed the odour of sanctity. It had been cultivated, men said, with greater success in India than in the land of its origin, and conscious of its superiority for all purposes of intercourse or of business, the supple Hindu soon learnt to handle it with equal or even greater facility and readiness than the unbending Mussulman himself.

Persian was in fact the language of the court and of the cabinet, and the high road to distinction and to wealth. With it, sanctioned by the stamp and title of official importance, and hallowed in the eyes of the Mahomedan population by the ennobling associations of conquest and dominon, no vernacular language could for a moment hope to vie. No doubt, Bengali was ordinarily used, even in writing, by the middle classes on unimportant occasions. A village agent wrote his petition, or a zemindar's head man might keep the day book of the estate, in

this despised and neglected medium. But even this sort of Bengali was much more characterized by an infusion of Persian, than it is at present. We have seen sunnuds, registered in the year 1780, and consequently of much older date, where the characters indeed were Bengali, but where not one single word in a sentence, except the concluding verb, was anything else than the most unmixed Persian. In Persian, to be brief, was everything transacted that savoured of dignity, of judicial forms, or of complimentary address.

It may therefore be asserted with correctness that if the Bengali language be several hundred years old, its scanty literature is not of older date than a century: and within the space of one hundred years, what eastern nation can be fairly expected to create for itself a permanent literature? Still, a passing notice of some of the books usually read in Bengali by either natives or Europeans, may not be out of place. We commence with a work known under various appellations in every country, where fables are listened to with pleasure, or recited with effect.

The character of the Hitopadesha is well known from the original, or from some one of its numerous translations, offshoots and paraphrases. A minute analysis of its contents is therefore needless. But, like most imitations, it has considerably degenerated in the hand of the translator. To say nothing of the style, which is often inundated with Sanskrit forms, and therefore proportionately vicious, the matter has deteriorated as regards elegance, simplicity, and worth. Allusions already indelicate, have become more coarse. Anecdotes, eminently characteristic of eastern social life, are marked by a broader cast, and by more repugnant features. We miss also the quaint simplicity of those Sanskrit couplets, which pointed the moral, contained the scope and essence of the tale, gave additional force to the exhortations of a confidential adviser, and deterred the king himself from some contemplated evil deed. We are, in short, losers by the exchange. We have gained the iron armour of Diomede for the precious gold of Glaucus.

The Tota Itihas, or Tales of a Parrot, deserve notice, as well from their style, as their subject. An adaptation of the Persian Toti-namah, it is not restricted to words of pure Sanskrit origin, but contains a large admixture of Persian; and, as such, affords a fair specimen of the colloquial style. But the frame work of the book is more remarkable than its language. Maimun and Khojesta are two young persons, possessed of everything that can give a charm to married life. Maimun, the husband,

has occasion to journey to a far country, and leaves as the confidential advisers of his wife, a Mynah and a Parrot. In her lord's absence the heart of Khojesta is not proof against the seductions of a handsome young Rajput, and she is on the point of falling a victim to temptation. The Mynah, for giving unseasonable advice in unpleasant language, is summarily dashed to the ground. The Parrot takes warning by the untoward fate of his companion, and endeavours to keep his mistress in the paths of rectitude, not by pointed injunctions, but by a device similar to that which Scheherazade in the Arabian Nights employs to hinder the Sultan from sacrificing a fresh victim on every succeeding day. He gives advice the very opposite of what he intends, and illustrates it, either by a long tale, or by the conduct of personages just sufficiently explained to awaken curiosity. The story is spun out, and Khojesta listens, until the night is too far spent to allow execution of her design. The sequel may be imagined. The device is attended with complete success, and in the end, the husband returns to find the honour of his home inviolate.

The Purush Parikhya, or "trial of a man," is a translation of a Sanskrit work. It contains a series of moral tales, but is gradually falling into neglect, and is well nigh out of date.

In the Prabodh Chundrika, or "moonlight of intelligence," the student may range at will over all kinds of Bengali from the highest to the lowest: from sentences so studded with Sanskrit combinations as to be almost unintelligible to those who have not learnt the older language, down to vulgar abuse and colloquial freedoms, such as could hardly be understood, save by those who have frequently conversed with porters, fishermen, and quarrelsome old women.

The Batris Singhasan, or thirty-two thrones, may demand a little longer notice. It relates to Vikramaditya, a sovereign to whose age Hindu tradition loves to refer everything marvellous or dimly great. Indra, pleased with this king's excellent conduct, presents him with a throne. This throne, adorned with thirty-two images, is carried to the monarch by the god of air. When Vikramaditya is killed in fight with Salivahana, this precious gift is buried by the ministers, and for a long time remains hidden. Many years afterwards, a ryot, cultivating his paternal acres, discovers that, when sitting on a platform in the midst of his field, he becomes endowed with the qualities of great discernment and decision. By the order of Bhoj, the reigning monarch of the country, the ground is dug up, and the lost throne duly discovered. When the king, in the midst of a large circle of courtiers, is about to take his seat

there, the first image informs him, that without Vikramaditya's qualities he is unworthy to occupy Vikramaditya's throne. Explanation ensues; and a story is told by each one of the thirty-two images in succession, illustrative of the former king's great or good qualities, and implying that a worthy successor to him has not yet been born amongst the sons of men. The style of this work is good, and its form and scope are no infelicitous examples of the tales which captivate the eastern imagination.

The other current Bengali works may be summarily dismissed. The life of Raja Krishna Chundra Rai is an account of the ancestor of the present Rajah of Nuddea, intermingled with such pleasant fictions as the fancy of the compiler might suggest. The "Light of knowledge" and the "Sea of knowledge," are each, a series of moral tales, abounding like all other oriental works, in truisms but at times displaying a considerable power of language. To Bengali poetry we may make some allusion further on.

With the exception of a few other works, and of sundry ephemeral publications,* the above are really the only books, which can be said to make up the Bengali literature. Amongst the whole number, there is no single one which can even pretend to an equality with the Urdu work, the Bagh-o-bahar. It is in fact just such a literature as we might expect from a people, who, for one series of years, saw in Sanskrit, a vehicle for thought and a fancied repository for knowledge, with which other created languages could never compete; and, for another series, transferred their admiration to Persian, as the only road to emolument and to worldly honour. Had a combination of events secured for England a similar blind servility, first to Latin and then to French, we might, at this day, have been in the possession of a strong and masculine language. But we should certainly have wanted at least one-half of our rich and varied literature.

From this barren and uninteresting part of our subject we turn to trace the present boundaries of the spoken language. They are mainly as follows. Bengali is the medium of conversation, partly, if not entirely, in no less than twenty-three districts of the Lower Provinces. With a few slight and unim-

* The number of these is far too considerable for separate notice, although their aggregate is not quite a literature. There have been published in Bengali, Histories of Greece, Rome, and England, Histories of Bengal and India, Yates's dialogues on Natural Philosophy, Ancient Histories, numerous Tracts and Pamphlets printed by the Calcutta School Book Society, Tract Society, Serampore and Assam and other presses, and the Encyclopædia Bengalensis, by the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerji, a work which is decidedly a step in the right direction, and the style of which is good, although there is room we think for improvement in the books selected for translation.

portant variations of grammar, it is also spoken all over Assam. Assamese is in fact a mere form of Bengali, without any original or distinct characteristics of its own. To the south of Midnapore, the river Subhanrika forms a natural boundary between Bengali and Uriya. To the west of the above district and of Bancoorah, the country, no longer alluvial, is scantily populated, and overrun with jungle. Bengali is however spoken in Maunbhúm; but to the south it is soon met by the language of the Coles, which prevails in Singbhúm, and north and west, by Hindi. In Monghir it ceases altogether; in Dinagepore and part of Purneah it is still Bengali: in the northern part of Purneah it is Urdu. To the east and north, the hills generally form a physical boundary of their own, where dialects are spoken which have nothing in common with the great languages of the Peninsula. Thus the Garrows to the north of Mymensing, and the Cossiahs at Jynteah and Cherra Poonji, are severally distinguished by their barbarous and uncouth jargon, their savage rites, and their unapproachable squalor. In Chittagong, the most south-eastern of our regulation districts, Bengali is not much spoken to the north of the Sitakund range of hills, nor southward, at all beyond the river Naf. In the former case it is met by a confusion of dialects, and in the latter by Mug, the language of Arracan. The tide of Mohammedan invasion has here left marks of its passage not eradicated to this day. The whole spoken or written language is largely intermixed with Persian. One-half of the petitions presented in the courts are drawn up in this language. Any slight smattering of education, based on indigenous principles, is by the native acquired in the form of Persian; and, from this and other causes, the Bengali of Chittagong is the most impure, and the hardest of comprehension, of that in use anywhere.

The language is spoken with considerable elegance and propriety by many classes in Calcutta itself, and in several districts adjoining the metropolis, as Hooghly, Jessore, Burdwan, Pubna, and Rajshahye. But the best form will probably be found in Nuddea, where reminiscences of ancient Brahminical learning contribute to preserve the language in its purity and strength. Variations of style in the several districts, though here and there remarkable, do not take the wide range taken by the language of Upper India. Strange local words for the commonest things will of course now and then fill an enquiring philologist with astonishment, and vagaries in pronunciation may grate on his offending ear. In Chittagong the sound is nasal: in Assam, guttural: in Sylhet, more labial: in the Sunderbunds, more palatal: and in all the eastern districts the

sh is invariably pronounced as *h*. The sibilant letter is unconsciously elided. In some places the negative is placed not the last word of the sentence, as the grammar requires, but the last but one: and in others the conditional is employed as the present tense. In all this the slight importance of dialectic, as compared with essential differences of language, must ever be borne in mind. The former are mostly confined to conversation, and excluded from correspondence and books. A familiar illustration of this peculiarity is at hand in the Scotch. A man, born north of the Tweed, will often, in writing English, prove himself master of the language in all its fullness and precision, and yet disfigure it, in speaking, by a Doric pronunciation, and by unauthorized Scotticisms.

If some men, who acquire any new language, believe, with Coleridge, that they are thus adding another string to their bow, many will naturally inquire what equivalent they are likely to gain for the time and labour expended in the acquisition. Here an opportunity presents itself for the examination of the advantages resulting from, and the facilities for acquiring, a thorough knowledge of any eastern or western tongue. It is obvious that the reward in either case is soonest appreciated on the spot where the language is spoken. A man travelling up the Rhine, and a man travelling up the Ganges, if unacquainted with the prevailing medium of conversation, are both equally sensible of their own disadvantages, and equally anxious to remove them. The one feels as helpless, if unable to ask his way to the nearest Hof, as the other, if incapable of finding out the road to the adjoining bazar. To both the intrinsic merits of either language are nothing in comparison with the paramount importance of speaking it with ease. The most elegant, and the most barbarous dialects are so far on equal terms. But how different their value, when local exigencies are no longer felt! Hundreds, who never travel, or who have travelled never to do so again, will continue to derive pleasure, increased at each perusal, from the sparkling lyrics of Germany, from the dark mazes of Italian History, from that pulpit eloquence, which struck terror to the hearts of profligate courtiers, or, round the grave of the departed great, melted an admiring audience to tears. But the most ardent philologist, his travels once over, can scarcely hope to derive any lasting satisfaction from the study of languages spoken in India, beyond that of tracing out the offshoots of some great original, or of marking the connection between manners, morals, and speech. Thus to a man whose vocation is not on eastern ground, or who has no desire to map out the divisions of spoken tongues, time

spent on the languages of India, whether of the north or south of the Peninsula, is time thrown away. However interesting as the repository of much that is curious or ancient, a language without a permanent literature is a blank. We have often doubted whether most to admire, or to condemn, the conduct of the French Government, which, with two insignificant settlements in India, instituted in the metropolis a chair of the Urdu language, and appointed to it a man of such ability as M. Garcin de Tassy. However meritorious may be the desire to extend discoveries in philology, or to promote Asiatic researches generally, we must think that hours, spent in attendance on that gentleman's lectures, are to the Parisian youth mere hours of idleness. Without some one direct object, connected with the main business of life, a language studied solely for words can never bestow an adequate return. The occupation may excite curiosity, quicken the powers of comparison, and exercise the memory: but it can never expand the imagination, or elevate the heart.

Whilst, however, discarding all idea of comparing two subjects, where no fair room for comparison exists, our attention has been forcibly drawn to the respective facilities for studying Eastern or Western languages, when learnt for themselves, and in the countries of their birth. Never has the contrast between the Asiatic and the European systems of progression been so signally displayed: in nothing will the scholar be better able to trace the opposite course taken by the sons of Japhet and the sons of Shem. We will suppose a young man endeavouring to master, on the spot, any one European language, French, German, the language of Tasso, or the language of Milton. The masterpieces of each are necessarily his daily study, and their beauties are explained to him by teachers competent to remove difficulties, and to smooth the way. But his progress is not merely that which the perusal of books can give, nor his observation limited to the daily task or the morning conversation. The outward world, the world of the pleasure-seeker, or of the man of business, is to him full of incident and instruction. No blazing sun, nor uncongenial climate prevents his wanderings in high-way and street: no jealous temple closes its doors at his approach. The commonest stroll, the merest saunter, are not without their lesson. Everywhere the traces of busy, restless, fervent civilization force themselves on his eye. There is something to be learnt from the inscriptions on every shop, from the very names of the streets, from the placards calling attention to new modes of acquiring or spending money, or to new discoveries in utilitarian science. In the general, or the

expensive and the artificial, amusements of the nation, there is even more, that, while it gives conversancy with the idiom, bestows activity on the intellect, and refinement on the taste. Language will be set forth in its purest and most attractive dress. The theatre or the assembly may correct anything unorthodox or low. The gentleman-scholar will listen, now to the accents of Kean in Hamlet, now to those of Rachel in Phédre, or will hang breathless on the most magnificent of tenors pouring out his cadences in the most harmonious of southern languages. At one time his attention may be attracted to some mountebank at an English fair, or to a chattering Charlatan in the Champs-Elysées, or to a *contatore di fatti* on the mole at Naples. At another his ear may be charmed by those rustic melodies which delighted Sir Francis Head at the Brunnens of Nassau: or by the purity and elegance with which, on the boards of the Français or the Odéon, are vociferated the splendid declamations of Corneille or of Racine. As he runs he may read. There is no time or locality from which he may not gather something; and no social habits are so dissimilar, as to inspire disdain, or to repel curiosity. Reading corrects sight, and sight corroborates study. The impress of refined civilisation and bustling commerce is everywhere; and by the combined influence of reading, of meditation, and of constant intercourse with an active and an intellectual population, his speech rapidly acquires fluency, his utterance force, and his ear precision.

How different in India! In some of her large towns the marks of advancing civilization are eminently Saxon: in others, replete with the activity of the native mass, the footsteps of Europeans are only seen at intervals. Many causes combine to prevent that constant motion, that perpetual intercourse, otherwise natural to the travelling Englishman, and necessary to bestow familiarity with a nation's customs and speech. A fierce sun, of which the virulence is however much over-rated, a scorching wind, or a drenching rain, are with many sufficient obstacles to life in the open air. With others a confirmed routine of existence, or a regular residence in a circle, transplanted as it were from the west, and instinct with European notions, effectually remove the native world from the sight and the mind. Even those, who persist in seeking daily intercourse with the population of the country, labour under great and acknowledged disadvantages. Traces of the civilization which overflows everywhere, and speaks not merely to the thought but to the eye, are nowhere to be met. It has left no memorials in the cultivated plain: it never ferments in walled cities or in the long

lines of the bazaar. A great barrier, too, stands between the European and the native crowd assembled for the celebration of some social or festive rite. We recognise the marriage procession only by the flickering torches, and the discordant music: the scenic representations, which might faintly have recalled to us the days when the drama of Kalidasa was acted before a kingly audience, are commuted into an extravagant Púja, or a miserable nautch: we are only reminded of the funeral ceremony by the exposed dying, or by the light of the pyre. Some, it is true, may through "the cold medium of books," have acquired a certain knowledge of the social world of the Hindu and the Mussulman: but even these, from imperfect opportunities or from actual distaste, may never have gone forth to see whether books reported aright, or how far old customs had yielded to innovation. Others again, who, in spite of all natural or adventitious obstacles, have freely mingled with natives of all ranks, possess no book lore, and want the precision of language which writing and reading alone can bestow. Thus there is no combination of resources: the opportunities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of idiom are neither full nor varied: we cannot readily embrace all the features of native life, as it appears in business, in books, in amusement, in the palace, and in the hut. We cannot at once tell by what desires the great mass of the population is oftenest actuated. Their commonest hopes, their daily fears, the secrets of their household, their habitual cast of thought, are known to us by distorted views. Our speech to them is rarely that of persons thinking in the language which they employ.

A consideration of the above differences must not be thought to imply that facilities for gaining an accurate knowledge of Indian languages do not exist. To those undeterred by climate, or by the strange aspect of Hindu life, they may be met with in sufficient abundance. A white face will be found to command an audience, whether invested with actual authority, or relying only on the irresistible influence, which is more or less the peculiar right of every European. So far from fleeing at his approach, the native population will come to him in shoals. So far from finding the ryot difficult of access, Europeans will, after a short time, find it difficult to repress their eager advances. The story of their wants and wishes will then be rapidly delivered. The tale of suffering at the hands of harsh landlords, or that inflicted by the vicissitudes of the seasons, will be forthcoming, on the slightest enquiry, or on the manifestation of the commonest interest. The story of meditated torture, of plundered crops, of insulted personal honour, will be retailed

with every shade of variation, and by all members of the lower classes. It will be the burden of complaint from the mouth of garrulous old age, from lusty manhood that might be capable of something beyond mere lamentation, from winning infancy, from that sex, which, pertinacious in all countries and fixed in the pursuit of one cherished object, is never more pertinacious than in the plains of Bengal. On these occasions, the better parts of the native character, their assiduity and quickness, will come out in relief. The genuine idiom, the shades of thought best seen in the turns of the language, and in accents untutored by aught but self-interest, may then be known and appreciated. Opportunities can thus be extended and improved: much can be learnt by frequenting the large *hauts* held in a cleared space near some fine old village trees, and much more by a day spent in those field pursuits which the Englishman introduces with him everywhere, in beating up the jungle, or in exploring the jheel.

It is so often said, that a correct knowledge of the language is essential to the discharge of public duties, that no one for a moment presumes to question the truth of the saying. Exceptions in favour of men, who have distinguished themselves without great conversancy with the languages, prove nothing to the contrary. Such have been good men in spite of their disadvantages, and would have been even more efficient with greater facility to themselves, had these disadvantages been removed. It might almost be said, that a clear insight into native character is almost inseparable from readiness of comprehension and fluency of speech. The Bengali language carries with it a strong impress of nationality. This is repeatedly seen in the common talk of the ryots. The unchanging spirit of Hinduism is apparent, as well in language, as in religious rites or distinctions of caste. In the mixed dialect employed by thousands of Ryots, the attention will often be arrested by old Sanskrit terms, as fresh from the mint, we might say, as if issued yesterday. There is in truth no explaining the vagaries of tongues. Some Sanskrit words, to all appearance portable and convenient, have been entirely discarded in favour of the Persian; others, well nigh synonymous, have manfully maintained their ground. Nothing but practice can enable a foreigner to decide which stock of words he shall use. An Englishman, speaking the Bengali language, as he had learnt it from books or from Pundits, will, in the course of one sentence, employ, we will say, a dozen word of the Sanskrit stock: one-half of these will be readily apprehended by ryots, as used by themselves in daily conver-

sation ; the other half, of the same length and sound, will be as unintelligible to them as Hebrew or Greek.

To speak the language familiar to a ryot's ear, we should endeavour to use not exactly that which would be employed by educated natives, who had studied Vyakaran, and who wished to impress listeners with the philosophical nature of their talk: nor again that made-up of the style and substance of documents current in the courts. The idiom and the mixture of Persian should be assimilated to that in use with *mudis* and bunnias, village gomashtahs, and owners of ten acres. This rule, judiciously observed, will give that happy medium, which the highest need not disdain to adopt, nor the most humble be unable to comprehend. The ryot's talk will then afford a curious index to his general habits and feelings. He will not be able to tell an enquirer either his own age or that of his father, and that of his eldest child only by a guess: he may not know the day of the month or of the week, nor how long it is to the ensuing Dúrga Púja: his idea of dates may be limited to the year of the "great flood," or of the "great famine;" he will be as liberal in computing the distance to the nearest thannah or bazar, as any Scotch peasant in his native hills: in one district, he will estimate journeys by the kos, elongated or abbreviated at will: in another, he will be ignorant of any other measurement than the ebb and flow of the tides, or the still more unsatisfactory data of reaches or turns of the river: in a third, for the common bigah he will substitute, like the old Saxon, the word plough: and every where he will display a most provoking inaccuracy in all things connected with the divisions of time.

On the other hand, the ryot will sometimes be found to display knowledge where least expected, and accuracy where greater capacities would be puzzled. No Bengali ryot ever for a moment mistakes one of the four quarters of the heaven for another; and in the description of distant localities, such as the village cutcherry where he was dragged to pay his rent, or the zemindar's house where he was in confinement for six weeks, he will set down relative bearings with the minuteness of a map. The sun, it must be remembered, is in Bengal the great regulator of time. In a country where no village chimes warn the labourer of the decline of day, it must guide and control all the movements of man. For months it is never clouded, and an agricultural population can soon learn, not merely to remember the quarters of its rising and setting, but also to estimate the space for which it will remain above the horizon.

It must also be borne in mind, that a tendency to observe changes in the elements is natural to a people, whose bodily health, or whose means of subsistence may be seriously affected by an unexpected wind, or an unseasonable shower. Anxiety on these points is natural, when a slight variation in the compass may bring relief from a destroying epidemic, or fertilizing showers after a long continued drought. In elementary phenomena the science of the ryot is by no means backward: nor is his knowledge in terms of relationship less worthy of note. The Bengali language literally teems with words indicative of different degrees of affinity. Relations or connections, to express which, European languages must have recourse to a long periphrasis, are designated in Bengali by one single word. Nor are these distinctions limited to the closer ties. It is not merely that the uncle by the father's or the mother's side, the brother's or the sister's son, can be told at a glance;—the love of minute distinction extends to the most distant ramifications of the family tree. A single short word is sufficient to express the individual who has married your father's elder brother, and two, the cousin whom we should designate as the son of your father's sister. In describing the various members of his family the ryot is never at a loss for the exact term. Nor has he, in truth, any doubt as the dates on which his instalments of rent are due: he will have a general recollection, that the Hooli falls when the cold weather crop is gathering, and that the great festival of Durga happens soon after the last cart-load of the early rice has been stored in the garner. Amongst many expressive and characteristic phrases the common use of one is too curious to be omitted. We all know that eastern nations are not distinguished by any remarkable adherence to truth, and the Bengalis form no exception to the general want of veracity. Now, the word used by all to designate a falsehood is *mithya*, which can be employed either as a substantive, an adjective, or an adverb. But its use is not limited to denounce the lie direct. It is applied indiscriminately, and with no inconsiderable effect, to anything remarkable for incompleteness, inefficiency, or unsoundness. In this way, we have heard it employed to designate an incapable public functionary, a road in disrepair, a tank of little depth, rain that hardly lays the dust, a shot that misses its mark, a decayed embankment, a bridge in ruins, and a fool's errand.

It is one peculiarity of Bengali, that, in the Lower Provinces, it is the language not only of the Hindu, but of the Mussulman population. A highly educated Mahommedan will, of course, have studied either Persian or Arabic, or both, and in conversa-

tion will adopt the polished Urdu. But the bulk of Mussulman ryots not only talk but write in Bengali. Replete as the language is with Hindu associations, with idolatry, and with all that a true believer should hold in abhorrence, it has yet been adopted by him, as the medium of conversation, and the vehicle of his scanty lore. A village agent, who pretends to just as much scholarship as will serve to pen a letter, pens it in Bengali. For once the Hindu system, opposed as it is to extension, appears to have made a proselyte. Although it is easy to detect a Mussulman by his talk, owing to a greater use of Persian words, yet in some points the said Mussulman appears half a Hindu. He pretends occasionally to distinction of caste. He names his children after the gods of Hindu mythology, and the heroes of the Mahabharat. It is not uncommon to hear synonymes of Krishna applied to whole Mussulman families, with the mere prefix of "Sheik" to distinguish them from Hindus of the same name, resident in the neighbouring village. It is even common to hear a Mahommedan apply terms, peculiar to Hindu politics or theology, to his own system of morals and religion. We have listened to Mussulman ryots, who, with the greatest complacency, talked about their Dharma, and their Shastras, used indiscriminately the familiar exclamations of Hari Bol, and Allah Karim, and, in reply to a question as to the punishment for falsehood, answered, according to the well-established Hindu formula, that a liar would descend with fourteen generations of his family, seven that go before and seven that come after him, to the lowest depths of Naraka. This is about as orthodox as if a Puritan of the Commonwealth had been heard to descant on the worship of images and the intercession of saints. But with the converse of this practice we have never met: we do not imagine that the lowest caste of Hindus ever discourse upon the "ennobled Koran," or the pleasures of Bihisht. The above facts may reasonably be supposed to argue, for the Bengali language, an inherent facility of adaptation, and a tenacity not easily displaced from its hold. The truth is that the Mussulman of Lower Bengal is rather a degraded being. Ordinarily he cannot compete with the Hindu in acuteness or activity. As an accountant his inferiority is universally acknowledged: in reading and writing with fluency and correctness he is far behind hand: and to other causes of degradation he is often found to unite a pride in his own ignorance and a glorying in his own sloth.

A cursory view of the Bengali language and literature naturally leads to examination of the degree to which the literature, such as it is, is known and appreciated by the million. In

this, some remnants of the old spirit re-appear. But it is the poetry, and not the prose, to which the mass are attached; and of the poetry, it is the older tales alone. Thousands of ryots have never heard of Kalidasa or his works, and could not tell the name of any one of the "nine gems." But those, to whom the Fatal ring, and the Toy cart remain sealed mysteries, are well aware of the changes of fortune experienced by Rama and by Ravana, by Draupadi and by Sita. It is true, that the vernacular translations of the old Sanskrit poems bear about as great a resemblance to their originals, as Hudibras or the Bath Guide to Dryden or to Homer. But lowered, transformed, or curtailed, they are still the staple literary material of the multitude. They are read in old tattered volumes, and in more primitive wooden tablets: or they are recited to the unlearned by some more gifted individual of the family, with explanations and additions, after the close of the evening meal. Every marvellous incident, every passage of interest, a blow well struck, a warrior's vow, a priest's curse, the gift of a pleased divinity to some favoured mortal, the reward of endurance, the punishment of sin, as set down in the two great epics of Hindu antiquity, are familiar to those who till the ground, and to those who ply the loom. Weavers and agriculturists, bearers and bunneahs, the attendants of Rajahs and the so-called village mediciners, can all recite the main plot in each of these narratives. The abduction of Sita, the rescue of Draupadi, Hanuman's army of apes, Rama's bridge over the straits of Pamban, the combustible house of pitch for the destruction of the Pandavas, the ambiguous announcement of the five brothers as they brought home their bride "mother, we have brought you alms," and the parent's fatal reply "then share it amongst you," the colloquy of the man hero and the God Krishna in the presence of the rival armies, the unerring bow of Arjun, and the weighty mace of Bhima, are things as well known to thousands of ryots in Bengal, as the tales of Wallace and the Black Douglas to those born North of the Border, or as Robinson Crusoe to the tenants of an English nursery. In these are contained all their ideas of History, of theology, and of morals. They have no other chronology but what these vague romances can furnish. From them are derived any notions they may have conceived, as to the splendour of Hindu courts, or the long succession of Hindu dynasties. At all times they are ready to converse on these favourite subjects; and they listen to them, oft-repeated, with that affectionate interest, which a narrative must awaken, disfigured indeed by many gross and improbable exaggerations, but marked by seve-

ral genuine touches of nature, and by remnants of that manliness, which, after thirty centuries, still finds a direct entrance into the hearts of a nation.

The above stories are well known to all who pretend to the slightest smattering of education, and to very many who can neither handle a pen, nor tell a single letter of the alphabet. But those not of the poorest class pretend to education of a somewhat higher character. It is well known, that a number of Sanskrit couplets are current in Bengal to the present day. Some are to be found in books, and others nowhere. But, written or unwritten, they are handed down from father to son by oral repetition. Quaint and sententious, they contain either reflections on man's condition or rules for guidance in critical positions of life. They are to be heard from the mouth of the humblest writer on eight rupees a month, or from the village barber who has never been twenty miles from home. They are recited with sundry mutilations, and with only a general conception of their meaning on the part of the reciters: but their prevalency is indisputable. Many of these couplets have, we perceive, been collected by Dr. Hæberlin, and published in his Anthology: and with slight alterations, which only tend to prove their universality, we have heard them in localities, where printing presses and books were entirely unknown. In the absence of a regular system of education, or of any compendious code of ethics, verses like these, dinned into the ears of the young from their earliest days, must have a certain effect on the character. Such of them as are most free from the indelicacy, which is one genuine characteristic of eastern productions, we have selected for the judgment of our readers. No doubt, amongst nations left to the guidance of their own reason, codes have been promulgated, in which the great and unchanging rules of morality were admirably laid down. A Roman of the days of Augustus, who could place a copy of Cicero's "de officiis" in the hands of his young son, or one of the age of the Antonines, who could expound to his family the Manual of Epictetus, would not have been leading them far away from the paths of rectitude and truth. But what must be the effect of maxims, which here and there are correct, but which at times treat honour and friendship as idle names, which inculcate the pursuit of wealth as the main object of man's existence, and which loudly proclaim the female heart to be one tissue of deceit? We shall endeavour to give the translations with as close an adherence as possible to the quaint impressiveness of the original. Some of the couplets may be recognised as those of well known authors, though it is

not to printing, that they owe their currency; but for others, we believe, manuscripts and books would be explored in vain.

"The ornament of planets is the moon: of women the orna-
' ment is their husband: the King is the ornament of the earth:
' learning is an ornament everywhere.

"That mother is an enemy, that father is a foe, by whom the
' child is not educated: such shine not in the midst of the as-
' sembly, just like common cranes in the midst of geese.

"A man should make his son play for five years: for ten,
' he should correct him: when his son has attained his sixteenth
' year, he should treat him as a friend.

"The man who stands by you in the day of feasting and in
' the day of calamity, in famine and in war, at the King's
' gate and at the repository for the dead, that man is a
' friend.

"A man should not trust another who has not been trusted:
' even a friend he must not take into confidence: at times a
' friend, when angered, may let out all your faults.

"A man should root out an enemy by another enemy called
' in to aid: just as he would take out a thorn in the foot by a
' thorn in the hand.

"A bad man with fair words is no cause for confidence:
' honey is on the tip of his lips, and in his heart is deadly
' poison.

"A serpent is cruel: a malignant man is cruel: but a
' malignant man is more cruel than a serpent: a serpent is
' subdued by incantations and drugs: by what is a malignant
' man subdued?

"In creatures with nails, in rivers, in horned animals, in
' those with weapons in their hands, confidence must not be
' placed: nor in women, nor in king's families.

"A man should give up one person for the sake of a family:
' a family for a village: a village for an inhabited country:
' and the whole earth for himself.

"A prudent man should never divulge loss of wealth, or
' inward grief, or bad practices in the household, or knavery, or
' dishonour.

"A man should not fix his residence where there are none
' of these things: a rich man, a man learned in the Vedas, a
' king, a river, and a doctor.

"The wise man should shun a bad country, a bad livelihood,
' a bad wife, a bad river, a bad article, and bad food.

"The man whose field is on the other side of the river,
' whose wife is gone to another man's house, and who has got a
' snake in his dwelling, has got death at every footstep.

"A father who runs into debt is an enemy: so is a mother
'who is dissolute: a handsome wife is an enemy, and so is a
'son who is unlearned.

"The beauty of the koil birds is in their voice: the beauty
'of women is in entire devotion to their husband: learning is
'the beauty of ugly persons: and forbearance the beauty of
'devotees.

"Life without knowledge is barren: barren is the country
'devoid of friends: the house without a male heir is barren;
'poverty is barrenness everywhere.

"Wives are useful for the preservation of posterity: a son
'is useful to give the funeral cake to his father: a friend is
'useful for friendly deeds: wealth is useful everywhere.

"Hard is the livelihood which depends on others: hard is
'the dwelling where there is no refuge, and the profession
'where there is no money; but poverty is the hardest of all.

"Where is the religion of robbers, where is the forbearance
'of a bad man, where is the affection of courtezans, where is
'truth in those inflamed by passion?

"Where is the honour paid to the departed, where is the
'pleasure of anger, where is the excellence of women, and
'where is the malignant's friend?

"The strength of a weak man lies in the king: the strength
'of children is in tears: the strength of a fool is in his saying
'nothing: the strength of thieves is in a lie.

"A man should speak well of food when it is digested, of a
'wife whose youth is passed away, of a hero returned from
'the wars, and of a crop when it is stored in the house.

"A man whose wealth is vast, is to be honoured, even
'though he be the slayer of a Brahmin: a man without wealth
'is despised, though his family be as old as the moon.

"An impossible thing should not be spoken; when it hap-
'pens before the eyes, it is seen: a stone swims in the water:
'an ape sings a song.

"A tree on the banks of a river: wealth in another man's
'possession: a matter known to a woman: all these three
'things must be fruitless.

"What shall talkers do where there are no hearers? in a
'country where the mendicants are naked, what shall the
'washerman do?

"A man who comprehends the meaning of a thing uttered
'once, who is light-handed, who has mastered the alphabet,
'and who has surveyed all the Shastras, is called a first-rate
'clerk."

We might persist in quoting many more, but the general

character of the maxims will be sufficiently seen from the above. That there may be good principles and bad practice in the same society, is obvious enough. But we never yet heard of anything like correct practice without high principles. Doubtless, in these maxims, current with the Hindu population, are several marked by comprehensive views, by liberality, and by truth. Of others the charm will be in their descriptiveness of the state of Bengal at this day. Couplets must possess some attraction which hit off exactly both nature and man. There is undoubtedly something alluring in a verse, which paints with fidelity the objects of dread or ambition to the lower classes of Bengal, the vicissitudes of climate they should most shun, the localities they should mainly select, the arts or endeavours by which they should compass opulence. But the low estimate which other couplets take of human nature, the high praise of riches as paramount in all worldly dealings, and the degraded character of the society in which such maxims are set forth and acted on, require no comment. And we are compelled to state, that, from our chequered selection of good and evil, many have been excluded, which, from their offensive minuteness, their plain dealing, and their gross bestiality, might have emanated from the foul pens of Rousseau or of Swift.

Those, who care to study the Bengali language and character, must study them as they appear in the villages of Bengal. Let them only beware of confounding ignorance with innocence, or of mistaking the waywardness of childhood for that ingenuousness which is its usual accompaniment. They will then find in Bengal much that is repulsive to European notions, many degrading customs, great liveliness of disposition, many failings which alternately excite sympathy and disgust, little of solid comfort, a systematic disregard of law, and no inconsiderable amount of plenty and content.

To improve a language, possessing so many innate good qualities, but hitherto depressed, could not but be an object of anxiety to men who discern in intellectual training one great means of raising the national character. And here it may perhaps be interesting to many, to know the nature of those educational institutions which Bengal had created for herself. Scarcely anything can be lower than the Native standard of vernacular education. Native schools, on purely indigenous principles, exist in every populous village throughout the length and breadth of the land. A miserable hut, inferior to the bullock-house of some substantial ryot, twenty or thirty

naked children, a dominie whose learning is little a-head of the most advanced of his scholars, leaves of the Tal, or of the plantain tree, inscribed with sundry hieroglyphics, severally represent the school-house and the school-master, the students and the materials of their task. The system of instilling knowledge is somewhat as follows. The alphabet is dinned into the ears of the assembled classes, who, by constant recital in the true sing-song fashion peculiar to natives, contrive at length to remember the changes and the combinations of the letters. The alphabet, thus remembered, is traced by the infant hands on the leaves above alluded to, or on the sand which composes the floor. By this process they at length become aware of the powers of written language, and of the simplest rules of syntax and style. Lastly, they learn by rote, a species of set "letter-writers," which may do them service in their profession. This generally consists of a complimentary address, of an enquiry after health, of excuses for rents uncollected, or of a promise for future punctuality. The education, such as it is, is complete without books of any kind. Not a single historical fact, not a particle of general knowledge, not one pointed moral, not even a well-wrought tale, are imparted, in the generality of these institutions, to the rising youth of Bengal. Provided with a regular unvarying model for letter-writing, and with the simplest rules of arithmetic, they pick up, as best they may, the old-wives stories about Rama and Ravana, and the score or two of Sanskrit couplets, which complete their education. Can there be a more lamentable picture of neglect in early youth, or can we wonder at complaints of indifference to the vernacular tongue ?

It was partly to remedy these and other evils, that Lord Hardinge introduced his measure of the hundred and one vernacular schools. The scope of this plan has been misunderstood, both by the Native and the European community. It was never intended that Government should establish a school-master in every opulent bazar in Bengal, or invite the sons of all respectable ryots to learn reading and writing at the expense of the state. Nor was it intended, that these somewhat primitive institutions should render the study of English superfluous, to such as had the time or the talents necessary for the acquirement of the same. The object of Government was to exhibit a practical proof of its desire to extend education to the million, in the only form in which the million could receive it. It was to assert the superiority of the peon, who could read and write, over his comrade who could do neither. It

was desirable also to raise the standard of vernacular education everywhere, to place at the head of these schools a teacher with more claims to the appellation, than are possessed by the miserable village Guru, and to supplant the letter-writing, the sand-floor, and the tal leaves, by printed books, by elementary histories, and by moral tales. As might have been expected, great obstacles, natural and created, were found to obstruct the success of the scheme. Opposition variously took the form of rigid adherence to old habits, or of greedy hankering for the novelty of English schools. Men were found to prefer schools without books, and a master remunerated by donations of rice, to the neat dwelling erected by the zemindar under the Collector's approval, and to the Pundit paid from the coffers of the treasury. In one district, a bigotted and distrustful population would have nothing to do with education fostered by Government influence. In another, old men, ambitious of deputy magistracies and collectorships for their offspring, called out lustily for English, and despised the vernacular. Here repugnance was exhibited to the agent by whom education was promoted, and there to the form in which it was conveyed. Other mishaps were found to occur, even where the scheme was fairly started. At one place, the fragile school-house was blown down by a tornado. At another, it was commenced and left with its walls half-standing. A third was opened, and given up within the year. This school was never visited at all by the collector : at that, he found on his arrival an incompetent Pundit, and a set of unruly scholars. What with apathy on the part of the ryots, obstacles thrown out by zemindars of the old or the new school, want of internal communication and of qualified teachers, and a supervision necessarily defective or irregular, this measure, liberally conceived, and in many instances carried out with energy and judgment, has been crowned with only partial success in Bengal, and, in Behar, has been well nigh a total failure. Still, while it is the acknowledged practice to assert the capability of the Bengali language, and the necessity for vernacular education, a Government of enlarged and comprehensive views is quite justified in perseverance. A demand for Bengali may, in the end, create a supply of efficient masters ; and in any case, it will be evident, that the philanthropy of men high in place is reserved, not merely for the metropolis and its neighbourhood, but is extended to the village and their jungles.

The above may be taken as one indication of the present degraded condition of Bengali literature. Another, by no

less important, may be found in the excessively faulty style current in public courts. In a country, where litigation is to some as daily bread, and where every man occasionally employs the arm of the law against his fellow, the dialect of courts must have no common currency, and no little effect on style. The law language has been subjected to a diversity of agencies, and it was to be expected, that Persian, though exploded by regulation, would still maintain its ground in technicalities, familiar by long use to a population invariably prone to discussion and disputes. On the other hand, it was matter for calculation, that, in the spread of the purer Bengali, many old Sanskrit terms would be introduced by ambitious clerks, and jar with the language of Mussulman invaders. A rare mixture has accordingly been formed. In the same sentence of a court-proceeding will be found terms of the most opposite and irreconcileable sources. The phraseology of Manu, and that of Abu Hanifa, the flowing diction of Abul Fazl, and the blunt expressions of village Punchayats, will be heard jostling each other in the same elaborate decision. But it is not to this, that we lay the blame of faultiness in style. Law language must be peculiar anywhere. English law papers may exhibit a mixture of various dialects, and may recall at a glance the several periods of Saxon, Norman, and Roman literature. It matters not, so that the composite language has been sanctioned by long usage, and is comprehensible in the locality where it is employed, and to those whom it concerns. If Baillie McWheeble could talk in the same sentence about annexis and connexis, and infang, and outfang, we have no objection here to the amicable unison of terms drawn from the Shastras, and terms drawn from the Koran. But we protest violently against bad grammar and slip-slop orthography, to say nothing of wordiness of style. These last faults are found in public offices to an almost incredible degree. Not one employée in twenty can pen a line, without half a dozen gross mistakes in spelling, such as would be a disgrace to a student of the second class in any zillah school. Ten out of twelve will persist in the use of set phrases, which mean the very opposite to that which they are intended to express. The same number will clumsily affix forms of the Persian and the Arabic plural to nouns of essentially Sanskrit origin; or, will foist in an inflected term of Sanskrit grammar, merely, because it sounds grand, and because they are utterly unable to conceive its correct signification. And nearly all will delight in using a long turgid style, without proper breaks or pauses in each sentence, without resemblance to any

kind of decent Bengali, either written or spoken; a style which can only be interpreted by the person who penned the paper, and sometimes not even by him.

From the above picture of a scanty literature, a vile court dialect, and a neglected vernacular, which we have endeavoured to set forth in all honesty of purpose, the present lamentable state of Bengali may be conceived. There are not half a dozen standard works, which can be perused twice with patience. There is indifference to the vernacular amongst the mass, and an undue preference for English amongst the more enlightened of the rising generation, who, however, can hardly be censured for applying themselves to a language, hitherto the main road to competence or distinction. But, we still maintain our first position, that Bengali exhibits great capabilities of improvement. Its chief good qualities are freedom from intricacy of syntax, and its forcible expressions. That syntax must indeed be lucid, where a sentence is often complete without the use of a verb. Nor can that language be ever termed weak, which can command all the choicest parts of Sanskrit, without its endless re-duplications, and its labyrinth of grammar. But here arises a difficulty of a new kind. Bengali to be made classical, it is said, must be restricted to words wholly of Sanskrit origin. A mixed language can never be termed classical. That epithet is reserved solely for a pure and unmixed style; and to deserve it, the obtrusive Persian must be summarily expelled. With all deference to an opinion either openly avowed, or tacitly sanctioned, we cannot subscribe to this rule, which, of course, excludes, from the written Bengali, every word of Persian, or otherwise foreign origin. Where words of both the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic source are equally available and equally perspicuous, by all means let preference be given to the latter. But to restrict writers to the use of those words, which it is the fashion to term classical, is in the present day, the most ridiculous prudery. Unquestionably, many Persian terms appear out of their element, when dressed up in the Sanskrit or the Bengali character. But, when either a new office or a new event is to be described, which the old Hindu regime never knew of, we must have recourse to the more modern language. When a recently formed state of society has given birth to strange and complicated relations between man and man, where the landmarks of religion, or of manners, or of any national interests, have been forcibly swept away, it is affectation to talk of such changes in a language, from which they are abhorrent, and in which they can never be adequately described.

Speech was made before grammar, and men invented fresh terms before dictionaries were compiled. A language, like all other things of man's daily convenience, must yield to the currrent of public opinion, and the gradual progress of reform. It must be allowed to form and fashion itself. What we require, is the judicious and guiding hand of some really able writer, who, will not refuse the sanction of his name to adventitious phrases, if applicable to the matter under discussion, and who will take care that none are admitted but such as are absolutely necessary. Grant us but this one exception, and we may hope that the care, lavished in dragging forth from obscurity old stiff Sanskrit expressions, will be devoted to the formation of a manly but a mixed style. The ear will not be shocked by the sound of a Persian word, such as Panini or Bhatti never dreamt of, one half so much as by a full-blown epithet, or by an inelegant stiffness, which, for a so called purity, sacrifices elegance and ease. To insist that from the written Bengali style shall be systematically excluded every word unknown in India, up to the inroads of Mahmud of Ghazni, or to the dynasty of the slave kings, is to insist on the retention of a strange dialect, which is familiar to no sensible Hindu of any class; which is never used in business or in pleasure; in which Deeds of Gift, or Sale, or Mortgages, or letters, are never written. No modern society should ever pretend to two different kinds of speech. No nation, that aims at civilization, should endeavour to raise up a barrier between the style in which men think and talk, and that in which they think and write. In writing, men will, of course, always aim at a greater purity and precision than in their common conversation. On the former occasion, many colloquial and undignified expressions will be ejected: abbreviations will not be allowed: and the result will be a composition, more precise, but still essentially the same. This rule has hitherto been discarded. The Sanskrit style, for so we must call it, is that of most books in the language, and of the institutions under government. The common style of Bengali is full, flowing, and composite. Our college essays are for the most part stiff, inelegant, and scrupulously adherent to words of Sanskrit origin. Whilst grandly propounding the doctrines of liberality of thought, and of emancipation from mental slavery, we have given a quiet sanction to the most genuine bigotry, and the most unbending intolerance.

We indulge a hope that all this may be exploded. We shall hope to see the gradual extension of a style of Bengali, still simple in its structure, still mainly dependant on Sanskrit, but

incorporating in its texture such foreign words, as use or necessity may have introduced into conversation. The Bengali language is surely capable of something better, than half a dozen prose works of questionable morality and verbose style. We may look for poetry superior to the common run of Bengali rhymes, which possess all the jingle of nursery stanzas without any of their truth and simplicity, which weary us with one continual chatter about maidens with eyes like the lotus, endless heart-consuming woes, and minds expanded under the influence of pleasure, like flowers expanded under the influence of sunshine. We are not very sanguine, as to the rise of a new literature, which shall give fresh life and vigour to the race, and, for sloth and sensuality, substitute energy, decision, and temperance: but we are confident, that something better is to be made of the fine Bengali language, than the present miserable Bengali literature. Under any circumstances we may hope, for the formation of a good prose style, fitted for scientific discussion, for narrative, and for moral philosophy. The able Editor of Dr. Yates's Bengali Remains goes even a step further, and indulges in the hope of "some noble poetry in the Bengali." The state of the language is in fact at present such, that almost anything could be made of it by one gifted pen. A single individual, who would discard attempts at Sanskrit verbosity, who would not disdain the occasional use of humble and expressive phrases, and also would boldly adopt a Persian term, when it alone could give the exact meaning required, might mould and fashion Bengali into one harmonious and consistent whole. There is no reason, why Bengali should not, in its way, be as mixed and polished, as the mixed and polished Urdu.

Meanwhile, as we write, a new chance appears to have sprung up for the native character, which can hardly be without its effect on language and style. Under the judicious patronage of an European gentleman, some of the native community seem determined for one sustained effort in behalf of the degraded Hindu female. The late President of the Council of Education lent his name to a project for discovering the music latent in the souls of Young Bengal. His successor, though here appearing in a private capacity, appears bent on disproving the disparaging judgment, which old Hindu maxims have passed on the gentler sex. We wish him all success in a scheme, against which has appeared the usual amount of senseless declamation, and intolerant spite. We are, indeed told, by the way, that the voice of instruction has already

spoken in the privacy of Hindu females: but the fruits of such private instruction are nowhere. The present public experiment, if successful, can scarcely fail to produce effects, whose character no one will mistake, and whose operation no private circles shall limit. The day may possibly come, when, in place of attending, like a menial, at the meals of her lord and master, the Hindu lady shall assume her rightful position at the board. The day may come, when instead of counting her armlets, or discussing the qualities of henna or surma, she shall look on a household, adorned with embroidery of her own making, and bearing testimony to that neatness which the presence of woman alone can bestow. She may yet, under separation from her husband, enjoy the pleasure of interchanging thought, and the power of annihilating distance. She may yet fulfil woman's noblest task, and may instil into expanding minds those moral precepts, which, speaking with effect from a parent's mouth at all times, speak with ten-fold force, where to natural authority and influence are united matronly dignity and maternal love.

Note.—In this paper we have omitted all notice of the Book, which we have nominally taken as a subject. In this we have availed ourselves of the usual privilege of Reviewers. But it would be injustice not to state, that, in judicious arrangement, in perspicuity, in the chapters devoted to Grammar and familiar sentences, as well as in careful selection from current works, the two volumes, edited by Mr. Wenger, are equal, if not superior to any thing of the kind, we have yet seen attempted for any language

ART. VII.—*A History of the Sikhs, from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej; by Joseph Davey Cunnigham, Lieutenant of Engineers and Captain in the Army of India. London,* 1849.

IT is not easy to express, in a few words, our opinion of this book. We cannot speak of it with unmixed commendation, and still less can we bring ourselves to pronounce a condemnatory sentence. It is a work that keeps the judgment of the critic in a constant state of oscillation. Just as he is making up his mind to deliver himself of a favorable verdict, all his kindly resolutions are upset by some offensive passage in the book before him; and, when he was well nigh determined upon a chapter of adverse criticism, a gleam of better things in the historian's pages restores the good humour of the reviewer; and he begins to think that the writer is no great culprit after all.

Captain Cunningham has undertaken the duties of the historian in no light spirit—in no inconsiderate mood. He is fully impressed with the importance of the office; and he has shrunk from no amount of labour. He is a laborious, painstaking writer; and, though very prejudiced and often wrong, manifestly conscientious. There is an air of candour and veracity about all that he says: and whether he utters truths, half truths or, as sometimes happens, untruths, we can not help giving him credit for believing, that everything he says is scrupulously correct. That a book of this nature should excite some disappointment and give some offence, was clearly to be expected. We think very little of the contemporary annals which do not give offence in some quarter, and very little of the historian, who shrinks from giving offence. It is a condition of truth-telling that offence should be given. We honor Captain Cunningham's sincerity and plain-speaking, whilst we deplore their occasional misdirection. He has been led astray by an over-weening anxiety to do justice to our enemies. But while he has done them more than justice; he has done the English less than justice. He is the apologist of the Khalsa; he has written the history of the Sikhs, for the most part as a Sikh historian would write it. He has not regarded the good old maxim, "Be just, before you are generous;" but has suffered his generosity to outstrip his justice, and, whilst succouring his enemies, has despitefully entreated his friends.

To Captain Cunningham's indefatigable industry we bear willing testimony. He has consulted every possible published

authority, and many others unpublished. He has had certain official advantages, which he has not shrunk from turning to account; but we are not sure, that he has not sometimes proved that "a little (official) learning is a dangerous thing," by revealing somewhat more than is known to the public, but less than ought to be known when the revelation is once commenced. He has, in some places, fallen short of the truth, because he has been but partially illuminated, and has drawn hasty conclusions from insufficient premises. What his opportunities have been is well known in this country. He has set them forth in his preface to the present work; and, for the benefit of the European reader and the Anglo-Indian of a future period, we may as well quote the passage wherein he records the services on which he grounds his claims to be accepted as the historian of the Sikhs:—

"Towards the end of the year 1837," he writes, "the Author 'received, through the unsolicited favour of Lord Auckland, the 'appointment of assistant to Colonel Wade, the political agent at 'Lúdiana, and the officer in charge of the British relations with 'the Punjaub and the chiefs of Afghanistan. He was at the 'same time required as an engineer officer, to render Fírozpúr a defensible post,—that little place having been declared a 'feudal escheat, and its position being regarded as one of military 'importance. His plans for effecting the object in view met the 'approval of Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief; but it 'was not eventually thought proper to do more than cover the 'town with a slight parapet; and the scheme for reseating Shah 'Shooja on his throne seemed at the time to make the English 'and Sikh Governments so wholly one, that the matter dropped, 'and Fírozpúr was allowed to become a cantonment with 'scarcely the means at hand of saving its ammunition from a 'few predatory horse.

"The Author was also present at the interview which took 'place in 1838, between Runjeet Singh and Lord Auckland. 'In 1839 he accompanied Shahzada Tymúr and Colonel Wade 'to Peshawur; and he was with them when they forced the Pass 'of Khyber, and laid open the road to Caubul. In 1840 he was 'placed in administrative charge of the district of Lúdiana; 'and, towards the end of the same year, he was deputed by the 'new frontier agent, Mr. Clerk, to accompany Colonel Shelton 'and his relieving brigade to Peshawur, whence he returned with 'the troops escorting Dost Mahomed Khan under Colonel 'Wheeler. During part of 1841 he was in magisterial charge 'of the Fírozpúr district, and, towards the close of that year, 'he was appointed — on the recommendation again of Mr.

'Clerk — to proceed to Tibet, to see that the ambitious Rajas 'of Jummú surrendered certain territories which they had seiz- 'ed from the Chinese of Lassa, and that the British trade with 'Ladâkh, &c. was restored to its old footing. He returned at 'the end of a year, and was present at the interviews between 'Lord Ellenborough and Dost Mahomed at Lúdiana, and be- 'tween his lordship and the Sikh chiefs at Fírozpúr in De- 'cember 1842. During part of 1843 he was in civil charge of 'Ambala; but from the middle of that year till towards the close 'of 1844, he held the post of personal assistant to Colonel 'Richmond, the successor of Mr. Clerk. After Major Broadfoot's 'nomination to the same office, and during the greater part of '1845, the Author was employed in the Buhawulpoor territory, in 'connection with refugee Sindhians, and with boundary disputes 'between the Daúdputras and the Rajpúts of Bíkamír and Jey- 'selmír. When war with the Sikhs broke out, the Author was 'required by Sir Charles Napier to join his army of co-opera- 'tion; but after the battle of Phírúshuhur, he was summon- 'ed to Lord Gough's Head Quarters. He was subsequently 'directed to accompany Sir Harry Smith, when a diversion was 'made towards Lúdiana, and he was thus present at the skir- 'mish of Buddowal, and at the battle of Alíwal. He had 'likewise the fortune to be a participator in the victory of 'Subraon, and the further advantage of acting on that impor- 'tant day as an aide-de-camp to the Governor-General. He 'was then attached to the head quarters of the Commander-in- 'Chief, until the army broke up at Lahore; when he accom- 'panied Lord Hardinge's camp to the Simlah Hills, prepara- 'tory to setting out for Bhopâl,—the political agency in which 'state and its surrounding districts, his lordship had unex- 'pectedly been pleased to bestow upon him.

"The Author was thus living among the Sikh people for a 'period of eight years, and during a very important portion of 'their history. He had intercourse, under every variety of 'circumstances, with all classes of men, and he had at the same 'time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs 'of the frontier. It was, after being required, in 1844, to draw 'up reports on the British connection generally with the states 'on the Sutlej, and especially on the military resources of the 'Punjaub, that he conceived the idea, and felt he had the 'means, of writing the history which he now offers to the 'public."

With much scantier official opportunities to boast of, Captain Cunningham might have offered us a history of the Sikhs; and we should never have questioned his title to appear in the

character of their historian. There are few men in India about whose testimonials we should have been less careful to enquire. His patronymic would have been to us, under any circumstances, a sufficient letter of credit. We should have expected a good book from such a quarter, and should have been prepared, without any official introductions, to welcome it with no common cordiality. But we are bound to say, that such expectations, as we based upon the mere personality of Joseph Davey Cunningham, have been disappointed. His book is sadly wanting in the graces of a popular style. There is nothing in it to redeem our Anglo-Indian literature from the reproach, so often cast upon it by our brethren at home, of being characterised by the worst vices of a cumbrous turgid style—a style, that either halts upon crutches, or strides upon stills. In such a style have many books about India been written. Captain Cunningham's is by no means the worst of its class, but it wants ease and fluency. It moves on laboriously. There is nothing spontaneous about it—nothing animated. It is artificial and constrained. There is sometimes, too, a little pedantry about it, as in such a passage as this for instance, which, however, it is fair to add, we find in a note; "The bitter remark of Xenophanes, that if oxen became religious their Gods would be *bovine* in form, is indeed most true, as expressive of a general desire among men to make their divinities *authropo-morphous*."

In some parts of Captain Cunningham's book the notes exceed the text in bulk, and often in significance. Some of the most pregnant passages in the volume appear in the shape of footnotes .These notes contain references to the historian's authorities, very precisely given. The references are to all sorts of parliamentary and other official papers, to the writings of Elphinstone, Forster, Malcolm, Prinsep, Murray, Moorcroft, Wilson, Von Hugel, Lawrence, Steinbach,—a host of others—and *ourselves.* The allusions to the *Calcutta Review* are frequent, and, right or wrong, a little more particular than we could wish, or than Captain Cunningham can justify. He has no right to intrude upon the impersonality of the Reviewer, so long as the Reviewer does not exceed his rightful prerogative. The *purdah* of the anonymous, especially in small communities like this, ought to be respected. In private society, no great harm is done, if people attribute the articles in this journal to the Governor General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Bishop, or any other dignified officials; we are honored by being associated, even in vague erroneous guesses, with personages of such high rank and character; but it is a different matter, when, in the pages of a grave history, our anonymous articles are attributed to this or

that important functionary: and we need scarcely explain to Captain Cunningham, why such identification, whether right or wrong, has its especial inconveniences. The favour, which this publication has found in the highest places of the Anglo-Indian government, and the fact that we have been, from time to time, officially aided in our endeavours to dissemiate the amplest and most accurate information on the subjects, of which we have proposed to treat, would lead us to believe, that in reality, at least under the late and the present administration, no public servant would suffer any detriment by being suspected of contributing to our pages. Still, there are many reasons to render the system of attempted identification highly objectionable—reasons, with which, we doubt not, that Captain Cunningham is as well acquainted as ourselves. If it be desirable, as we hope it is, that such a work as this should exist, it is desirable that no government functionaries should be publicly named as contributors to its pages.

We may now, leaving much unsaid, which we purposed to have said in these preliminary remarks, pass on to Captain Cunningham's book. It is, as the title-page sets forth, 'a history of the Sikhs, from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej.' Our remarks will principally refer to the recent annals of the Punjab; but before we launch upon the stormy sea of contemporary history, we may quote a few passages from the earlier chronicles of the Khalsa. Let us begin with an account of the philosophical system of Nânuk:—

"Nânuk adopted the philosophical system of his countrymen, and regarded bliss, as the dwelling of the soul with God after its punitory transmigrations should have ceased. Life, he says, is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot. He makes the same uses of the current language, or notions, of the time on other subjects, and thus says, he who remains bright amid darkness (Unjun), unmoved amid deceit (Maya), that is perfect amid temptation, should attain happiness. But it would be idle to suppose that he speculated upon being, or upon the material world, after the manner of Plato or Vyâsa; and it would be unreasonable to condemn him, because he preferred the doctrine of a succession of habiliments, and the possible purification of the most sinful soul, to the resurrection of the same body, and the pains of everlasting fire.* Nânuk also referred to the Arabian pro-

* Captain Cunningham goes most unnecessarily out of his way to introduce a flippant and offensive comparison. His caprice of writing, as a Sikh, is here carried beyond the bounds of decency and good sense. It remains to be proved that Nânuk ever heard of the Christian doctrine, which it has pleased Captain Cunningham to caricature; and, if he had, it would be in the highest degree reasonable to condemn him, or any one, who could prefer the senseless and licentious doctrine of transmigration, where John is punished for Peter's sins, and Thomas rewarded for John's virtues, neither Thomas, nor John, nor Peter, knowing any thing about the matter, to the just and solemn decree, which conscience recognizes to be the voice of God, that each individual, with full consciousness of the past, shall stand before the judgment seat,

phet, and to the Hindoo incarnations, not as impostors and the diffusers of evil, but as having truly been sent by God to instruct mankind: and he lamented that sin should nevertheless prevail. He asserted no special divinity; although he may possibly have considered himself, as he came to be considered by others, the successor of these inspired teachers of his belief, sent to reclaim fallen mortals of all creeds and countries within the limits of his knowledge. He rendered his mission applicable to all times and places; yet he declared himself to be but the slave, the humble messenger of the Almighty, making use of univeral truth as his sole instrument. He did not claim for his writings, replete as they were with wisdom and devotion, the merit of a direct transcription of the words of God; nor did he say that his own preaching required, or would be sanctioned by, miracles. "Fight with no weapon," said he, "save the word of God; a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine." He taught that asceticism or abandonment of the world was unnecessary, the pious hermit and the devout house-holder being equal in the eyes of the Almighty; but he did not, like his contemporary Vullubh, express any invidious preference for married teachers, although his own example showed that he considered every one should fulfil the functions of his nature. In treating the two prominent external observances of Hindoos and Mahometans, veneration for the cow, and abhorrence of the hog, he was equally wise and conciliatory, yielding perhaps something to the prejudices of his education, as well as to the gentleness of his disposition. "The rights of strangers," said he, "are the one the ox, and the other the swine; but 'Peers' and 'Gooroos' will praise those, who partake not of that which hath enjoyed life."

Some observations on the death of Govind, and the influence of that Guru upon the Sikhs, may follow here, in due sequence:—

"Govind was killed in 1708 at Nudërh on the banks of the Godavery. He was in his forty-eighth year, and, if it be thought by any that his obscure end belied the promise of his whole life, it should be remembered that—

> "The hand of man
> Is but a tardy servant of the brain,
> And follows, with its leaden diligence,
> The fiery steps of fancy;"

that, when Mahomet was a fugitive from Mecca, "the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world;" and that the Achilles of poetry (the reflection of truth) left Troy untaken. The lord of the Myrmidons, destined to a short life and immortal glory, met an end almost as base, as that which he dreaded when struggling with Simois and Scamander; and the heroic Richard, of eastern and western fame, whose whole soul was bent upon the deliverance of Jerusalem, veiled his face in shame and sorrow, that God's holy city should be left in the possession of infidels: he would not behold that which he could not redeem, and he descended from the Mount to retire to captivity and a premature grave. Success is

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to receive according to the deeds done in the body, whether they have been good or evil. Pythagoras was at least consistent in his system; for he held that consciousness continued. It might also be asked, in what way the Hindu incarnations are calculated to instruct mankind. But Capt. Cunningham's account of the system of Nânuk seems merely drawn up *ad captandum;* it is unworthy of serious criticism, and unworthy of his own high character and remarkable abilities. In questionable hero-worship, it is not given to every man to bend the bow of Carlyle. The same remarks will apply to his vague and bombastic account of the influence of Govind.—Ed.

thus not always the measure of greatness. The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nänuk. Govind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Govind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially, and given amplitude to their physical frames. The features and external form of a whole people have been modified; and a Sikh chief is not more distinguishable by his stately person and free and manly bearing, than a minister of his faith is by a lofty thoughtfulness of look, which marks the ferveur of his soul, and his persuasion of the near presence of the Divinity. Notwithstanding these changes, it has been usual to regard the Sikhs as essentially Hindoo, and they doubtless are so in language and every-day customs; for Govind did not fetter his disciples with political systems, or codes of municipal laws; yet in religious faith and worldly aspirations, they are wholly different from other Indians; and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward object unknown elsewhere. But the misapprehension need not surprise the public, nor condemn our scholars, when it is remembered that the learned of Greece and Rome misunderstood the spirit of those humble men, who obtained a new life by baptism. Tacitus and Suetonius regarded the early Christians as a mere Jewish sect: they failed to perceive the fundamental difference, and to appreciate the latent energy and real excellence of that doctrine, which has added dignity and purity to modern civilization."

We shall render these extracts more complete by appending the following brief passage, on the establishment of Sikhism, and the respective influence of its principal apostles:—

"Thus, at the end of two centuries, had the Sikh faith become established, as a prevailing sentiment and guiding principle, to work its way in the world. Nânuk disengaged his little society of worshippers from Hindoo idolatry and Mahometan superstition, and placed them free on a broad basis of religious and moral purity; Ummer Das preserved the infant community from declining into a sect of quietists or ascetics; Arjoon gave his increasing followers a written rule of conduct and a civil organization; Hur Govind added the use of arms and a military system; and Govind Singh bestowed upon them a distinct political existence, and inspired them with the desire of being socially free and nationally independent. No further legislation was required; a firm persuasion had been elaborated, and a vague feeling had acquired consistence as an active principle. The operation of this faith, become a fact, is only now in progress, and the fruit it may yet bear cannot be foreseen. Sikhism arose, where fallen and corrupt Brahminical doctrines were most strongly acted on by the vital and spreading Mahometan belief. It has now come into contact with the civilization and Christianity of Europe, and the result can only be known to a distant posterity."

Captain Cunningham's account of the Sikh soldiery is worth quoting:—

"In the year 1822, the French generals, Ventura and Allard, reached

Lahore by way of Persia and Afghanistan; and, after some little hesitation, they were employed and treated with distinction. It has been usual to attribute the superiority of the Sikh army to the labors of these two officers, and of their subsequent coadjutors, the Generals Court and Avitabile; but, in truth, the Sikh owes his excellence as a soldier to his own hardihood of character, to that spirit of adaptation which distinguishes every new people, and to that feeling of a common interest and destiny implanted in him by his great teachers. The Rajpoots and Puthäns are valiant and high-minded warriors: but their pride and their courage are personal only, and concern them, as men of ancient family and noble lineage; they will do nothing unworthy of their birth, but they are indifferent to the political advancement of their race. The efforts of the Mahrattas, in emancipating themselves from a foreign yoke, were neither guided nor strengthened by any distinct hope or desire. They became free, but knew not how to remain independent; and they allowed a crafty Brahmin to turn their aimless aspirations to his own profit, and to found a dynasty of "Peshwas" on the achievements of unlettered Soodras. Ambitious soldiers took a further advantage of the spirit called up by Sevajee; but, as it was not sustained by any pervading religious principle of action, a few generations saw the race yield to the expiring efforts of Mahometanism; and the Mahrattas owe their present position, as rulers, to the intervention of European strangers. The genuine Mahratta can scarcely be said to exist, and the two hunderd thousand spearmen of the last century are once more shepherds and tillers of the ground. Similar remarks apply to the Goorkhas, that other Indian people which has risen to greatness in latter times by its own innate power, unmingled with religious hope. They became masters; but no peculiar institution formed the landmark of their thoughts; and the vitality of the original impulse seems fast waning before the superstition of an ignorant priesthood, and the turbulence of a feudal nobility. The difference, between these races and the fifth tribe of Indian warriors, will be at once apparent. The Sikh looks before him only; the ductility of his youthful intellect readily receives the most useful impression, or takes the most advantageous form; and religious faith is ever present to sustain him under any adversity, and to assure him of an ultimate triumph.

The Rajpoot and Puthän will fight, as Pirthee Raee and Jenghiz Khan waged war; they will ride on horses in tumultuous array, and they will wield a sword and spear with individual dexterity: but neither of these cavaliers will deign to stand in regular ranks, and to handle the musket of the infantry soldier, although the Mahometan has always been a brave and skilful server of heavy cannon. The Mahratta is equally averse to the European system of warfare; and the less stiffened Goorkha has only had the power or the opportunity of forming battalions of footmen, unsupported by an active cavalry and a trained artillery. The early force of the Sikhs was composed of horsemen; but they seem intuitively to have adopted the new and formidable matchlock of recent times, instead of their ancestral bows, and the spear common to every nation. Mr. Forster noticed this peculiarity in 1783, and the advantage it gave in desultory warfare. In 1805, Sir John Malcolm did not think the Sikh was better mounted than the Mahratta; but, in 1810, Sir David Ochterloney considered that, in the confidence of untried strength, his great native courage would show him more formidable than a follower of Sindhia or Holkar, and readily lead him to face a battery of well served guns. The peculiar arm of the contending nations of the last century passed into a proverb, and the phrase, 'the Mahratta spear, the Afghan sword, the Sikh matchlock, and the English cannon,' is still of common repetition; nor does it gratify the pride

of the present masters of India, to hear their success attributed rather to the number and excellence of their artillery, than to that dauntless courage and firm array, which have enabled the humble footmen to win most of those distant victories which add glory to the English name. Nevertheless it has always been the object of rival powers to obtain a numerous artillery; the battalions of De Boigne would never separate themselves from their cannon, and the presence of that formidable arm is yet, perhaps, essential to the full confidence of the British Sepoy."

We now come close upon the history of our own times, and tread more debatable ground. There are points of some importance in the recent annals of British India regarding which, as upon questions of fact, we are at issue with Captain Cunningham. A few of these we intend to cite, offering our own refutations or explanations, where the historian is either incorrect or obscure. We believe that on all these points Captain Cunningham has written conscientiously; but in some cases, he has been led astray by deficient information, and in others, he has been deluded by strong prejudices, into very pernicious errors. We regret that the late hour, at which the volume reached us, compels us to go less into detail, than otherwise we should have been tempted to do.

We turn over the leaves to that portion of the history, which relates to the outbreak of the Cabul insurrection. "About 'two months afterwards, or on the second of Novem-'ber, (1841)," writes Captain Cuningham, "that insurrection 'broke out in Caubul, which forms so painful a passage in 'British history. No valiant youth arose, superior to the fatal 'influence of military subordination, to render illustrious the 'retreat of a handful of Englishmen, or more illustrious still 'the successful defence of their position. The brave spirit of 'Sir W. Macnaghten laboured perseveringly, but in vain, against 'the unworthy fear which possessed the highest officers of the 'army; and the dismay of the distant commanders imparted 'some of its poison to the supreme authorities in India, who 'were weary of the useless and burdensome occupation of 'Khorassan. The first generous impulse was cowed into a 'desire of annulling the Dooranee alliance, and of collecting 'a force on the Indus, or even so far back as the Sutlej, there 'to fight for the empire of Hindustan with the torrents of 'exulting Affghans, which the startled imaginations of English-'men readily conjured up." A disagreeable passage this, and not historically true. The highest officers of the army at Cabul, in that disastrous winter of 1841-42, were not smitten with "unworthy fear." Fear is a hard word to apply to British officer of any rank. General Elphinstone and Brigadier Shelton were no cowards. The former was incapacitated by

physical infirmity; the latter wanted wisdom, wanted temper; but did not want courage. General Elphinstone had applied, on the score of ill health, to be relieved from his command, and had received permission to return to the provinces, before the insurrection broke out. He was unable to move about, except on horseback; and, unfortunately, on the evening of the 2nd of November, when visiting the guards, his horse fell with him, and *on* him; and he was obliged to return home. From that time his sufferings increased, and, on the 9th, having found himself quite incompetent to the efficient performance of his duties, he recalled Brigadier Shelton from the Bala-Hissar. Much was expected from the advice and co-operation of this officer; but the general and the troops were equally disappointed. Brigadier Shelton, from the day of his arrival, thwarted and opposed General Elphinstone, canvassed and censured, in the presence of subordinate officers, the orders that were given, and frequently prevented or delayed their being carried into effect. But the Brigadier was not wanting in courage; and, whatever language we may apply to his conduct, which was sufficiently reprehensible, "unworthy fear" is not an expression which should find a place in the account. As for Brigadier Anquetil, he was a brave and an able officer; but, at the very commencement of the insurrection, he was overtaken by sickness, and the General was deprived of his services at the time when they were most wanted;—a loss which Elphinstone greatly regretted, leaving on record an expression of his regret, and of his confidence in the cordiality with which the Brigadier would have co-operated with him. So much for "the highest officers of the army." The reference to the "valiant youth," who did not arise, is a mere rhetorical flourish, suggesting dim ideas of Xenophon and the "illustrious retreat" which he conducted. In these days of army-lists, order-books, Adjutant-General's offices, articles of war, and courts-martial, there is little chance for the valiant youth of our army, except when circumstances detach them from the establishments to which they belong. The barrier of rank in this nineteenth century is not to be overleapt by the vaulting ambition of valiant subalterns. Every thing is too clearly defined—too formal—too systematic. It is one of the best arguments in favor of the "political system," which in some quarters is unreasonably depreciated, that it removes able and aspiring young officers from the bondage of seniority, and enables them, in positions of detached responsibility, to show of what stuff they are made. Our valiant youths have done illustrious deeds; but they have first of all been transplanted from that formal garden of military etiquette,

where field officers flourish in equi-distant rows; and, whether they be dry and sapless, or, vigorous in green old age, are still the commanding officers of our legions—still the men whom all must obey.

To the passage quoted above, Captain Cunningham has appended a note, in illustration of the assertion, that "the startled imaginations of our countrymen, in that winter of 1841-42," conjured up all sorts of horrors to fright them out of their propriety. "Of those who recorded their opinions about the 'policy to be followed at the moment, it may be mentioned that 'Mr. Robertson, Lieutenant Governor of Agra, and Sir Herbert 'Maddock, the political secretary, advised a stand at Peshawur." Now, as regards at least Mr. Robertson, the assertion, here put forth with so much confidence, has absolutely no truth. The only stand at Peshawur, that Mr. Robertson can even have thought of for a moment, was the stand, not of the retributive army, but of Sale's brigade, in the event of its being driven from Jellalabad. He may have thought (doubtless, he did think) it better that Sale's brigade, under such circumstances, should make a stand at Peshawur, than that it should fall back upon the British provinces. Mr. Robertson, we say, may have thought this; but our belief is that he has recorded no opinions upon the subject even of such a stand as this at Peshawur; and we are certain that he advised no other. There was not a man in India more eager for a prompt forward movement; and we feel assured, that if the provisional Governor-Generalship had devolved upon him in that important conjuncture, Jellalabad would have been relieved before the end of the year. If there was energy, at that time, in any quarter, if there were any men in India, whose imaginations were not startled at the thought of torrents of exulting Affghans inundating the plains of Hindustan, those men were Mr. Robertson and Mr. George Clerk. Had their wishes been carried out in the first instance, and a well-equipped, well-commanded Brigade, been pushed on to Jellalabad, the crowning disaster of that fatal winter might have been averted, or at least mitigated. Mr. Clerk was the first to gain intelligence of the outbreak at Cabul, and the first to act upon it. The news reached Mr. Robertson at Allighur; he hurried to Agra to meet the Commander-in-Chief, and then advised, not a stand at Peshawur, but the despatch of an able general officer to take command of the advanced brigade;—not such a brigade as was sent, but one containing an European regiment, and at least a troop of Horse Artillery. What was done, and what happened, we need not repeat. Our first movement in advance was a failure. Intelligence of this event and of the massacre of

the Cabul army reached India about the same time. It was necessary, therefore, to begin *de novo*. Circumstances were changed, in some measure, by the destruction of General Elphinstone's force; and a more extended plan of action, having in view ulterior political results, was considered by our leading Indian statesmen, and amongst them by Mr. Robertson. What he advised in January 1842 was, not a stand at Peshawur, but an advance by the Bolan Pass upon Candahar, which he proposed to make the basis of our operations. Subsequently, when the force under General Pollock was assembled at Peshawur, it was Mr. Robertson who supplied the cattle, which enabled him to move. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces was a little too active to suit the taste of the new Governor General. The result of the difference of opinion on this subject we have already stated.*

To this we may add that, throughout all this troubled period, there were no signs of alarm or agitation—no evidences of a "startled imagination"—in Mr. Robertson's Government of the North Western provinces. There may have been apprehensions elsewhere. The Political secretary wrote to the Commander-in-Chief "to look after the large towns;" and, as the result of this private hint, a regiment of cavalry was sent over express from Meerut to Delhi—a movement that both indicated and caused alarm: but so little had Mr. Robertson to do with this, that he is believed to have remonstrated against the measure, which he not only condemned in itself, but which had all the appearance of being (and probably was) intended as a slight. Certainly Mr. Robertson is the last of all the eminent men in India at that time, whom one would expect to see adduced as an illustration of the timid councils and startled imaginations of the memorable and melancholy epoch to which we refer.

These points are of a more episodical character; and are only touched upon by Captain Cunningham, in so far as they bear upon the history of the Sikhs. The remarks, which we have commented upon, are introductory of an account of the Sikh alliance of 1842, and of the manner in which, at that time, the "Sikh auxiliaries" co-operated with the force under General Pollock. Let us see what the historian says upon this subject:—

"No confidence was placed in the efficiency, or the friendship, of the Sikhs; and although their aid was always considered of importance, the mode, in which it was asked and used, only served to sink the Lahore army lower than before in British estimation.

* See Vol. II, page 463, in a passage quoted from Macfarlane's "Indian Empire," and our comments thereupon.

Four regiments of Sepoys marched from Ferozpoor without guns, and unsupported by cavalry, to vainly endeavour to force the Pass of Khyber; and the Sikh troops at Peshawur were urged by the local British authorities in their praiseworthy ardor, rather than deliberately ordered by their own government at the instance of its ally, to co-operate in the attempt, or indeed to march alone to Jellalabad. The fact that the English had been beaten was notorious, and the belief in their alarm was welcome. The Sikh governor was obliged in the absence of orders, to take the sense of the regimental "punches" or committees; and the hasty requisition to march was rejected, through fear alone, as the English said, but really with feelings, in which contempt, distrust, and apprehension were all mixed. The district Governor, General Avitabile, who fortunately still retained his province, freely gave what aid he could; some pieces of artillery were furnished, as well as abundance of ordinary supplies, and the British detachment effected the relief of Alí Musjid. But the unpardonable neglect of going to the fort without the food which had been provided, obliged the garrison to retreat after a few days; and the disinclination of the Sikhs to fight the battles of strangers communicated itself to the mercenary soldiers of the English, and thus added to the Governor General's dislike of the Afghan connection."

We doubt, in spite of the disasters that had overtaken us, whether the Sikhs ever felt contempt for the British; but that our distrust in them was well-founded, we have too good reason to know. The assistance rendered by general Avitabile to Wild's brigade is exaggerated in the above passage; less, however, by what is stated, than by what is *not*. General Avitabile "freely gave" as little aid as he could without altogether refusing to assist us: but this may have been his misfortune rather than his fault. Two unserviceable guns were lent to the British, and not a Sikh soldier assisted us in the course of our marches to and from Ali-Musjid.* The provisions consumed by the brigade were bought; and it may be questioned, whether any little good done by Avitabile was not more than counterbalanced by the mischief he did, in publicly stating that less than 20,000 men could not possibly force the Khybur. As to the Sikhs themselves, their attempts, at this time, and subsequently up to the time that the army marched to the relief of Jellalabad, to corrupt our sepoys and detach them from our service, are too notorious to require any elucidation from us. It is as well known, that they poisoned the minds of our sepoys, as that they insulted our officers; and that General Pollock was obliged to thrust them out of his camp.

* See Article "The Sikhs and their country"—Vol. II. p. 180—183, for what the Sikh auxiliaries did, and what they did not, at this time. Captain Cunningham, who has done us the honor to quote this article and others, in several parts of his History, and who indeed refers his readers to the identical passage indicated by us, must have learnt from this paper the sum and substance of the assistance we derived from our allies.

We let Captain Cunningham continue his account of the services of these auxiliaries :—

" The necessity of at least relieving the garrison of Jellalabad was paramount, and in the spring of 1842 a well equipped British force arrived at Peshawur ; but the active co-operation of the Sikhs was still desirable, and it was sought for under the terms of an absolute article of the tripartite treaty with Shah Shooja, which gave Lahore a subsidy of two lakhs of rupees in exchange for the services of 5000 men. Sher Singh was willing to assist beyond this limited degree ; he greatly facilitated the purchase of grain and the hire of carriage cattle in the Punjab, and his auxiliaries could be made to outnumber the troops of his allies ; but he felt uneasy about the proceedings of the Sindhanwala chiefs, one of whom had gone to Calcutta to urge his own claims, or those of Mace Chund Kôur, and all of whom retained influence in the Sikh ranks. He was assured that the refugees should not be allowed to disturb his reign ; and there thus seemed to be no obstacle in the way of his full co-operation. But the genuine Sikhs were held by the English to be both mutinous in disposition, and inferior in warlike spirit ; the soldiers of Jummu were preferred, and Golab Singh was required to proceed to Peshawur to repress the insubordinate " Khâlsa," and to give General Pollock the assurance of efficient aid. The raja was at the time completing the reduction of some insurgent tribes between Cashmeer and Attok, and his heart was in Tibet, where he had himself lost an army and a kingdom. He went, but he knew the temper of his own hill levies: he was naturally unwilling to run any risk by following the modes of strangers to which he was unused, and he failed in rendering the Sikh battalions as decorous and orderly as English regiments. His prudence and ill success were looked upon as collusion and insincerity ; and he was thought to be in league with Akber Khan for the destruction of the army of an obnoxious European power. Still his aid was held to be essential ; and the local British officers proposed to bribe him by the offer of Jellalabad, independent of his sovereign Sher Singh. The scheme was justly condemned by Mr Clerk : the Khyber Pass was forced in the month of April, and the auxiliary Sikhs acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the English general, without any promises having been made to the Raja of Jummoo, who gladly hurried to the Ladâkh frontier, to look after interests dearer to him than the success, or the vengeance, of foreigners. It was designed by General Pollock to leave the whole of the Sikh division at Jellalabad, to assist in holding that district, while the main English army went to Caubul ; but the proper interposition of Colonel Lawrence enabled a portion of the Lahore troops to share in that retributive march, as they had before shared in the first invasion, and fully shown their fitness for meeting difficulties, when left to do so in their own way."

There are two points in the above passage, which we desire to notice. The first is that which relates to the actual assistance rendered by the Sikhs to General Pollock ; and the second has reference to the politicial negociations, which were set on foot to secure the co-operation of our allies. As regards the first, at a time when the chief want of the British force was a want of carriage, the Sikhs did all that they could, not to assist us by supplying us with cattle, but to favour the desertion of camel-drivers with their beasts, and so to paralyse the movements of our troops.

When the advance took place, we have reason to believe that they did not "acquit themselves to the satisfaction of the English General." His dispatch is wholly silent on the subject of the auxiliaries. The English entered the Pass on the morning of the 5th of April, and encamped that evening about a mile from Ali-Musjid. On the morning of the 6th, the British force took possession of the fortress, which had been evacuated; and in the course of the day, the Sikhs made their appearance, coming by a different route. When General Pollock advanced to Jellalabad, the Sikhs undertook to hold Ali-Musjid, and keep open the passes between that place and Peshawur. They performed that duty reluctantly, and behaved in a manner anything but creditable to themselves, or advantageous to us. It would be a long story to tell of all their misconduct in detail. General Pollock had scarcely moved on to Jellalabad, when the Sikh authorities entered into negotiations with the Afreedis to keep, for a consideration of some 4,000 or 6,000 rupees, the passes open, during the two months for which they had covenanted to hold them;—a proceeding, which had the effect of laying bare to the Afreedi Maliks the nature of the engagements existing between ourselves and our "allies." Not very long afterwards, the Sikh regiments stationed at Ali-Musjid quitted their post, and returned to Jumrúd. Meeting some of our baggage-cattle (mules and bullocks) on the way, they threw the loads off the beasts, and employed them to carry their (the Sikhs') baggage. The troops were, it appeared, officially recalled, without any notice given to Capt. Mackeson, or any steps being taken to relieve them, although there were four regiments close at hand for the purpose. We might speak of other outrages, committed about this time; but we have neither time nor space at our command. It would require much of both, also, to detail the difficulties thrown in the way of the subsequent advance of the Sikh detachment. It gave the British authorities more trouble, and caused them more anxiety, than the co-operation was worth; and, if it had not been that the British cause might have been prejudicially affected by the appearance of any want of friendship and confidence between the Sikhs and ourselves, it is not improbable, that our authorities would gladly have cut a-drift the Sikh alliance, and spared themselves the necessity of a long and troublesome correspondence, and the annoyance of being exposed to the uncertainty and vacillation—the fast-and-loose dealings, more the result of weakness than of design—of the Lahore durbar.

Now, a word as to the bait, which it was proposed to hold out to our "allies." Early in February 1842, when Golab Singh

was proceeding to Peshawur for the purpose of rendering us that aid, which it was obvious we could not obtain from the battalions of Mahtab Singh, the tardiness of the Jummú Rajah excited the suspicion of the British authorities. It was thought that he either feared to face the Khybur, or was hanging back in hopes of being stimulated by a bribe worthy of his acceptance. It was surmised, in short, that he was waiting until it had been made worth his while to advance. Thus circumstanced, it occurred to the British agent on the North Western Frontier, whether it might be advisable,—not to make any offers to the Rajah independently of the Lahore Government, (a step which would not only have been hardly justifiable in itself, but which would assuredly excite the ill feeling of the Khalsa, and therefore would have been little acceptable to Golab Singh) —but to offer certain territories, especially Jellalabad, to the Sikh Government, giving Golab Singh possession in the name of the Maharajah, and trusting to the force of circumstances eventually to secure permanently to the Jummú chief the territory so acquired. But we believe that no offer was at this time made of any portion of the Afghan territory to the Sikhs. It was felt that so long as Shah Soojah existed, and the tri-partite treaty had not been annulled, any design to dissever the Douraní empire, and to invite the Sikhs to share in the partition, would he premature, both as regarded the justice and the expediency of the measure. But the death of Shah Soojah gave a new aspect to the state of affairs; and the British Government lost little time, after authentic intelligence of that event had been received, in communicating to Mr. Clerk its willingness, that certain territories on the right bank of the Indus should pass into the possession of the Sikh Government, or of the Jummú Rajahs, with the permission of the Lahore durbar; and it was intimated, that the British Government would facilitate the accomplishment of this object by placing Jellalabad in the hands of the Sikhs. The offer was formally made, but, in the then uncertain position of affairs, prudently declined. It was not unreasonably urged by the Durbar, that, until they were in possession of the ultimate intentions of the British with respect to Afghanistan, it would be hardly politic in the Sikhs to place themselves in a prominent position, or in any way to identify themselves with measures, the future outturn of which they could as yet but but dimly foresee. But it was believed that, as soon as ever our withdrawal from Afghanistan was fully determined upon and about to be put in execution, the Sikhs, without further explanation, would be willing to take possession of Jellalabad. And they were so; but not having

fully made up their minds upon the subject (probably from some mis-trust of our intentions), until the British force had actually marched from Cabul, their acceptance of the offer came too late to save the place from destruction. General Pollock had, in accordance with instructions, destroyed the fortifications of Jellalabad, before he received a communication from Government, intended, if possible, to arrest such proceedings, and ordering him to make over the place uninjured to our allies. It may be doubted whether any party very much regretted the accident.*

The *latter* portion of this explanation differs, in no wise, from that given by Captain Cunningham in the following passage. Indeed, the substance of it is to be found in the published papers relating to military operations in Afghanistan. The passage, however, we quote for another purpose :—

"The death of Shah Shooja, and his suspicious proceedings, were held to render the re-occupation of the country unnecessary, and the tri-partite treaty was declared to be at an end; but the policy of a march on the Afghan capital was strongly urged, and wisely adopted. There seemed to be a prospect of wintering in Cabul, and it was not until the victorious troops were on their return to India, that it was believed the English would ever forego the possession of an empire. The Sikhs then consented to take Jellalabad; but, before the order, transferring it, could reach General Pollock, that commander had destroyed the fortifications, and nominally abandoned the place to the king, whom he had expediently set up in the Bala-Hissar. It is probable that Sher Singh was not unwilling to be relieved of the invidious gift; for his own sway in Lahore was distracted, and Dost Mahomed was about to be released, under the pledge of a safe passage through the Punjab dominions; and it may have been thought prudent to conciliate the father of Akber Khan, so famous for his successes against the English, by the surrender of a possession it was inconvenient to hold."

If General Pollock "expediently set up a King in the Bala-Hissar," it was what he was not authorised to do; nay, what he was expressly enjoined by Government not to do. But he did nothing of the kind. General Pollock having refused to support him, Futteh Jung set himself up, and was for a time recognised by the Sirdars at Cabul. When the army was about to retire, the Prince begged General Pollock to leave two regiments for his protection. This, of course, the General declined; and Futteh Jung, who had no great amount of courage at the best of times, became alarmed for his personal safety, and asked permission to accompany the army to the British provinces. Permission was granted: but nothing was guaranteed, or promised for the future. Upon this, the Sirdars asked, whom they should declare King, and were told in reply, that they were at liberty

* It had been distinctly intimated to the Sikhs, that, if they took possession of Jellalabad, the British would, in no wise, help them to retain it.

to nominate whom they pleased—that they might set up "*a straw*" if they liked. On the day that the army marched from Cabul, Shah-poor was paraded about the streets as the new King; but General Pollock had nothing whatever to do with his election. His instructions were not to set up a King; and assuredly his own judgment did not dictate a departure from them. Indeed, Shah-poor was not put upon the throne, and the chiefs did not take the oaths of allegiance, until after General Pollock had marched out of Cabul on the 12th of October. The General had distinctly refused to have anything to do with the elevation of the young Prince, as of his brother before him. Gholam Mahomed Khan, who was then minister, and Khan Shereen Khan, the chief of the Kuzzilbashes, had on their own parts, and the parts of other chiefs, avowed their intention to support Shah-poor; but General Pollock told them, that the British Government could in no wise be a party to the proceeding, and that they must expect no assistance from him either in money or in troops. They persisted in representing their wishes to place Shah-poor upon the throne; but all General Pollock consented to do, was not to remove the Prince from Cabul, stipulating at the same time that the British Government should not be supposed in any way to be a party to the creation of the new King.

It is certain, therefore, that Shah-poor was not "expediently set up" by General Pollock; and it is to Shah-poor, we presume, that Capt. Cunningham alludes. As for Futteh Jung, he clung to General Pollock for protection; and we do not doubt, that he did all that could be done to impart something of the true stamp of authority to his connexion with the victorious General, in the eyes at least of his fellow-countrymen. He accompanied General Pollock from Yandannuk to Cabul; and, when the former, with a select detachment of British troops, proceeded to the Bala-Hissar to plant the English standard upon the highest and most conspicuous point of that celebrated strong-hold, Futteh Jung begged permission to accompany the party, pleading that he apprehended treachery and violence, if he entered the Bala-Hissar alone. Permission was given, and the Prince accompanied the party. The road to the spot, on which the colours were to be hoisted, lay by the Palace; and in the neighbourhood of the Palace the troops and guns were halted, as there were no means of proceeding beyond. The General and Staff went forward, and planted the colours on the spot determined upon; whilst, upon a signal given, the troops presented arms, the band struck up "God save the Queen," and a royal salute was fired by the guns. We need scarcely add that the salute was fired, not in honor of the

Prince, but in honour of the event. Whether any advantage was taken by Futteh Jung of the fact, that he re-entered his Father's Palace coincidentally with the hoisting of the British colours on the Bala-Hissar; or whether this coincidence occasioned any mistaken impressions among our own people, as well as among the Afghans, with regard to this movement, and the subsequent elevation of Shah-poor, we do not pretend to know; but as more than one authority, misled by this or some other circumstance, has asserted that General Pollock set up a King at Cabul, we have placed on record all that we know about the matter; and we believe, that nothing more could be written to throw further light upon the subject. The whole truth now stands fully revealed.

But we have matters of more importance to notice, and charges of greater weight to bring against Captain Cunningham. We repudiate all that cant of pseudo-patriotism, which consists in the unscrupulous pertinacity, with which everything belonging to, and everything done by, our enemies, is spoken of in the malignant language of hatred and contempt; whilst everything appertaining to, or emanating from, ourselves is commended and exalted to the skies. There is a great deal too much one-sidedness in the generality of our war-narratives. Prejudice and partiality are at work to over-lay or distort the truth. What are called 'English views' are often incorrect views, and "true British spirit" is frequently only another name for untruth and injustice. The man paints the picture, or carves the statue, and is of course uppermost. It is instructive sometimes to see how the lion would paint the picture, or carve the statue: but we would rather that he should put himself uppermost, than that the man should do it for him. An historian, however, is rarely disposed to be prejudiced against his own countrymen; and we conceive that such prejudices, when they do exist, are less injurious than those which set in the opposite direction. There are sure to be people, who will take the trouble to expose the errors born of such prejudices as these; whilst, on the other hand, we are seldom at the pains to contradict, even when admitted, those which redound to our own credit.

Still, it must be acknowledged that such prejudices as these grate much more harshly upon the minds of the English reader. Captain Cunningham is the apologist of the Sikhs. His heart seems to be with them. He is almost one of the Khalsa himself; almost a follower of Govind; almost is the Grunth his gospel. He sees things as they are seen at Lahore, not as they are seen on our side of the Sutlej—or, as they would be seen on a summit of infallibility, above the mists of all local influences.

He justifies, or seems to justify, the Sikh invasion of 1845-46, on the score of provocation given. This is a new reading of recent Indian history, which, coming from a British officer, from one politically employed for many years on the North-West frontier, and from a man of unquestionable ability—a clever member of a clever family—it is worth our while to examine.

The ninth Chapter of the History of the Sikhs, headed 'War with the English,' commences with this passage :—

"The English government had long expected that it would be forced into a war with the overbearing soldiery of the Punjab: the Indian public, which considered only the fact of the progressive aggrandizement of the strangers, was prepared to hear of the annexation of another kingdom, without minutely inquiring or caring about the causes which led to it; and the more selfish chiefs of the Sikhs had always desired that such a degree of interference should be exercised in the affairs of their country as would guarantee to them the easy enjoyment of their possessions. These wealthy and incapable men stood rebuked before the superior genius of Runjeet Singh, and before the mysterious spirit which animated the people arrayed in arms; and they thus fondly hoped that a change would give them all they could desire. But it is doubtful whether the Sikh soldiery ever seriously thought, although they often vauntingly boasted, of fighting with the paramount power of Hindustan, until within two or three months of the first battles; and, even then, the rude and illiterate yeomen considered that they were about to enter upon a war purely defensive."

This we believe to be true. Nay, it is probable that within a still shorter time the Sikhs had no settled determination of invading the British provinces. Such an invasion had often been talked of in the Punjab, and the cry of "Wolf" had often been raised in our own provinces; but although it was felt, that, in the then state and temper of the Sikh army, with no governing power competent to restrain with a strong hand their unbridled licentiousness, such an event might at any time occur, it was the opinion of the most competent authorities in India, that all this boasting and threatening was nothing more than the craft of certain Sirdars, over-ridden by the soldiery, and at their wits' end for a device, whereby the troubled thoughts of the Khalsa might be diverted into some foreign channel, for the better maintenance of security at home. Thus in 1843, Heera Singh talked vauntingly of taking the spear in his hand, and leading the Khalsa army to the very walls of Fort William. It was but the voice of one in a dire extremity; and little heed was taken of the utterance. But, as time advanced, the probabilities of a Sikh invasion increased, for every month it became more apparent that the army was the dominant power in the Punjab, and that there were those at Lahore, who would fain see the unruly battalions cross the Sutlej, if only to their own destruction. It was felt, indeed, that if the Sikh army came at all amongst us, it

would come, less in prosecution of any settled scheme of conquest, than because the state of affairs at Lahore had rendered it necessary, that some outlet should be found for all this perilous pent-up strain of military insubordination. There was no security, indeed, against such a state of things as there existed in the Punjab;—there was no knowing at what hour an impulsive movement across the frontier might not be suggested, in very desperation, to the Sikh battalions. Still there was nothing but a basis of possibilities, upon which to ground our own defensive measures. To have known, two months before, that the Sikhs were about to invade India, would have been to know what they knew not themselves. So far Captain Cunningham and ourselves are entirely agreed.

There may be some truth, too, in what follows :—

"From the moment the Sikh army became predominant in the state, the English authorities had been persuaded that the machinery of government would be broken up, that bands of plunderers would everywhere arise, and that the duty of a civilized people to society generally, and of a governing power to its own subjects, would all combine to bring on a collision ; and thus measures, which seemed sufficient, were adopted for strengthening the frontier posts, and for having a force at hand, which might prevent aggression, or which would at least exact retribution, and vindicate the supremacy of the English name. These were the fair and moderate objects of the British government ; but the Sikhs took a different view of the relative conditions of the two state. They feared the ambition of their colossal neighbour ; they did not understand why they should be dreaded, when intestine commotions reduced their comparative inferiority still lower ; defensive measures took in their eyes the form of aggressive preparations, and they came to the conclusion that their country was to be invaded. Nor does this conviction of the weaker and less intelligent power appear to be unreasonable ; for it is always to be borne in mind that India is far behind Europe in civilization, and that political morality or moderation is as little appreciated in the East in these days, as it was in Christendom in the middle ages. Hindustan, moreover, from Cabul to the valley of Assam and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country ; and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch, or of one race. The supremacy of Vicrumajít and Chundragúpta, of the Túrkmans and Moghuls, is familiar to all ; and thus, on hearing of further acquisitions by the English, a Hindu or Mahometan will simply observe, that the destiny of the nation is great, or that its cannon is irresistible. A prince may chafe, that he loses a province, or is rendered tributary ; but the public will never accuse the conquerors of unjust aggression, or at least of unrighteous and unprincipled ambition."

That the Sikhs sufficiently misunderstood the character of the then ruler of British India, and the policy of his Government, to believe, that an aggressive movement was meditated from our side of the Sutlej, is not wholly improbable. Lord Hardinge, desirous to avoid a collision, the evils of which he so clearly foresaw, endeavored to impart as little as possible of an offensive

character to the preparations which he was necessitated to make; but the nature of those preparations might easily have been misunderstood; and the policy, wise in its moderation, which the Governor-General pursued, was obviously not appreciated by all who served under him. Of this we shall come presently to speak. There is not in the above passage anything to justify the Sikh invasion; nor is it, we presume, intended as a justification. The apology for this act of violence is to be found in what follows:—

"To this general persuasion of the Sikhs, in common with other Indian nations, that the English were and are ever ready to extend their power, is to be added the particular bearing of the British Government towards the Punjab itself. In 1809, when the apprehensions of a French invasion of the East had subsided, and the resolution of making the Jumna a boundary was still approved, the English viceroy had said that, rather than irritate Runjeet Singh, the detachment of troops which had been advanced to Lúdiana might be withdrawn to Kurnal. It was not indeed thought advisable to carry out the proposition; but, up to the period of the Afghan war of 1838, the garrison of Lúdiana formed the only body of armed men near the Sikh frontier, excepting the provincial regiment raised at Subathú for the police of the hills after the Gúrkha war. The advanced post on the Sutlej was of little military or political use; but it served as the most conspicuous symbol of the compact with the Sikhs; and they, as the inferior power, were always disposed to lean upon old engagements, as those which warranted the least degree of intimacy or dictation. In 1835, the petty chiefship of Ferozpúr, seventy miles lower down the Sutlej than Lúdiana, was occupied by the English, as an escheat due to their protection of all Sikh lordships, save that of Lahore. The advantages of the place in a military point of view had been perseveringly extolled, and its proximity to the capital of the Punjab made Runjeet Singh, in his prophetic fear, claim it as a dependency of his own. In 1838, the Maharaja's apprehensions, that the insignificant town would become a cantonment, were fully realized; for twelve thousand men assembled at Ferozpúr to march to Khorassan; and as it was learnt before the date fixed for the departure of the army, that the Persians had raised the siege of Hirât, it was determined that a small division should be left behind, until the success of the projected invasion rendered its presence no longer necessary. But the succeeding warfare in Afghanistan and Sindh gave the new cantonment a character of permanency, and in 1842 the remoteness from support of the two posts on the Sutlej was one of the arguments used for advancing a considerable body of troops to Ambala as a reserve, and for placing European regiments in the hills, still closer to the Sikh frontier. The relations of 1809 were nevertheless cherished by the Sikhs, although they may have been little heeded by the English, amid the multifarious considerations attendant on their changed position in India.

It had never been concealed from the Sikh authorities, that the helpless condition of the acknowledged government of the country was held to justify such additions to the troops at Lúdiana and Ferozpúr, as would give confidence to the inhabitants of these districts, and ensure the successful defence of the posts themselves against predatory bands. Nor did the Sikhs deny the right of the English to make what military arrangements they pleased for the security of their territories: but that any danger was to be apprehended from Lahore was not admitted by men conscious of their

weakness; and thus, by every process of reasoning employed, the Sikhs still came to the same conclusion that they were threatened. Many circumstances, unheeded or undervalued by the English, gave further strength to this conviction. It had not indeed been made known to the Sikhs, that Sir William Macnaghten and others had proposed to dismember their kingdom, by bestowing Peshawar on Shah Shooja, when Runjeet Singh's line was held to end with the death of his grandson; but it would be idle to suppose the Lahore government ignorant of a scheme, which was discussed in official correspondence, and doubtless in private society, or of the previous desire of Sir Alexander Burnes to bestow the same tract on Dost Mahommed Khan; and the Sikh authorities must at least have had a lively remembrance of the English offer of 1843, to march upon their capital, and to disperse their army. Again, in 1844 and 1845, the facts were whispered abroad and treasured up, that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej; that troops in Sindh were being equipped for a march on Mooltan; and that the various garrisons of the north-west provinces were being gradually reinforced, while some of them were being abundantly supplied with the munitions of war, as well as with troops. None of these things were communicated to the Sikh government, but they were nevertheless believed by all parties, and they were held to denote a campaign, not of defence, but aggression.

The Sikhs thus considered that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandizement, and that the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore. This persuasion of the people was brought home to them by the acts of the British representative for the time, and by the opinion which they had preformed of his views. Mr. Clerk became Lieutenant-Governor of Agra in June 1843; and he was succeeded, as agent for the affairs of the Sikhs, by Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond, whose place again was taken by Major Broadfoot, a man of undoubted energy and ability, in November of the following year. In India the views of the British Government are, by custom, made known to allies and dependants, through one channel only, namely, that of an accredited English officer. The personal character of such a functionary gives a colour to all he does and says; the policy of the government is indeed judged of by the bearing of its representative; and it is certain that the Sikh authorities did not derive any assurance of an increasing desire for peace, from the nomination of an officer who, thirty months before, had made so stormy a passage through their country."

There is much in this that ought not to pass unnoticed. It appears to us that a writer, who sees anything of justification in a state of things that had existed for nearly forty years, must be feverishly anxious to justify the Sikh invasion. "The English," says Captain Cunningham, in the margin, "advanced bodies of troops towards the Sutlej, contrary to their policy of 1809." We imagine that there were very few people in the Punjab, who cared, or who knew, anything about the policy of 1809. If they did, they must have known, that the English had occupied Ludiana ever since that date; and Captain Cunningham himself informs us, at page 155, that Sir David Ochterloney "thought it prudent to lay in supplies, and throw up defensive works," at that place, and in that year. Ever since that date, indeed, not only had we occupied the canton-

ment as an advanced post, but it had been incumbent upon the Lahore durbar to obtain permission from the British resident, before any detachment of Sikh troops was suffered to cross the Sutlej. There could be no more distinct recognition than this of the fact that the Sutlej, not the Jumna, was our boundary. In 1827, it was decided that Ferozpore belonged to the British; in 1837, Captain Cunningham himself was ordered to render it defensible; and in 1838, Lord Auckland occupied it as a military post. In 1842, Lord Ellenborough assembled 40,000 men at that place, including the returning forces of Generals Pollock and Nott; and, in the same year, Umballah was established as a military cantonment. Nothing was heard, all this time, about any old understanding that the Jumna was to remain our boundary; and we might almost as well refer to the battle of Wandewash, as one of the justifying causes of the Sikh invasion of 1845-46. That event was not the growth of forty years, but scarcely of as many days. It was an act of sudden frenzy, and not a justifying word can be said in its favour.

But, argues Captain Cunningham, our frontier posts were greatly strengthened by Lord Hardinge; and though the Sikhs did not deny his right to make what military arrangements he pleased for the security of the British provinces, they could not understand what possible danger was to be apprehended from Lahore; so they "still came to the conclusion that they were threatened." Captain Cunningham obviously thinks the Sikhs as short-sighted and one-sided as himself. If they thought at all about the matter, it might have occurred to them that the British had very good reasons to consider themselves threatened. They knew that Heera Singh had promised to lead them to Calcutta, and that the march was actually commenced. They knew that, since his death, similar promises had been made to them, and that the passage of the Sutlej was often openly talked of at Lahore. They knew too, that in the course of the spring and summer of 1845, Sikh emissaries crossed the British frontier for the express purpose of corrupting our sepoys, and that deserters from our ranks were brought before the Durbar, and openly rewarded. If they themselves took heed of what was written in our newspapers, and spoken at our mess tables, as Captain Cunningham says they did, and as we do not deny, they must have known that we were taking heed too of what was written by their newswriters, and what was spoken at their durbars. Assuredly there were not greater demonstrations of aggressiveness on our side of the Sutlej, than on theirs. Lord Hardinge did no more than was done, in 1845, that he might not irritate the Sikhs.

We need not tell Captain Cunningham that if he had done less, the British would have been defeated.

At the close of the passage last quoted, the appointment of Major Broadfoot to the frontier agency is noticed, as one of the irritating causes which led to the collision with the Sikhs. The historian thus continues his observations on this subject :—

"One of Major Broadfoot's first acts was to declare the Cis-Sutlej possessions of Lahore to be under British protection, equally with Putteeala and other chiefships, and also to be liable to escheat, on the death or deposition of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh. This view was not formally announced to the Sikh government, but it was notorious; and Major Broadfoot acted on it, when he proceeded to interfere authoritatively, and by a display of force, in the affairs of the priest-like Sodhees of Anundpoor Makhowâl, a fief to which some years before it had been declared to be expedient to waive all claim, especially as Runjeet Singh could best deal with the privileged proprietors. Again, a troop of horse had crossed the Sutlej near Fírozpúr, to proceed to Kotkupúra, a Lahore town, to relieve or strengthen the mounted police ordinarily stationed there; but the party had crossed without the previous sanction of the British agent having been obtained, agreeably to an understanding between the two governments, based on an article of the treaty of 1809, but which modified arrangement was scarcely applicable to so small a body of men proceeding for such a purpose. Major Broadfoot nevertheless required the horsemen to recross; and, as he considered them dilatory in their obedience, he followed them with his escort, and overtook them as they were about to ford the river. A shot was fired by the English party; and the extreme desire of the Sikh commandant to avoid doing any thing which might be held to compromise his government, alone prevented a collision. Further, the bridge-boats, which had been prepared at Bombay, were despatched towards Fírozpúr in the autumn of 1845, and Major Broadfoot almost avowed that hostilities had broken out, when he manifested an apprehension of danger to these armed vessels, by ordering strong guards of soldiers to escort them safely to their destination, and when he began to exercise their crews in the formation of bridges after their arrival at Firozpur."

Now, with regard to Major Broadfoot's conduct in the matter of the unauthorised passage of the Sutlej, the least that can be said of the statement in Captain Cunningham's book is that it is a very imperfect scrap of history. The Sikhs omitted to obtain the resident's sanction; and there is no doubt that the omission was intentional. It was designed to establish what would have been a very dangerous precedent. In the mutinous state of the Sikh army such a privilege could not have been with safety conceded; and Major Broadfoot did well in taking prompt measures to arrest such encroachments. The inch given, the ell would have been taken Captain Cunningham states in a note, "it is understood that the Government disapproved of these proceedings." Our understanding of the matter is widely different. The Governor-General, we understand, entirely approved of Major Broadfoot's conduct. As to

the matter of the bridge-boats, they had been ordered (50 in number) by Lord Ellenborough, and, when they arrived in the Indus, from Bombay, it was necessary that the Governor-General should decide, whether or not they should be brought on to Ferozpore. The decision was in the affirmative: but no notice whatever was taken of the circumstance by the Lahore government, and it may be questioned whether the stress was laid upon it by the Sikhs that Captain Cunningham supposes.

To other irritating causes the historian also alludes. He especially refers to the conduct of Sir Charles Napier, and to the known hostility of that leader. "It is known" he says "that 'Sir Charles Napier was anxious to station a considerable body 'of men at Kushmor, and that the Supreme Government coun-'termanded the march of a detachment of European troops 'to that place. Some reference may also be made to an un-'guarded speech of Sir Charles Napiers' at the time, about 'the British being called upon to move into the Punjab— 'especially as Major Broadfoot considered the Sikh leaders to 'be moved in a greater degree by the Indian newspapers, than 'is implied in a passing attention to reiterated paragraphs 'about invasion. He thought, for instance, that Pundit Julla 'understood the extent to which the Governor-General deferred 'to public opinion, and that the Brahmin himself designed to 'make use of the Press as an instrument." Nothing, we admit, could have been more indiscreet than the speech to which Captain Cunningham alludes; and, coming from such a quarter, with the fate of Scinde standing out as a warning to all the world, its influence may have been considerable. But with regard to the Press, it appears probable that there was scarcely sufficient unity of opinion to give much weight to its revelations. Not the least influential portion of the Press—not that portion to which the Governor-General was least likely to defer—was most decidedly opposed to any thing resembling an aggressive policy.

Of the parts taken by Lal Singh and Tej Singh, in the Sikh invasion of 1845-46, Captain Cunningham gives the following account:—

"The Sikh leaders threatened Fírozpur, but no attack was made upon its seven thousand defenders, who with a proper spirit were led out by their commander, Sir John Littler, and showed a bold front to the overwhelming force of the enemy. The object, indeed, of Lal Singh and Tej Singh was not to compromise themselves with the English by destroying an isolated division, but to get their own troops dispersed by the converging forces of their opponents. Their desire was to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors, and they thus deprecated an attack on Fírozpur, and assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient good will. But these men

had also to keep up an appearance of devotion to the interests of their country; and they urged the necessity of leaving the easy prey of a cantonment untouched, until the leaders of the English should be attacked, and the fame of the Khâlsa exalted by the captivity or death of a Governor-General.* The Sikh army itself understood the necessity of unity of counsel in the affairs of war, and the power of the regimental and other committees was temporarily suspended by an agreement with the executive heads of the state, which enabled these unworthy men to effect their base objects with comparative ease."†

It is obvious that Captain Cunningham has not penetrated the designs of the Sikh leaders. Their treachery was rather against than for us. That they pretended to serve us is true; but it is not true that they did serve us. It was Lal Singh's game to do as little as possible for us, and to claim the greatest merit. That he well knew the advantage, to the Durbar, of breaking up a mutinous and costly army, which it could neither controul nor pay, is not to be doubted. The strength of the army had been doubled since Runjeet Singh's time; and its pay had been doubled. The Sirdars felt that, if the Sikhs were beaten, it would be a gain to them, and they prepared for such a contingency, by endeavoring to ingratiate themselves with the British leaders. But they did not desire, nor did they endeavour, to compass the failure of the Sikh operations. If such had really been the wish of their hearts, they would have acted in a very different manner. They would, in the first place, have fore-warned us of the intentions of the Sikh army to cross the river. The enemy commenced their passage of the Sutlej on the 11th of December. On the 12th, Lal Singh opened a communication with Captain Nicolson, making a merit of sending round the Sikh Cavalry by Hurríkí. As the first movement was to have been on Ferozepore, the Cavalry would have been of little use; and Lal Singh was aware that, in taking this step, he was earning, or endeavouring to earn, the favour of the British at the smallest possible cost to the Sikhs. On the 19th, after the battle of Múdkhí, Lal Singh's agent came to Major Broadfoot, and was dismissed with a rebuke. From that day to the 7th of February, no communication of any kind was received from Lal Singh, or from Tej Singh. It is believed that

* It was sufficiently certain and notorious at the time, that Lal Singh was in communication with Captain Nicolson, the British agent at Fírozpur, but, owing to the untimely death of that officer, the details of the overtures made, and expectations held out, cannot now be satisfactorily known.—Compare Dr. Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, ii. 80.

† Lal Singh was appointed Vuzir, and Tej Singh commander-in-chief of the army, on or about the 8th November, 1845, according to the *Lahore News Letter* of that date, prepared for Government.

the former sent Colonel Lawrence a sketch of the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon: but our engineer officers had gained by that time the information that we desired to possess, and the Sirdar's communication was of little or no value to us. Lal Singh was wounded at Ferozshuhur; he was with the Sikh army after its defeat at Sobraon, and only quitted it after the arrival of the British at Lahore.

We cannot perceive, indeed, that he threw any obstacle in the way of the success of the Khâlsa. The Sikhs had 150 pieces of artillery to ferry across the river; and it was good policy, in order to facilitate this movement, to send the cavalry to cross lower down. They could not have been prepared to attack us before the 15th, when they advanced in large numbers upon Ferozepore; but upon Sir John Littler moving out to meet them on the 16th, they declined the contest and retired. Another demonstration was made with no result on the 17th. It is surmised that Tej Singh, apprehensive of the issue of the contest, and hearing that the Governor-General was advancing with 5,000 to 6,000 men, advised Lal Singh to post himself at Ferozshuhur, in order to intercept us on our way, as he concluded, to the reinforcement of Ferozepore. Ferozshuhur was occupied by the Sikhs on the 17th; and, on the following day, a division was pushed on to Múdkhí. Lal Singh made no effort to apprize us of these movements. Had he really been a traitor to the Khâlsa, he would have taken measures to forewarn us of the contiguity of the Sikh force, on the morning of the 18th of December.

The treachery of Tej Singh is equally doubtful. This Sirdar is pronounced to be a traitor, because he did not attack the British on the morning of the 22nd of December. But our army had then just beaten the Sikhs at Ferozshuhur, and captured their camp-equipage and eighty pieces of artillery Flying from our attacking columns, the routed Sikhs fell back on Tej Singh's force, and carried dismay into its ranks. Had he known that the British had exhausted their ammunition, we do not doubt that he would have advanced to give us battle. It is said, indeed, that he did offer to lead his regiments to the attack; but that they declined so hazardous an enterprize. If not, the *Punches* were with the army, and they could have decreed the attack.

We now come to a more important passage, embodying, like the last, a large amount of error. It relates to the alleged treachery of Golab Singh, and the compact said to have been entered into with him before the battle of Sobraon. After nar-

rating, with a little poetical exaggeration, the battle of Aliwal, Captain Cunningham goes on to say:—

"The victory was equally important and opportune, and the time-serving Golab Singh, whose skill and capacity might have protracted the war, first reproached the vanquished Sikhs for rashly engaging in hostilities with their colossal neighbour, and then entered into negotiations with the English leaders. The Governor-General was not displeased that the Lahore authorities should be ready to yield; for he truly felt that to subjugate the Punjab in one season, to defeat an army as numerous as his own, to take two capitals, and to lay siege to Múltan, and Jummú, and Peshawur,—all within a few months,—was a task of difficult achievement, and full of imminent risk. The dominion of the English in India hinges mainly upon the number and efficiency of the troops of their own race which they can bring into the field; and a campaign in the hot weather would have thinned the ranks of the European regiments under the most favorable circumstances, and the ordinary recurrence of an epidemic disease would have proved as fatal to the officers of every corps present as to the common soldiers. But besides this important consideration, it was felt that the minds of men throughout India were agitated, and that protracted hostilities would not only jeopardize the communications with the Jumna, but might disturb the whole of the north-western provinces, swarming with a military population, which is ready to follow any standard affording pay or allowing plunder, and which already sighs for the end of a dull reign of peace. Bright visions of standing triumphant on the Indus, and of numbering the remotest conquests of Alexander among the provinces of Britain, doubtless warmed the imagination of the Governor-General; but the first object was to drive the Sikhs across the Sutlej by force of arms, or to have them withdrawn to their own side of the river by the unconditional submission of the chiefs and the delegates of the army; for, until that were done, no progress could be said to have been made in the war, and every petty chief in Hindostan would have silently prepared for asserting his independence, or for enlarging his territory on the first opportunity. But the total dispersion of so large and so well equipped a body of brave men, as that which lay within sight of the available force of the British Government, could not be accomplished by one defeat, if the chiefs of the country were to be rendered desperate, and if all were to place their valor and unanimity under the direction of one able man. The English, therefore, intimated to Golab Singh their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore, after the army should have been disbanded; but the Raja declared his inability to deal with the troops, which still overawed him and other well wishers to the family of Runjeet Singh. This helplessness was partly exaggerated for selfish objects; but time pressed; the speedy dictation of a treaty under the walls of Lahore was essential to the British reputation; and the views of either party were in some sort met by an understanding, that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and that, when beaten, it should be openly abandoned by its own Government; and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed, and the road to the capital laid open to the victors. Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Sobraon fought."

In a note to this passage, Captain Cunningham says, "Compare the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee of the 19th February, 1846; from which, however, those only,

'who were mixed up with the negociations, can extract aught 'indicative of the understanding with Golab Singh, which is 'alluded to in the text." Assuredly the uninitiated cannot discern traces of this foul compact in the document indicated; and we shrewdly suspect that the present commentator, like certain Shaksperian critics, knows better the intent of the writer than the writer himself, whom we believe to have been innocent of the occult meanings which Captain Cunningham detects with his keen official eyes. The fact is that Golab Singh had no power to sacrifice the army in the manner alleged. Lord Hardinge expressly stated, as he firmly believed, that "the Ranee and the 'chiefs feel, that they can offer no guarantee for the performance of 'any conditions they may propose to us—that they are at the 'mercy of the army, which is too strong for its own Government 'to deal with." Golab Singh had been attacked at Jummú early in 1845, and had been brought a prisoner to Lahore. Sixty lakhs of rupees had been extorted from him; and he had, with difficulty, escaped with his life. He had taken no part in the war; but, having been urgently sent for, in January 1846, he appeared at Lahore. Then the Sikh army was entrenched at Sobraon; and it was well known that Lord Hardinge, who had then had no communication with Golab Singh, was only waiting the arrival of the heavy guns to attack the enemy's position. Fifteen thousand men and fifty guns under Runjoor Singh had been sent to Lúdiana to intercept the train of artillery—which is some evidence of the reality of the thing, especially as Runjoor Singh was notoriously hostile to the British. Lal Singh and Tej Sing were with the main army; but, "traitors" as they were, were holding no communication with the British. It was of great importance to us that we should be informed at the time of the movements of the Sikhs, especially of the detachments sent to reinforce Runjoor Singh, that we might make corresponding detachments; but Lal Singh and Tej Singh were silent. All the information we obtained was from our own spies.

Then was fought the battle of Aliwal; and on the 3rd of February, the Governor-General, in reporting these events to the Secret Committee, thus spoke of his intentions:—"It may 'be politic and proper, in the course of the discussions which 'may arise, to weaken the territorial power of the Government of 'Lahore, by rendering the Rajpúts of the Hills independent 'of those of the plains, and by these means involving a loss 'of a portion of their territory." This, we say, was written on the 3d of February. The battle of Sobroan was fought on the 10th. Golab Singh remained neuter; but he did nothing—

he could do nothing—to render the army an easy prey to the British. The intentions of the Governor-General, as indicated in the passage above quoted, were not to benefit Golab Singh; but to weaken the Lahore State. They were no part of a compact entered into with the Jummú Rajah, but part of a scheme of policy determined upon, before communication had been entered into with that chief. Golab Singh knew, and openly stated, that the Sikh army was beyond his controul; and that there was little treachery on the part of the other sirdars may be pretty well gathered from the fact recorded in the Commander-in-Chief's narrative of the battle of Sobraon, that eight Sikh chiefs fell, at the head of their men, in that sanguinary strife. The army appears not to have regarded either Tej Singh, or Lal Singh, as a traitor; but to have recognised their authority to the last: and, if the British commanders reaped any benefit from the "treachery" of these men, they have yet to discover what it was.

The closing scene of the battle of Sobraon is thus described by Captain Cnnningham:—

"Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and the multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or of scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or, from time to time, exploding magazines of powder threw bursting shells, and beams of wood, and banks of earth, high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame, which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict. But gradually each defensible position was captured, and the enemy was pressed towards the scarcely-fordable river; yet, although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors, and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude. The victors looked with stolid wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the vanquished, and forbore to strike, when the helpless and the dying frowned unavailing hatred. But the warlike rage, or the calculating policy, of the leaders had yet to be satisfied; and, standing with the slain heaped on all sides around them, they urged troops of artillery almost into the waters of the Sutlej to destroy more thoroughly the army, which had so long scorned their power. No deity of heroic fable received the living within the oozy gulphs of the oppressed stream, and its current was choked with added numbers of the dead, and crimsoned with the blood of a fugitive multitude.

"Such is the lust of never-dying fame."

But vengeance was complete; the troops, defiled with dust and smoke and carnage, stood mute indeed for a moment, until, the glory of their success rushing upon their minds, they gave expression to their feelings, and hailed their victorious commanders with reiterated shouts of triumph and congratulation."

We believe that nothing more unjust—nothing more untrue—than the allusion in this extract to the "warlike rage or calculating policy of the commanders" was ever yet penned by an English historian. It is not the fact, that the British leaders, standing amidst heaps of the slain, incited the artillery to fire upon the fugitive masses of the enemy. What Lord Gough thought, in that dreadful hour of carnage, of the stern necessities of war, is, as Captain Cnnningham knows, on record; and we have reason to believe that his feelings were shared by the Governor-General, whose humanity has never until now been questioned. Lord Gough, in a private letter quoted by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, said, "Policy, however, precluded me from publicly recording my sentiments on the splendid gallantry of our fallen foe; and I declare that, were it not for a deep conviction that my country's good required the sacrifice, I could have wept to have witnessed the fearful slaughter of so devoted a body of men." There was neither warlike rage, nor calculating policy. The artillery merely did their duty, however terrible, in the ordinary course of war. The Sikhs neither give nor take quarter. They had, on former, as on recent, occasions, massacred and mutilated our wounded men; and they had then, at Sobraon, defended their entrenched position with remarkable obstinacy, and their murderous artillery had told with terrible effect upon our advancing columns. The more obstinate, under such circumstances, the resistance, the more deadly the retribution that follows. This is not only the necessity, but in some sort the righteousness of war, tending rather towards humanity than inhumanity in the end, by deterring beleaguered armies from the protracted but hopeless resistance, which, after the issue of the contest is virtually decided, leads to so much wanton effusion of blood.

The transfer of Cashmere to Golab Singh is commented upon by Captain Cunningham as an act "scarcely worthy the British name and greatness;" but on this subject we have, on former occasions, expressed our opinions so fully, that we need not now revert to it. The historian says (and truly) of the Maharajah, "He must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race, and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made, Golab Singh will he found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper." He is assuredly no worse, and he is much abler, than the majority of his contemporaries. We cannot so readily assent to what Captain Cunningham says, in his

anxiety to extenuate, the alleged licentiousness of the Ranee and her paramour, or rather to invalidate the allegation. The treaty of Byrowal needs no allegation from us. It was forced upon us by the ceaseless intrigues of the Ranee and Lal Sing; and the subsequent removal of the former to the British provinces was equally an act of necessity upon our part, and one which, however great the punishment, was inadequate to the measure of her crimes.

We now take leave somewhat abruptly of Capt. Cunningham and his book. The volume has not been sufficiently long in our hands to admit of a careful examination of its entire contents. We have written notes on certain detached passages, rather than embraced the whole in one comprehensive review. But we believe that, in what we have written, we have done no injustice to Capt. Cunningham. So far as our comments extend, they are the results of much careful consideration and inquiry. There are chapters of Sikh history, not the least interesting and instructive, yet to be written. Capt. Cunningham has great faith in the high destinies of the Khâlsa; and perhaps we cannot better conclude our article than with the concluding passages of his book:—

"While the Governor General and Commander in-chief remained at Lahore, at the head of twenty thousand men, portions of the Sikh army came to the capital to be paid up and disbanded. The soldiers showed neither the despondency of mutinous rebels, nor the effrontery and indifference of mercenaries, and their manly deportment added lustre to that valour, which the victors had dearly felt and generously extolled. The men talked of their defeat as the chance of war, or they would say that *they* were mere imitators of unapproachable masters. But amid all their humiliation, they inwardly dwelt upon their future destiny with unabated confidence; and, while gaily calling themselves inapt and youthful scholars, they would sometimes add, with a significant and sardonic smile, that the "Khâlsa" itself was yet a child, and that, as the commonwealth of Sikhs grew in stature, Govind would clothe his disciples with irresistible might, and guide them with unequalled skill. Thus brave men sought consolation; and the spirit of progress, which collectively animated them, yielded with a murmur to the superior genius of England and civilization, to be chastened by the rough hand of power, and perhaps to be moulded to the noblest purposes, by the informing touch of knowledge and philosophy."

To this passage the historian has appended an interesting note:—

"In March, 1846, or immediately after the war, the author visited the Sikh temples and establishments at Kíritpúr and Anundpur-Makhowal. At the latter place, the chosen seat of Govind, reliance upon the future was likewise strong; and the grave priests or ministers said, by way of assurance, that the pure faith of the Khâlsa was intended for all coun-

tries and times; and added, by way of compliment, that the disciples of Nânuk would ever be grateful for the aid, which the stranger English had rendered, in subverting the empire of the intolerant and oppressive Mahometans!"

We add the concluding homily on the position of the English in India; but we by no means assent to the proposition, that hitherto all the thoughts of England in the East "have been given to the extension of her supremacy."

"The separate sway of the Sikhs and the independence of the Punjab have come to an end, and England reigns the undisputed mistress of the broad and classic land of India. Her political supremacy is more regular and systematic than the antique rule of the Brahmins and Kshutrís, and it is less assailable from without, than the imperfect domination of the Mahometans; for in disciplined power and vastness of resources, in unity of action and intelligence of design, her government surpasses the experience of the East, and emulates the magnificent prototype of Rome. But the Hindús made the country wholly their own; and from sea to sea, from the snowy mountains almost to the fabled bridge of Rama, the language of the peasant is still that of the twice-born races; the speech of the wild foresters and mountaineers of the centre and south has been permanently tinged by the old predominance of the Kshutrís, and the hopes and fears and daily habits of myriads of men still vividly represent the genial myths and deep philosophy of the Brahmins, which more than two thousand years ago arrested the attention of the Greeks. The Mahometans entered the country to destroy, but they remained to colonize; and swarms of the victorious races long continued to pour themselves over its rich plains, modifying the language and ideas of the vanquished, and becoming themselves altered by the contact, until, in the time of Akber, the "Islâm" of India was a national system, and until, in the present day, the Hindú and Mahometan do not practically differ more from one another, than did the Brahmins and Kshutrís and Veisyas of the time of Munnú, and Alexander. They are different races, with different religious systems, but harmonizing together in social life, and mutually understanding, and respecting, and taking a part in each other's modes, and ways, and doings. They are thus silently, but surely, removing one another's differences and peculiarities, so that a new element results from the common destruction, to become developed into a faith or a fact in future ages. The rise to power of contemned Súdra tribes, in the persons of Mahrattas, Gúrkhas, and Sikhs, has brought about a further mixture of the rural population and of the lower orders in towns and cities; and has thus given another blow to the reverence for antiquity. The religious creed of the people seems to be even more indeterminate than their spoken dialects, and neither the religion of the Arabian prophet, nor the theology of the Veds and Púrans, is to be found pure, except among professed Múllas and educated Brahmins; or among the rich and great of either persuasion. Over this seething and fusing mass, the power of England has been extended, and her spirit sits brooding. Her pre-eminence in the modern world may well excite the envy of the nations; but it behoves her to ponder well upon the mighty task, which her adventurous children have set her in the East, and to be certain that her sympathizing labours in the cause of humanity

are guided by intelligence towards a true and attainable end. She rules supreme as the welcome composer of political troubles; but the thin superficies of her dominion rests tremblingly upon the convulsed ocean of social change and mental revolution. Her own high civilization, and the circumstances of her intervention, isolate her in all her greatness; she can appeal to the reason only of her subjects, and can never lean upon the enthusiasm of their gratitude or predilections. To preserve her political ascendancy, she must be ever prudent and circumspect; and to leave a lasting impress, she must do more than erect palaces and temples, the mere material monuments of dominion. Like Greece and Rome, she may rear edifices of surpassing beauty; she may bridge gulphs and pierce mountains with the wand of wealth and science. Like these ancient people, she may even give birth in strange lands to such kings as Herod the Great, and to such historians as Flavius Josephus; but, like imperial Rome, she may live to behold a Vortigern call in a Hengist, and a Syagrius yield to a Clovis. She may teach another Cymbeline the amenities of civilized life, and she may move another Attalus to bequeath to her another Pergamus. These are tasks of easy achievement; but she must also endeavor to give her poets and her sages an immortality among nations unborn, to introduce laws which shall still be in force at the end of sixty generations, and to tinge the faith and the minds of the people with her sober science and just morality, as Christianity was affected by the adoptive policy of Rome, and by the plastic philosophy of Greece. Of all these things England must sow the seeds, and lay the foundations, before she can hope to equal or surpass her great exemplars.

But England can do nothing until she has rendered her dominion secure; and hitherto all her thoughts have been given to the extension of her supremacy. Up to this time she has been a rising power, the welcome supplanter of Moghuls and Mahrattas, and the ally which the remote weak sought against the neighbouring strong. But her greatness is at its height; it has come to *her* turn to be feared instead of courted, and the hopes of men are about to be built on her wished-for destruction. The princes of India can no longer acquire fame or territory by preying upon one another.

Under the exact sway of their new paramount, they must divest themselves of ambition, and of all the violent passions of their nature, and they must try to remain kings, without exercising the most loved of the functions of rulers. The Indians, indeed, will themselves politely liken England and her dependent sovereigns to the benignant moon accompanied by hosts of rejoicing stars in her nightly progress, rather than to the fierce sun which rides the heavens in solitude, scarcely visible amidst intolerable brightness; but men covet power as well as ease, and crave distinction as well as wealth; and thus it is with those who endeavor to jest with adversity. England has immediately to make her attendant princes feel, that while resistance is vain, they are themselves honoured, and hold a substantive position in the economy of the imperial government, instead of being merely tolerated as bad rulers, or regarded with contempt and aversion as half-barbarous men. Her rule has hitherto mainly tended to the benefit of the trading community. Men of family and of name find no place in the society of their masters, and no employment in the service of the state; and while the peasants have been freed from occasional ruinous exaction, and from more rare personal torture, they are oppressed and impoverished by a well-meant but cumbrous and inefficient law, and by an excessive and partial taxation, which looks almost wholly to the

land for the necessary revenue of a government.* The husbandman is sullen and indifferent; the gentleman nurses his wrath in secrecy; kings idly chafe and intrigue; and all are ready to hope for everything from a change of masters. The merchant alone sits partly happy in the reflection, that, if he is not honoured with titles and office, the path to wealth has been made smooth, and its enjoyment rendered secure.

Princes and nobles and yeomen can all be kept in obedience for generations by overwhelming means, and by a more complete military system than at present obtains. Numerous forts and citadels, the occasional assemblage of armies, and the formation of regiments separately composed of different tribes and races, will long serve to ensure supremacy, and to crush the efforts of individuals; but England has carefully to watch the progress of that change in social relations and religious feelings, of which Sikhism is the most marked exponent. Among all ranks of men there is a spirit at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas, whether of Brahminism or Mahometanism, and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors, and to another manifestation of divine power and mercy. This labouring spirit has developed itself most strongly on the confines of the two antagonist creeds; but the feeling pervades the Indian world, and the extension of Sikh arms would speedily lead to the recognition of Nânuk and Govind, as the long looked-for Comforters. The Sikhs have now been struck by the petrific hand of material power; and the ascendancy of a third race has everywhere infused new ideas, and modified the aspirations of the people. The confusion has thus been increased for a time; but the pregnant fermentation of mind must eventually body itself forth in new shapes; and a prophet of name unknown may arise to diffuse a system, which shall consign the Veds and Koran to the oblivion of the Zendavest and the Sibylline Leaves, and which may not perhaps absorb one ray of light from the wisdom and morality of that faith, which adorns the civilization of the Christian rulers of the country. But England must hope that she is not to exercise an unfruitful sway; and she will add fresh lustre to her renown, and derive an additional claim to the gratitude of posterity, if she can seize upon the essential principles of that element, which disturbs her multitudes of Indian subjects, and imbue the mental agitation with new qualities of beneficent fertility, so as to give to it an impulse and a direction, which shall surely lead to the prevalence of a religion of truth, and to the adoption of a government of freedom and progress."

* Captain Cunningham's opinion of the Police is exactly the same as that of our friend Paunch Kouri. He says, in a note p. 338, "The police of India is notoriously corrupt and oppressive; and even the useful establishment for tracing Thugs and Dakoits, or banded assassins and confederate robbers, may before long become as *great an evil*, in one way, as *the gangs of criminals* they are breaking up, in another. The British rule is most defective in the prevention and detection of crime; and, while supremely powerful in military means, the Government is comparatively valueless, as the guardian of the private property of the citizens.—Ed.

POSTSCRIPT TO ARTICLE ON THE REVELATIONS OF AN ORDERLY CONCERNNIG THE POLICE AND COURTS.

At the conclusion of this article we have inadvertently done an injustice, which we desire to correct. Referring to the coal monopoly in the Damooda coal field, and to the representations made to Government by capitalists and adventurers, for the purpose of obtaining legal protection, we have added the words,—"but in vain." These words, obviously parenthetical, are not strictly correct, as will appear from the following statement, which we have derived from an unquestionable source of information.

The disorders of the coal district, and the manner in which the coal monopoly was maintained, having been specially brought under the notice and consideration of the Right Honorable the present Governor-General, his Lordship at once determined, that more active and efficacious measures should be taken for the suppression of these evils. Appropriate admonitions for past errors, remissness, partiality, or neglect, were issued from Head Quarters to the local authorities,—and that immediately: and other measures were devised and ordered. But the execution of these depended on the agency of the local functionaries of the Bengal Government; and, as usual, where their co-operation is necessary, several months passed away before the first step was taken towards the execution of his Lordship's orders.

At length after a delay of some months' inquiry, which his Lordship intended to be the precursor of remedial measures, was begun. It has since been concluded, and we presume is now forgotten; for, his Lordship being away, it remains abortive; and, after an interval of several months, not even a report has been made to Government.

Not only indeed has the policy of Lord Dalhousie not been carried out, but, since his departure, the Government has acted as if it were in actual complicity with the monopolists. A Deputy Magistrate had, some two or three years, before b ee

placed in the district; but the powers of Deputy Magistrates vary; and the one alluded to had little more than the powers of an Inspector of the Police; he could take up no case judicially, without first reporting it to the Civil Service Magistrate, who was sixty miles off, and receiving his orders to do so One of the Governor-General's intended measures was to place in the district an officer with full powers. At the time we are writing, this has not been done: and, what is worse, the district has been for months without even a Deputy Magistrate. His Lordship being away, it appears, that his policy and ideas have been abandoned, and the local Government, as if to punish those who appealed to superior authority, has retrogaded and reversed that policy. The consequence is, that the monopolists are at their old tricks; and in three months they have regained by extraordinary vigour the "head and front," which they had lost during the incumbency of the late Deputy Magistrate.

We shall conclude by observing that the conduct of the Bengal Government is a justification of the monopolists, and we congratulate *them* accordingly: but, with respect to the Government, if such a case had occurred in England, the ministry of the day would have to meet the most serious charges in the Houses of Parliament. How long is such a state of things to last? In vain Her Majesty sends out her choicest Statesmen to the head of affairs, while the Court of Directors is allowed to appoint and stamp its spirit on the Legislative Council and local Governments, and the Governor General has no subordinate instruments but such as the Court gives him.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Bengal Hurkaru, May 8th.—Speech of the Hon'ble J. L. Drinkwater Bethune, Esq., on the opening of his Native Female School.

The natives of Bengal have always held education in high esteem. The pursuit of knowledge has been reckoned by them a dignified employment, and there is no instance on record, in which its acquisition has been underrated or despised. Knowledge by them is divided into two kinds; *speculative*, including theology and science, and *practical*. The latter alone can be acquired by those, who are, in the scale of *caste*, inferior to the Brahmans. A knowledge of reading and writing the vernacular, and of arithmetic to its highest branch,—the methodical arrangement of Zemindaree accounts, (of all accounts the most intricate, and far more labyrinthine than our book-keeping) constitutes the *curriculum* of practical education for the people. The other division of education is open only to the Brahmans, and is considered as demanding the devotion of a whole life; and the professors of this branch are highly venerated. They depend on eleemosynary gifts, which, to a professor of renown, are neither rare nor small. The birth or marriage of a son, or the fulfilment of any vow, are the occasions on which pecuniary donations are made. In the district of Nuddea there are, what may be termed, native colleges, where instruction is given in every branch of Hindu speculative learning. The sciences of Logic and Moral Philosophy are the favorite studies; and it is astonishing to find how very intricate and elaborate these sciences have been made.

There is a feature peculiar to these universities, which requires to be noticed by all who wish to study native habits and opinions on the great question of education. The students pay no fees. They are on the contrary supported by the professors from the donations which are bestowed on them: and the glory of a professor consists in the number of students whom he supports and instructs. Thus the *pabulum corporis* and the *pabulum mentis* are both supplied.

The very name which the Hindus have for their spiritual teacher, *Guru mahashai*, conveys some idea of the respect, and regard which they entertain for him and his office. Nor are they insensible to the advantage of the study of English. The attention of the male youth is now from an early age directed to the acquisition and cultivation of the English language. This desire to become acquainted with the poetry, philosophy, and science of Europe does not originate, however, in a high sense of the moral and intellectual benefits which these studies are calculated to bestow. It arises from a cold calculation of the pecuniary advantages which are con-

nected with proficiency in western lore. The study of the English is styled by the natives, *Artha-kárí bidyá*, or money-making study. Herein is shown one of the characteristics of the Hindu character. Mammon is their God, their chart, their compass, and their directory in this life. There are, of course, honorable exceptions, but we speak of the character of the people.

This has, doubtless, been one chief reason why Female Education has been so neglected. A Hindu parent's first enquiry is, "What ' will be the profit to myself and my family, should my daughter be ' educated? her husband and his family will reap the rich harvest, while ' the labour and expence, so far as I am concerned, will all be in vain." Hence the apathy of the Natives to the education of the tender sex.

It must not, however, be inferred from our remarks, that the education of females is *wholly* neglected. There are not a few Hindu ladies, among the upper classes in this city, that can read—and that do read. In such cases, when they are children they attend the instructions of a *Guru-mahashai*, either in their own house, or at the house of some near neighbour. The first lessons they receive, are in writing, by which they acquire a knowledge of the alphabet. They use *chalk* first, then the reed. They write on palm-leaves, on the leaves of the plantain-tree, and lastly on paper. They are made to read the *Shishu Bodhá*, a small manual of reading lessons, elementary instructions in arithmetic, a few short stories, and moral and religious precepts. By the time this is finished, they are married. A girl should, according to Hindu opinion, be married before she completes ten years of age; and if her marriage should take place after ten years, it is supposed that the father has lost some virtue. They are now removed from school, and, for want of practice, soon forget to write. But they do not lose their knowledge of reading. Some of the matrons in the family,—it may be an aunt—continue the study of the Bengali with the little girl, and she soon learns to read fluently. The books, with which the young women's minds are chiefly engaged, are the following; *Ramayan*, *Mahabharat*, *Annadá Mungal Chundi*, and a few other works, especially such as treat of the incarnation of Krishna, and the attributes of Shaktí or Durgah. The vernacular Newspapers, especially the *Bhaskhur* and *Probakhur*, are in great demand with them. In one of the divisions of this city, called Bartollah, there are a great many printing presses, employed in printing books, of which many are bought by respectable Hindu ladies. The other day we learned with great pleasure and surprize, that a young married lady, being obliged to visit her mother, who was very ill, and who lived at the distance of a six days' journey from Calcutta, took with her in her palkee a number of books for her travelling companions, to relieve the *ennui* of her journey.

It is a fact, which may surprise our European readers, that *reading* is a resource, which many a Hindu lady makes use of, to beguile the hours of the day. She rises in the morning, and punctually performs her devotions. She then assists her servant in preparing break-

fast for her husband and the family. It is not a rule, that every lady, whatever her circumstances or rank may be, must cook the food. As among ourselves, the Hindu Lady in competent circumstances gives her orders, and lends such assistance as she pleases. She serves the breakfast, and, after her husband leaves the house, bathes, takes her own breakfast, and looking after her children, devotes some hours to reading, until the declining day admonishes her to be in readiness for her husband's return. Having served him with his dinner, she attends to her devotional exercises, and retires to rest.

Such is the daily routine of female life in the upper classes. Even there, the *reading* forms the exception rather than the rule; while, in its own nature, it is almost entirely worthless or debasing. The only encouraging feature is the tendency towards the light, whenever a gleam is permitted to find entrance. But the great fact remains, that, with a few scarcely noticeable exceptions, the whole female sex in this country can neither read nor write; and are as devoid of any systematic intellectual, moral, or religious culture, as if they belonged to the brute creation.

This is a state of things that cannot endure, in the presence of civilization and the gospel. Indeed, the importance of Female Education has already been felt and appreciated by some of the more enlightened and liberal members of the Hindu Community. We are aware that Rajah Rada Kant Deb published, more than twenty years ago, a treatise on the subject, in which he warmly enforced the education of his country women by reasons, to which circumstances have recently given fresh interest. Many of the Hindu youths, also, educated in English institutions, have, with praise-worthy zeal, taught their wives to read and write the English language. The work is progressing. Imperceptible as the operation is, it is the growing of the *Coral reef*, which will one day, to the astonishment of many, rise above the surface of Hindu society, and, like so many islands that gem the expanse of the ocean, will beautify the moral wastes of Hindustan. We knew of one young man, an alumnus of the Hindu College, who had instructed his wife as far as the Poetical reader No. 5, and, who had also taught her to write. He was most intent and zealous in this noble and laudable task, when his labors were for ever interrupted by the relentless hand of death.

Although something in this way is daily being done for female education, still much more, or rather nearly every thing, remains to be accomplished. Though there are none, who deny the importance of Female education, there is not one, who is willing to introduce a *system*, by which education may be imparted, of so high a tone, and so salutary a nature, as to ensure the civilization of India, and the moral and social improvement of women. Individual attempts are feeble. There must be a general movement of society to effect so vast an amount of benefit. Hindu male education received an impetus from such a general movement. What is there

to hinder such a movement again? With time, hopeful perseverance, and patient energy, success will come: but there are formidable difficulties in the way.

The texture of Hindu society is a curiously-wrought fabric. Besides the common and well understood division of castes, there are for each *caste*, minor parties, or classes, called *Dalas*, or *Dhalls*. The leading *Dhalls* are formed from a combination of Brahmans and Kayusths. These are generally reckoned to be six, and have for their heads, or chiefs, the most respectable and influential members of orthodox Hindu society. The leaders at present are understood to be Rajah Radakant Deb, Rajah Sri Kissen Bahadur and his brothers, Babus Ashotos Day, Debnarayan Day, Shibnarayan Ghose, and Kasinath Dutt. Now it is a remarkable fact, that though these *Dhalls* will not intermarry, or even invite each other, yet no hostility divides them; and their feelings towards each other are friendly. These *Dhalls* comprise the great Orthodox phalanx, which is generally arrayed against all those innovations, whether moral or social, which are gradually breaking up the surface of Hindu society. On the great subject of religion, with all its rites, its requisitions, and its prejudices, they are heart and soul agreed.

There is also a small party now formed in Bengal, which is composed of educated men, who though they have renounced many of the customs, as well as the religion and ceremonies of their ancestors, are not christians. This party is very small, and not likely to receive any great accession. The *Dhalls* look down upon it with contempt, and lose no opportunity, to display their inimical feelings towards it.

Apart from this, to which however it does not properly belong, Young Bengal has no aggregate existence, and no weight or influence amongst the Hindu community.

From this brief sketch of the external constitution of Hindu Society, it must be apparent, that in order to introduce any great change in the customs of this land, the great leaders of the orthodox parties must be conciliated and won over. The establishment of a female school is just such a change. The mere bringing together of females of different castes is a great innovation. Caution and prudence should direct the steps of such a movement. Considerable time will be required to dissipate prejudices and melt down opposition; and every posible exertion should be used to conciliate the heads of the *Dhalls*, and win their co-operation.

The 7th of May will, we hope, be memorable in after years. It was the day, on which the native female school, under the auspices of Mr. Bethune, was opened. He has, to use his own words, "unfurled the standard of innovation," and our warmest sympathies are with him in his noble and arduous attempt. We shall watch its progress with intense interest. Its success will open another, and the most direct, channel for the moral regeneration of India. "The

child is father of the man;" and, in the formation of the child's character, the agency of the mother can scarcely be over estimated. Mr. Bethune's is no holiday task. He must look forward to years of discouragement, and opposition; he must struggle against bigotry, apathy, and the giant *dustur:* but "the good time will come" at last; and it will be a high reward, if his name shall *then* be associated with Mrs. Wilson's, as having contributed to the glorious result. Upon the practical details of Mr. Bethune's scheme we shall not now enter: but we intend, in an early number, to devote not a few of our pages to a careful consideration of the necessity and prospects, as well as of the practical difficulties in the way, of this great work.

Railways for Bombay, with illustrative maps. Bombay, American Mission Press, 1849, *p.* 49.

This is a well-written, well-timed, able exposition of reasons for hastening the introduction of Railways on the western side of India. It begins with a special reference to the introduction of Railways in the cotton growing districts of the United States, and describes the effect to be a reduction of the price of cotton at the shipping ports, below what could have been anticipated to be possible. The consequence already attained is, that U. S. cotton can be sold in the European markets at prices, which threaten ere long to drive Indian Cotton out of consumption altogether.

Such are the premises of the pamphlet before us; and their importance is explained, by two striking facts, viz., that the great staple of the United States is cotton, and the great staple of Western India is cotton; and that, in both, it exceeds all other exports put together (exclusive of opium in Western India). Such then being the magnitude of the cotton trade in the United States, the writer proceeds to give us an idea, in a general way, of the advantages which have been derived from the introduction of Railways into that country. He states, that after paying all expences of working and dividends, the railways have produced an actual saving in the expence of transport on goods, of between fifteen and twenty millions of dollars, or between three and four millions sterling.

"Let," says the writer, "those interested in the construction of our railway—and what individual in Bombay is not ?—ponder well these significant facts. While the introduction of Railways into America has conferred such important advantages on the Cotton trade of that country, we in Bombay have been doing nothing ;—we have not a mile of rail to assist the main staple of our commerce, and in the same degree as American Cotton has benefited from the lessened cost of transport by means of Railways—that of Bombay has suffered—being relatively just in so much a worse position. But this is not all. New lines of Railway, intersecting the American Cotton districts in all directions, are at this moment in

course of construction ; others are in contemplation, and will doubtless be carried out immediately. Their influence in fact is only just beginning to be felt. Unless, therefore, something be speedily done to retrieve matters, there can be little doubt that the Cotton trade of Western India is doomed to suffer a gradual decline—terminating ultimately in extinction.

As there is no hope of a permanent rise of the price of Cotton in the European markets, it is plain that the trade can be kept alive, only by reducing the cost of production on this side as much as possible."

Returning to a comparative view, the writer makes the following statement :—

" The ports of Savannah in Georgia and Charleston in South Carolina are, like Bombay, the shipping ports of a large district of Cotton-producing country. Formerly, in consequence of the difficulty of transport from the interior, the cost of Cotton was much enhanced by tedious and costly carriage, much in the same way as our Oomravutty, Compta, and Candeish Cotton is now ; but all this has now been remedied by the construction of Railways, there being, in September 1847, not less than 800 miles of railway in full operation from these two ports to the interior of the Cotton-growing districts ; and the result is apparent in increased quantities of Cotton being received at lower prices, in consequence of the diminished cost of transport.

It is rather humiliating to contrast our position with theirs. While these two towns alone, containing between them a population of only 40,000 inhabitants, one-half of whom are slaves, have been able to construct 800 miles of Railway, and export 600,000 bales of Cotton, Bombay, with a population ten times the number, does not possess one mile of rail, and the utmost amount of Cotton she has been able to export, has, in her highest year, been under 450,000 bales."

Next the author gives us, in a tabular form, the number of miles of Railway constructed in the United States,—each successive year from 1830 exhibiting a gradual increase, until 1847, when upwards of 600 miles were constructed, making a total of 5740 miles. In Hindostan, we have NONE. And yet the United States have a population of but 20,000,000 and a revenue of but £6,000,000 sterling : while India has a population of 100,000,000 and a revenue of £22,000,000 sterling.

" In 1843, just fourteen years after their successful introduction ' into America—Railways began first to be talked of in India, and in ' 1844 they were projected. So much, however, was our public behind ' the age—that the idea was generally scouted."

But who, we beg to know, are " our public ?" The greater part of those, who may be thus denoted, are either part and parcel of, or intimately connected with, the government, and, like the government, may be, as our author says, behind the age, because they are scarcely under its enlightened influences. Two great " Services," the civil and military, comprize, in India, the majority of British subjects ; and they, we suppose, are the public alluded to : but they are in a relation of dependence, and, like the fore and hind wheels of a coach, they must obey the impulse given to them by the master power. It is but just however to say, that many of these classes, and all the mercantile community, have always been friends to Railroads.

Our author shews that the cotton cultivation is extending in

America to new districts, merely through the facility which Railways give for bringing the produce to market:—

"To us in Bombay, the most interesting of the American Railroads are those in the Southern States;—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi. An inspection of the map will shew that Charleston and Savannah are silently completing, step by step, the grand highways, which are to bear to these ports the riches of the fertile valley of the Mississippi. Already they have advaneed to the borders of Alabama: and, that nothing may be lost, tributary branches are being thrown northward into the fine agricultural districts of Tennessee, eventually to be extended to Nashville and Memphis: while the main trunk, after traversing the heart of Alabama, will pass through the eapital of Mississippi and meet the "Father of Waters" at Vicksburg. That this extended system of railway, when completed, will give a vast additional impulse to the cultivation of Cotton, and greatly inerease the eommercial importanee of Charleston, requires no discussion. Even now, with the line in partial operation, the course of trade is beginning to seek the newly opened ehannels; and we find, during the present season, in addition to their own Georgia and Carolina produee, that "Alabama Cottons," notwithstanding the distanee, are for the first time regularly chronieled among the arrivals by railway into Charleston and Savannah."

Our author quotes the following passage from Doggets' United States Railroad Guide for October 1847;

"Effect of Railroads.—The Editor of the (Preble County) Register has just returned to his post from a visit to Indiana, in the course of which he spent some time on a portion of the line of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad. Ten years ago he resided at the point where he now tarried. *Farmer's produce would not then pay for being carried to market, transportation eating up the entire price obtained for it. Now it pays a large profit, and produetion is greatly stimulated.* Then the farmers were wofully poor; now they are generally in eomfortable eireumstanees, and some of them getting rich."

Nor, says our author, is America the only country, which is leaving us in the distance. While we in Bombay have been asleep, what has been going on even in the Spanish colony of Cuba—an island nearly in the same parallel of latitude, and with a population, for the whole island, not more than twice that of the town of Bombay? In Cuba, as every where else, the Railroads have completely succeeded.

"In 1837, was eompleted the first railroad in Cuba, running from Havana to Guanes, a distance of fifty-one miles; *and so encouraging were the results*, that already in 1838 the works were eommeneed for another railroad from Cardenas to Bemba, by an association formed for the object, whilst at the same time another eompany in Puerto Principe undertook to open a line from that port to Nuevitas. Since then, scareely a year has passed in whieh one or more railway enterprises *have not been commeneed and carried through, whieh have all realized, and more than realized, the sanguine expectations of the projectors*, with the exeeption of that of Guanabacoa, which was abandoned, when the hopes conceived from the Coal mines of Prosperidad were found to be quite delusive. The Royal Junta de Fomento was not only reimbursed with ample returns of interest for its outlay on the first railway constructed, from its opening in 1837 to 1842, but seeured a further elear annual rental, on leasing it in the latter year to the company by which it is now worked, and whieh has also not *only made a profitable bargain*, but within a few years *has created and multiplied other lines of railroad, by which life and animation have been communicated to various important distriets of the island.*"

The *Railway Record*, adverting to these facts, makes the following comparison :—

"*It is a singular exemplification of the want of stability in enterprise, as between Cuba England and India, that, whilst Cuba, with a thin and scattered population, not more than a million in all, over such a vast expanse of territory, can boast of nearly* 300 *miles of railway already in action, with between* 500 *and* 600 *miles more in train, Bombay,* in the same parallel of latitude with Cuba, with a population more or less closely agglomerated of some ten or twenty times the number, and with the guarantee of the India Board of* 5 *per cent. return upon the capital paid up, and to be expended for one single line proposed, remains yet without a single yard of railway accommodation.*"

Again a wrong cause is here assigned. Want of the spirit of enterprize, there is none: but no one knows how to apply it, beyond the barriers of our presidency towns, because the free labourers and free settlers, who every where else have been pioneers to British capital, have, by the policy of the East India Company and by mal administration, been driven back, kept out, or put down. Under a different policy and better government, hundreds of British "hearts of oak" might have been here, to bless the advent of the railway contractors, engineers, and fresh artizans.

"Jamaica, notwithstanding her depressed condition, is not without this new mode of conveyance. Even Demerara, which imports labourers from India, puts us further to the blush, *by employing them in the construction of a Railway.*

"From Demerara," says the City article of *The Times*, January 9th, 1849, "it appears that the Railway had been opened, about three weeks, as far as the first station at Plaisance village, and the Planters on the neighbouring estates had readily availed themselves of its facilities. It is becoming no novelty, says the George-town Colonist, 'to see a line of trucks, loaded with 40 or 50 hogsheads of sugar, rushing into the city at the rate of twenty miles an hour.' The second section of the line, viz. to the village of Baxton, was in progress, and vigorous exertions were to be made for its speedy completion."

While all these things are going on around us, it is impossible that we can remain stationary. *Non progredi est regredi.* Railways for Bombay have now become a NECESSITY, unless we are content "to remain in a position of comparative social stagnation, with our property deteriorated, *and our profits and incomes lessened.*"

This "NECESSITY," our author proves by a variety of facts and evidence. From the diminished prices of produce, occasioned by competition, the cultivation of the land is ceasing to be profitable; and this main source of Indian Revenue is failing. Our author justly asks, from what other source so large a revenue is to be raised, when this fails? He touchingly alludes to the Home charges of government, which are now verging nearly on £4,000,000 sterling; and, besides this, there is the interest of the debt, and the civil, military, naval, and miscellaneous expenditures.

But we must remark, that we regard it as by no means the most agreeable aspect to give to Indian railroads, that they may lengthen the days of an extravagant system: doubtless they will do more than any other means, to enable the soil of India to compete with that of other countries, and to develope the productive resources

* The Bombay Presidency.

of the country; but the fruits ought not to be wasted in extravagance. The argument however is legitimate: and our author gives abundant proof of the necessity for improving the resources of the country. Thus, he refers to the fact, that specie is continually being drained from this country to provide funds for the Indian home expenditure: and he justly argues, that this state of things cannot last long, without drying up its financial resources, and producing serious and embarrassing effects on its commerce, So, Mr. Williamson, late Revenue Commissioner of Bombay, says, that the Indian cultivator cannot long command the means of paying his present revenue. So again, Mr. Saville Marriott, late of the Bombay Civil Service, and Member of Council in the Government of Bombay, strongly attests to the declining condition of the peasantry. Of late years, he says, a large portion of the public revenue has been paid by incroachment upon the capital of the country, small though that capital is in itself; and he shews how this incroachment has been made.

"I feel certain, says he, that an examination would establish, that a considerable share of this and other property, even to cattle and household utensils, has been for ever alienated from its proprietors to make good the public revenue. In addition to this lamentable evidence of poverty, is another of equal force, to be seen in all parts of the country, in the numerous individuals of the above class of the community wandering about for the employment of hirelings, which they are glad to obtain even for the most scanty pittance. In short, almost everything forces the conviction, that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism."

Here we have a true state of the case, and not a mere dogmatic abstraction, such as Mr. Mangles inculcates at the Board of Control, about revenue being rent: if it be, it is working very much like rent in Ireland,—making paupers of the whole agricultural population.

Our sharp-sighted American rivals are already alive to the perilous state of cotton culture in India. In an article on cotton and the cotton trade, published in December last, Mr. McCay, Professor in the University of Georgia, says:—

"The imports from the East Indies must rapidly decline in 1849. When Surat is quoted in Liverpool at 3 pence for fair Cotton, it is impossible to look for the usual receipts from India. The long voyage, the heavy freights, the delays in receiving payments after shipment is made, the *expensive inland transportation* before the Cotton is brought to the seaports, cannot be paid for, considering the inferior quality of their Cotton. Low prices do not produce their effect immediately on so distant a market, but the depression has now continued long enough to exert their legitimate influence. By considering the advance and the decline in the East India imports in former years, according as they were encouraged or not, by the condition of the European market, I cannot estimate the receipts from this source to exceed 100,000 bales for 1849, although, for 1847, and 1848, they were over 200,000 bales. This is lower than the imports for any former year, excepting 1846, *but the discouragements to large imports from India are now greater than at any former period.*"

The American cotton it appears is also beginning to supersede the Indian staple in the markets of Europe. In the Canton market,

American cotton has been sold at a profit: and American yarns, and goods manufactured from American cotton, are sold at a price with which the Chinese home manufacturers cannot compete, at the present prices of Indian cotton. It follows therefore that Indian raw cotton will soon lose the China market.

"Factories are being erected to a large extent in several of the Southern states for the purpose of working up, at a greatly reduced cost, the cotton on the spot into the heavier and coarser goods and yarns, which are required for the China market, and have hitherto, to a considerable extent, been manufactured by the Chinese themselves from the cotton of this country."

Our author concludes this part of his pamphlet with the following impressive reflections.

"The changes, which we have thus faintly attempted to sketch, though little regarded during their progress, like all alterations which are gradual in their course—are nevertheless of momentous magnitude in their results. The general interests of the whole country are affected by them. Never was the commerce of Western India in a more critical state than at present. All history and experience teach us that, when from any causes an old established trade has once begun to decay, the progress of decline can be arrested only by the most extraordinary and timely exertions in removal of all those causes. But if such exertions be delayed, if remedial measures be not speedily and energetically adopted, and if the commerce should once be dissipated, it can *never* be recalled; no human power can ever charm it back into its old deserted channels, or restore what little of it remains to its original life and vigor.

The most important of these causes is the defective state of the means of internal transport."

Our author follows up this last proposition with some explanatory amplifications.

"There is no country which naturally requires, for the development of its resources, the construction of Railways, more than India, especially Western India. We have no navigable rivers; no canals; almost no roads—and the few roads which exist, are almost entirely without bridges; goods are carried chiefly on the backs of bullocks, bearing each not more than two cwt., and travelling from five to eight miles per day. A journey, from the Cotton countries of the interior to Bombay, occupies from two to three months. During four months in the year, goods cannot be conveyed at all; during part of the other eight months, the possibility of conveyance is always uncertain, from early or late rains (either of which is equally prejudicial), from droughts, from epidemics among the cattle, and numerous other causes.

In no country into which Railways have yet been introduced—if even the newly opened settlements in the far interior of the great American continent form an exception—does the cost of transport bear so great a proportion to the first cost of the produce, as in the districts which the Bombay line proposes to traverse, and which consequently can better afford to contribute so large and paying a traffic to a Railway.

The investigations of the Committee, appointed by the Bombay Government in 1846, to report on the Decline of the Cotton trade, have made this quite apparent in respect to Cotton. Not only is the cost of the Cotton enhanced by the heavy expense of carriage, and its quantity diminished and quality deteriorated during the tedious land transit, but there are actually not available means of carriage to bring to the shipping port the cotton that *is* grown. If the monsoon sets in early, as in 1843, the rivers become swollen, and cannot be crossed by the bullocks without entirely destroying the cotton; and the surface of the land is beaten up into an impassable mud. If the monsoon be scanty, as was the case in

1845, the journey is rendered equally impracticable to large droves of bullocks from want of water and forage."

Mr. Chapman estimates the cost of conveyance by present means, at from 4*d.* to 8*d.* and even 10*d.* per ton per *mile;* and that the saving by railway would be sixty-six per cent on this cost. And a railway of 200 miles in length from Bombay into the interior, he estimates, would save not less than £130,000 sterling per annum in carriage alone. But this is only one of many important items: for example, the destruction of bullocks, hundreds of which perish on the road, and their loads often with them: so again, the loss by robbery; and many other contingencies, which on rails could not happen.

We infer from this calculation of the advantages to accrue from 200 miles, that it was expected the sanction of the Court of Directors would be obtained to that length of railway. Why else talk of 200 miles? But, since the pamphlet was published, the terms have been settled with Government: and the Government sanction has been obtained for only 22 miles of railroad. According to our author's scale, this will save but £13,400 sterling per annum in the cost of carriage, and the incidental advantages can be but trifling. The further progress of the rail, up to and beyond the Ghats, is not determined upon.

Our author justly dwells on the probability, that a railway would vastly increase the production of cotton, by making the shipping port accessible from the cotton districts, where there is an adapted soil, and lands of vast extent not yet brought into cultivation. But a railway of 22 miles will not reach the border even of the cotton districts. Our author also dwells on the probability that an increased supply would have the effect of improving the quality of the whole.

"With" says he, "a larger quantity to select from, the inferior adulterated Guzerat cotton would not be looked at, and the dealers, finding their nefarious practices cease to be profitable, would soon practically be taught the lesson that honesty is the best policy. If Cotton could be brought from the interior in two or three days, instead of as many months as at present, ample time would be afforded the cultivators to pick and prepare it more carefully, instead of being obliged to despatch it hurriedly, and in bad condition, in order that it may reach Bombay before the setting in of the rains."

This is a most important consideration. For ourselves, from all our observation and experience, and from all we have read of attempts to improve the habits of the population, we doubt these anticipations. Left to themselves the natives will improve in nothing. We should as soon expect the North American savage, by reason of his mere acquisition of a gun, to become a soldier, like the European, as that the Indian ryot should, untaught and without much and long continued skilful aid and supervision, adopt improvements, by which the Saxon race every where overcome difficulties and competition. Open India then, we say, to our countrymen, not merely by the parchment right, which they have at present, but by a total

change of that system, by which they are virtually confined to the neighbourhood of the Presidency towns. If the intense interest apparently now felt on the subject of Indian cotton should induce a skilled cotton farmer of the U. S., aided by Manchester Capital, to go into the cotton districts and take a farm;—what would be his position? To answer this question by a reference to what would take place in Bengal,—he would find himself, probably between two Zemindars, who, if they did not unite to crush him, would as effectually do it by their own conflicts on his fields. He therefore must keep an armed body of latteals; and incur in this way as great an expence to maintain himself on 200 acres, as the Zemindars incur to maintain themselves on 20,000. Or, if he is in a district free from the latteal (club) system, he would find himself harassed in the law courts, where of course he must fail, unless he resorts to bribery, perjury, forgery, and the other staple elements of Mofussil jurisprudence and litigation. It is impossible that a rail-road, or any other European invention, should develop to a just extent the cotton resources, or any other resources, of India, while such enormities prevail, and such obstacles exist to the free settlement of Europeans. If these enormities are not conquered, and these obstacles not removed, India will become a reproach to the British name.

We shall not follow our author through his other illustrations of the further benefit which the proposed rail-road would confer on commerce, and how it would open a market for linseed, hemp, and flax, which are also Indian staples, and for which also there are not the means of conveyance: nor shall we advert to his minor details. Suffice it to say, that all the existing land carriage and water carriage of the country is not capable of bringing to market one-twentieth part of what its soil and population could easily produce, and that, notwithstanding this vast fertility, production is on the decline, from the competition of rail-roads and improved means of conveyance in other countries under better Governments.

From topics, such as the above, our author proceeds to the subject of the railway. The Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company purposed to traverse the Ghats, push its railway to the plains, and thus open Bombay to the heart of India. The Ghats are the great, the all but insuperable barrier to the bullock carriage of the country. To carry the rail to the Ghats, and not beyond, is not opening the country. It is like making a road to an all but impassable river, for the sake of the population and products on the other side, without at the same time building a bridge, or establishing a ferry. Yet the Ghats will not be traversed by the Railway. This is not the fault of the Railway Company. That Company would gladly pass the Ghats; but a million is set up by the East India Company, as the goal. Thus always, at a dead halt, when it should be advancing at double quick time, do we find the Government: in all that respects the emancipation and extension of trade and commerce, it is behind

the age. Our author candidly and temperately expounds this part of the case.

"The Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, after four years ofunremitting exertions, persevered in amidst the most disheartening and chilling discouragements, have at length succeeded in persuading the Home Authorities, as the only means of raising sufficient capital for the purpose, to guarantee a minimum dividend or interest on one million sterling, to be expended in the construction of a Railway from Bombay, viâ Callian, towards the interior. We are far from under-estimating the importance of this concession, although its value would have been inestimably enhanced, had it been granted at a much earlier period; on the contrary, we hail it with gratitude, as the precursor of a new order of things, by securing the construction at least of a section of Railway from Bombay, which, when once in operation, and its advantages appreciated, will, it is hoped, be carried onward by its own momentum.

Still, it is to be borne in mind, that this sum, by itself, will go but a little way towards the attainment of the object in view; that it will do little more than carry us across the Concan; and that, until the whole line from Bombay to the level countries of the interior be opened, which will require an expenditure of about Three Millions, its effects in arresting the decline now in progress of the commerce of Western India will not be greatly felt. It should also be remembered that our American rivals in the mean time will not be idle. The tide of population has already overflowed the boundaries of the old cotton states, and the savannahs of Texas are beginning to swarm with wealth and industry. Ere long its immense cotton fields, as well as those of Arkansas, will be intersected in all directions by railways, and their produce in consequence be greatly augmented.

A glance at the outline map, on the following page, of the cotton districts of Western India will shew to how comparatively a small distance even the line to Alleh will penetrate; and, viewed in connexion with what has already been advanced, will, we trust, demonstrate the necessity of the united and energetic co-operation of all classes in the furtherance of the good work, to enable us even to make up the lee-way we have already lost."

Still our author thinks that the project in its contracted state will answer:—

"That even the short line from Bombay to Callian will pay well—can scarcely admit of doubt, by those who will reflect on the results of the establishment in other countries of a line of Railway, connecting much less populous or wealthy places. Bombay is a great commercial town, with a population estimated at between three and four hundred thousand inhabitants, the seat of Government, the capital of Western India. Tanna, is the capital of a large Collectorate with a population of 20,000; and Callian, a large commercial emporium for the last two thousand years at least, with its still large traffic, and a population of 40,000 inhabitants, is the grand radiating point, moreover, whence pass the numerous roads leading through the various towns and villages of the Concan. A Railway, connecting places such as these, might surely be presumed to pay at least. A traffic between them is known to exist, a fraction of which, if it came on the Railway, would pay."

On the selection of the line, our author speaks favourably; and adduces some valuable testimonies; in particular, that of Mr. Hamilton, the Resident at Indore, is forcible and conclusive, but, we regret to say, too long to extract. Of all persons Mr. Hamilton is the best qualified to judge, and it is pleasant to find so high an authority pronouncing favourably of this rail-road. The pamphlet

contains many topics, which our space has obliged us to pass unnoticed. It concludes, after some general remarks on the supposed dislike of the natives to change, with the following eloquent peroration, with which we must conclude this notice. :—

"Nor is there any peculiarity in the character of the natives of this country to induce the supposition that a considerable passenger traffic may not be calculated on. All experience tends precisely in the opposite direction. Look at the Surat steamers, every trip crowded with native passengers, though averse to the sea voyage from prejudice and a dread of sea sickness. Yet when these steamers were projected, it was predicted that few or no native passengers would be found to take advantage of them. Take even the land journey between Bombay and Tanna, where two coaches run regularly every day—which, as we are informed, are not only generally filled with native passengers, but extra conveyances have frequently to be put on to afford sufficient accommodation to the public—to say nothing of the numerous other vehicles of all descriptions which are constantly to be met with on the road. Ask any intelligent native—and they are not so few in number as is sometimes imagined—whether he would have any objections to travel by rail ; he will smile at the ignorance which prompts such a question. Tell him that some people assert that the natives generally will not do so ; he will laugh the idea to scorn. Ask an Omravutty, or a Candeish merchant, whether he would have *any objections* to send his goods by rail. You can read the answer in his face, before he is able to give expression to it with his lips, how gladly he would exchange the uncertain and tedious conveyance by bullocks, plodding their weary way at the rate of eight miles per day, for the safe and expeditious Railway train.

There are, in fine, so many vitally-important arguments in favor of the introduction of Railways into Western India ; so many parties are interested in their speedy construction—the Government by far more deeply than any—the ryot who grows the produce ; the merchant who exports it ; the ship-owner who carries it ; the vast additional number of people, such as those employed in packing and screwing, coolies, boatmen, etc. to whom it would be the means of giving employment ; the increased revenue that an augmented trade would bring to the Government, not only directly, but that which would result indirectly from increased employment and prosperity being diffused among all classes ; that it is matter of surprise that more vigorous efforts, and a more hearty co-operation, on the part of those so deeply interested, should not long ago have been made to secure to us such important advantages. The connection by railways of the island of Bombay with the adjoining continent will generally facilitate intercourse with our neighbourhood, and cheapen many of our inland supplies for man and beast ; extend our fisheries by opening up for them new markets in the interior ; vastly enhance the value of property ; and otherwise develop new sources of traffic of which no one at present can form an idea. It will be tantamount to an enlargement of our borders, and liberties of movement and residence in the most important directions, and thus contribute both to our enjoyment and health. The connexion by them of the Concan with the country above the Ghauts, which can be surmounted at present only by a few difficult passes, will be as the levelling of great mountains, which have long been nearly complete barriers to the intercommunion of contiguous populations, with distinctive productions and exports, which can be most advantageously devoted to mutual exchange. In the eyes of the people of India, they would be among the most conspicuous and overwhelming triumphs of mental power which they could witness, begetting within them both deference and respect, and conciliating their good will, as revealing to them unimagined advantages to be received by them and their country from the enterprising and benevolent nation, with which, in providence, they have been brought into alliance. We know nothing of an economical kind so well calculated to arouse their attention, excite their curiosity, destroy their apathy, and awaken their energy, as the

" fire-chariots" moving along with inconceivable rapidity, and freighted at the same time with the substantial treasures of the East and West ; and the marvels of the electric telegraph transmitting messages to the remotest distances —not merely figuratively, but literally—" as quick as lightning." To our educated and ingenuous native youth, who have hitherto had scarcely any other prospect before them, but that of spending a torpid existence at the desk or the door-post, they open up prospects of employment, in connexion with which their attainments can be turned to good account, and their faculties can be further cultivated. With the facilities which they will afford for the conveyance of troops, they will contribute to the preservation of the peace of the country. Many will doubtless run to and fro upon them, and knowledge will be increased. The turning of the first sod for their construction will be the visible *infeftment* in the East of the civilization of the West."

Tables for paying or receiving Wages, House Rent, &c., &c., from eight annas to 1,000 *rupees per month : to which is added Tables for reducing Bazar weights into Factory and English weights, from one chittack to* 1,000 *maunds, and Interest and Commission Tables. Sanders, Cones and Co. Calcutta,* 1848.

It would be difficult to invest the moderate sum of eight annas more profitably than in a copy of this little work. The amount so disbursed might be saved or gained a hundred fold by its guidance and assistance,—not to speak of the saving or gain in that most valuable of all currencies, Time, or the avoidance of that which is never agreeable, and least desirable when unprofitably expended, Trouble.

The nature and object of the work is set forth so fully and clearly in the title page, which we have copied, that we need waste neither time nor words in an attempt to explain them. It will be sufficient to declare that the Tables, which occupy thirty duodecimo pages, are all, and tell all, which is there described. The compiler, for he claims not the honours of authorship, says " they have been derived from the best sources, but in no instance without considerable improvement ; and," he adds, " as they have all been patiently examined, and very numerous errors carefully corrected, this lays claim to the only merit of such a publication—accuracy in its performance." Subscribing the special recommendation of the compiler, we commend the little book to " those ladies who, taking an active interest in their establishments, find entrusted to them the paying of servants' wages, house rent, &c." It would be no exaggeration to say that an active, vigilant and prudent housewife might, in this country, virtually add twenty-five per cent. to her husband's income, without denying to him, herself, or their family, anything they had been accustomed to, simply by checking and controlling the expenditure

of the establishment. We do not say that this book of Tables will enable her to do this; but certainly it would be an useful ally for any lady, who might aim at the achievement of such a triumph of domestic economy.

Tables, however useful, are but a dry study at the best; and, when we say that we have found half an hour's pleasant and instructive reading in the little work before us, it is as much as to state that it contains something more than is mentioned on the title page. This something is an introduction intended by the gallant compiler for the use of "the lady newly arrived from Europe, or but recently placed at the head of an establishment," and who is thereby initiated into a few of the mysteries of money, weights, and measures, rents, servants, bazars, &c. &c.

Of the circulating medium of this country, and the means used by our domestics to obtain an illicit profit from its passage through their fingers, the compiler speaks as follows:—

"Money (and Exchange of Money) is often made a source of much trouble and inconvenience through the endeavours of servants, to obtain even a few *kowries* for themselves; our money consisting, in silver, of rupees, half-rupees, quarter-rupees, and half-quarter rupees; and in copper, of annas (of which only a few were experimentally coined some years since but have been withdrawn,) of half-annas, quarter-annas, (or pice as they are more generally termed) and pie; of these sixteen annas equal a rupee, and four pice, or twelve pie an anna: these last, it is well known, have been kept as much as possible out of circulation by the natives to serve their own purposes, and are therefore but seldom met with, although generally speaking, they form the minimum of all accounts, and hence a source of profit to *sirkars* and others who, making the want of the coin an excuse for not giving it, frequently pocket in large establishments a tolerable sum in the course of the month."

What would be thought in England of a currency all half-crowns, half-pence, and periwinkle shells? But this would not unfairly represent that of Calcutta. Nominally, we have gold mohurs, silver rupees, silver pieces of a half, a quarter, and one-eighth of a rupee, copper annas, half-annas, pice, and pie, and finally *kowries*—constituting, in the lower denominations, at all events, a reasonably convenient currency. But how many people are there in Calcutta who have seen a gold mohur, and who is there that ever saw one in circulation? It is the very phœnix of the Mint. The most considerable coin in actual circulation is the rupee, and a clumsy and ponderous one it is to deal with in the gross. From the rupee we may come down at once to the pice, for though there are, as we have said, silver eight, four and two-anna pieces in existence, and also copper half-annas, they find so little acceptance in the eyes of the sovereign people that they can hardly be regarded as current coin of the country. The *pie*, which would be a very convenient small currency for Europeans, is so rarely to be seen, that it is usually supposed a purely imaginary coin. Then we come to the *kowrie*, which, though generally regarded by the Saheb logue as beneath their notice, plays a most important part

in the details of their domestic expenditure. Of this our compiler discourses as follows :—

"Besides these, a small shell, of variable value, is used in the bazars as a monetary medium, generally reckoned at 320 to the anna, a sort of minute sub-division, not unfrequently resorted to by servants to aid their peculations, for they will generally descend to the smallest objects for that purpose. For the convenience of the public, the Government have licensed a number of shops for the purposes of exchange, who are allowed a certain per centage on taking the smaller coins from the Treasury, or the Mint, on condition of changing the larger ones at the full current value of sixteen annas, or sixty-four pie for each rupee ; but it will often happen that for the sake of a few *kowries* allowed by the money-changer, or *podar* as he is called, a servant, if sent for change, will return with a report that the licensed money-changer was not to be found, or had not pice, and that he, therefore, went to another person, who took half a pice or so for doing it, offering at the same time a handful of *kowries* as the balance of the pice he brings short, well knowing that they will most likely also become his perquisite, or at least will not be counted, and from which he will supply himself with his daily allowance of tobacco, pawn, or betel leaf, and other luxuries, without trespassing on his own wages."

The way to prevent this small peculation is to take the *kowries* when offered, and send them in payment for the next "change" that is required ; or to let the servant keep them himself, but on the understanding that, the next time he is sent to change a rupee, he must bring the full number of pice. This primitive and natural currency of shells is so very convenient for the natives that, it is not likely to be superseded in their favour, until the ordinary metallic medium of exchange becomes much more plentiful among them than it is ever likely to be. Seventy years ago, the first Calcutta newspaper spoke of a new currency of pice, by which the trade in *kowries* was to be done away with ;—but the shells circulate as freely and plentifully as ever to this day. What else, indeed, could you have so clean, so handy, of value so nearly approaching the infinitesimally small (5,120 to the rupee), and yet so definite and certain? The copper pie serves the purposes of Europeans ; but the natives require some still smaller fraction of the integral rupee for their marketings ; and anything of metal would be so nearly microscopic as to be unmanageable.

Here are a few useful hints for those who would obtain a cautionary knowledge of the rogueries practised with and upon the currency, at a less cost than that of dear experience.

"Another mode of exaction, by petty dealers, servants, palankin bearers, *hakrí*, or cart men, *kúlis* or porters, and others, is the refusing to take pice that are much worn, or more frequently insisting of their being of depreciated value, so as to ask a greater number as their rate of hire, &c. ; it may, however, serve as a general caution, that every copper coin, from which the inscription in the native or English character is not actually effaced, is current at its full value, excepting only the dumps, and square coin of the native states, which are now seldom seen in Calcutta or its neighbourhood. Silver coin, when taken in exchange, should be very carefully examined piece by piece, except in large sums, when the weight will decide their correctness, as it is not unfrequently that a counterfeit piece or two have been slipped between the true ones which might escape observation in merely counting ; drilling and filling the holes with

lead is also a common practice, but this effects the sound in ringing, and hence every rupee not sounding well should be closely examined and rejected, unless you can clearly discover by apparent splits in the rim, that the defect is only in the coinage ; lately many rupees have also been found in circulation, the edges of which have been filed, but the attempt at imitating the milling by this process is so coarse, that it can hardly escape observation on inspection of the edges, especially with a number of rupees together, as the ones that are filed are seldom perfectly round, and the defect will be evident if placed on a flat surface. No native should be allowed to quit the presence of the person paying, until he has examined and admitted the correctness of every rupee, as it is not an uncommon practice for them, after quitting the apartment or place of payment, to return, and, presenting a counterfeit coin, declare that to have been part of those received, begging its being exchanged ; the bad one having been concealed on his person, and substituted for the good one he had received ; nay, it has even been known to be attempted without leaving, and only detected by the good being discovered concealed, after he had sworn that he had not another rupee with him,—a truth perhaps, as the bit of metal could not be so called."

The compiler devotes some pages to a descriptive catalogue of the domestic servants usually attached to an Anglo-Indian household ; but even were it necessary to analyse or review his list, we have not left ourselves room to do so. Instead then, of following him to the out-houses, or stopping to examine and criticise his sketches, we will come at once to what appears to be his grand conclusion, namely, that " the housekeeper must be prepared to meet theft and dishonesty at every turn." We have, of course, no objection to this as a general caution ;—*it is well* to be prepared to meet theft and dishonesty at every turn, and at many a turn they will be met, whether we be prepared for them or not. But we would fain believe, that where due care is exercised in the selection of servants, and they are not, through the carelessness of their employers, tempted above what very ordinary nature may bear, honesty and integrity may frequently be found among them But, leaving this point to be settled by the reader for himself or herself, according to his or her own opinion or experience, we may venture to assert positively and without fear of contradiction, that the best protection against the effects of dishonesty is in an establishment of well-selected, well-treated, regularly-paid old servants. And with this declaration of our opinion, fortified in some degree by experience, we take our leave of the useful little work which has furnished the text for these cursory remarks.

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